Can Happen Here

The News Birmingham, Ala.

Alabama, At One Time, Had Not Only Pair Of Governor Claimants, But Two Legislatures

(37) Ala. Mon. 1-20-47

BY FRED TAYLOR

Those who have been saying that the incredible state of affairs in eorgia couldn't happen anywhere except in the Cracker state, ought o read a little history.

Alabama not only had rival claimants to the governorship at one ime, to parallel the Georgia situation, but actually had two Legislatures organized and attempting to take over law-making powers of the state.

TAYLOR

But that was back in the dark days of reconstruction when the carpetbaggers took over governments of Alabama and other Southern states after the War Between the States.

* * *

TROOPS—The year was 1870 and the gubernatorial tussle was between Robert Burns Lindsay, of Colbert, and William Hugh Smith, of Randolph, who was seeking reelection after serving a two-year term as chief executive.

Smith was finally ousted and Lindsay seated. Fleming's history of "Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama," a copy of which was furnished this column by Mrs. Brooks Whitton, a Birmingham business woman and former history teacher in high schools here and at Howard College, graphically records some of the hectic happenings of those trying days.

While Herman Talmadge, characterized as the "Pretender" by Ellis Arnall, used state troopers in seizing the gubernatorial office in Georgia in what Arnall terms a "military coup d'etat," federal troops were used in the Alabama gubernatorial ruckus of 1870.

* * *

CLOSE VOTE—Lindsay, a Democrat and hailing from a North Alabama county, was strongly supported by upstate voters as the "white man's candidate." Mon. 1-20-47

And, according to Fleming's history, the hostility of Smith to carpetbaggers had weakened the incumbent with this crowd. Furthermore, the ticket headed by Smith was not acceptable to white persons because a Negro named Rapier was candidate for secretary of state.

Smith was asked why he ran on a ticket with a Negro. He replied that was the only way at that time to get in office. Smith also pointed out that while Democrats drew the color line in North Alabama, they made an earnest effort to obtain the Negro vote in the Black Belt.

Federal troops were stationed in the Black Belt and in the white counties where there was a considerable Negro vote. After a scorching campaign, Lindsay nosed out Smith, winning by a vote of 76,977 to ,568. The News Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

INJUNCTION—Smith adherents advised him not to submit to the seating of Lindsay as governor, but to force a contest and prevent the vote from being counted by the Legislature. So, by Supreme Court injunction, the Senate was restrained from counting the votes for governor.

But the House and Senate in joint session counted votes for the other offices and declared E. H. Moren, a Democrat, elected lieutenant governor. Then, after much bickering, Lindsay was counted in and promptly took the oath of office as governor.

But although the House recognized Lindsay as governor, Radical senators recognized Smith.

* * *

FORCE—It was then that Incumbent Smith brought federal troops into the State Capitol to keep Lindsay out and for two or three weeks there were rival governors.

Finally Smith was forced to retire by a writ from the carpet-bag ircuit Court of Montgomery.

* * *

TWO LEGISLATURES—Then followed the scrap between rival Legislatures after Lindsay had been seated as chief executive.

The Democrats at last had a majority of members in both Houses. Fleming points out the Radicals and scalawags were in a desperate position. They wanted to elect a U. S. senator—the Legislature elected senators in those days—and they sought some way to overcome the Democratic majorities in both Houses. The News

It was decided that Radical members of the [illegible]ture, including calawags and Negroes, would refuse to mee[illegible]ocrats and instead organize separately. Birmingham, Ala.

So the Democratic members met and organized in the Capitol and the opposing forces organized a House and Senate of their own in the U. S. Courthouse at Montgomery. Mon. 1-20-47

* * *

HECTIC—The Senate then consisted of 33 members and the House had 100.

The Democrats organized with 19 senators and 54 House members, with each body having more than quorum.

At the courthouse, the Radicals had 14 senators and 45 representatives, with four Negroes in the upper chamber and 27 in the lower House. Neither Radical House had a quorum, so each body brought in persons who had been candidates and swore them in as members to complete a quorum.

Scalawag forces then brought in the federal troops, stationed them on the Capitol grounds and forced the Democrats to give in.

* * *

WHO?—Thus ended the struggle between rival Legislatures seeking to take control at Montgomery, with Gov. Lindsay already having won out for the governorship.

Since only one Legislature is operating or attempting to function in Georgia, the only question to be answered there is who will the courts finally rule is governor of the Cracker state.

Sparks Approves Contracts For School, Hospital Work

(37) Ala. The Advertiser

Gov. Chauncey Sparks yesterday approved five contracts for construction and architectural services at State institutions and the District 4 Tuberculosis Hospital at Gadsden. Construction cost of the projects will be well over $1,000,000. Montgomery, Ala.

Contracts approved by the governor, as released by Dr. John M. Gallalee, director of the State Building Commission technical staff, are: Fri. 1-17-47

Between the Etowah County Tuberculosis Association and Paul W. Hofferbert, Gadsden arcbhitect, a contract for architectural services on the proposed tuberculosis hospital for District 4. The Building Commission has allocated $135,000 for the hospital, and the association and surrounding counties will provide the remainder of the money necessary.

Forestry Building

Approved a contract between the Alabama Polytechnic Institute and Batson-Cook Company of West Point, Ga., for the construction of the Forestry School building. The Building Commission allocated $200,000 for the building and the API will provide the balance to make up the $211,587 contract price.

Approved a contract between API and Daniel Construction Company of Birmingham for the construction of a central heating plant at API. The contract price is $159,477, and the Building Commission allocated $86,000 for the plant. API wil make up the excess.

Mechanical School

Approved a contract between the State Board of Education for the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical Institute for Negroes at Huntsville and Sullivan, Long and Hagerty, Birmingham, for the construction of a central heating plant at A. and M. The contract price is $75,990, and the Building Commission allocated $64,000 for the plant. The Board of Education will furnish the difference. The Advertiser

Approved a contract between Alabama State Hospitals and Daniel Construction Company for the construction of a 300-bed building for Negro women at Searcy Hospital, Mt. Vernon. The Building Commission allocation is $500,000 and the contract price is $462,993. Fri. 1-17-47

37 1947

Arkansas

COLOR ISSUE HALTS [illegible] VILLAGE INCORPORATION

A fear that colored residences might gain control of the city government of Hensley, Ark., has caused white residents to resist a petition to have the town incorporated. Colored citizens are in the majority and could easily elect any city officials they desired.

(37)

NAACP PUBLISHES VOTING RECORDS OF CONGRESSMEN

10/16/47

Press Service of the NAACP

Washington, D. C.-- The NAACP BULLETIN, a regular monthly publication off the press this week, features the voting records of all Representatives and Senators during the 1st Session of the 80th Congress. NAACP members are asked to judge legislators on 15 issues voted on by the House and Senate. New York, N.Y

10-17-47

The House items show the way congressmen voted on (1) poll taxes (2) school lunch appropriation, (3) Taft-Hartley law, (4) rent control, (5) the Rees' Federal Employees Loyalty Bill, (6) admission of Hawaii as the 49th state, and (7) portal-to-portal pay bill. Covered in the Senate are votes on (1) the seating of Bilbo, (2) rent control, (3) Taft-Hartley law, (4) the confirmation of David Lilienthal as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, (5) increasing subsistence allowance for veterans, and (6) portal-to-portal pay bill.

Listed also are the names of all congressmen who have signed Discharge Petition #9 to bring the Case Anti-Lynching Bill, HR-3488, up for vote in the House.

Leslie Perry writing in the NAACP BULLETIN on the 1st session of the 80th Congress stated: "It is a sordid record; a record of money and politics being given precedence over human lives and democracy."

Press Service for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

"The gap between the cost-of-living and the workingman's wages grew wider and wider. Corporation profits soared 100 to 300 per cent above even the lush year of 1946. Yet, the 80th Congress busied itsel with fashioning a strait-jacket for organized labor.

"The Ku Klux Klan and similar native American fascist groups," Perry continued, "enjoyed a free hand to spread their germs of hate and terror while the Dick Tracys in Congress tracked down New Dealers and 'reds.'

10-1-47

"At the very moment a North Carolina grand jury was refusing to indict the seven confessed attempted-lynchers of Godwin Bush, Congress found other things to do more important than protecting human lives. Senator Homer Ferguson, chairman of the Judiciary subcommittee, appointed to hold hearings on anti-lynching legislation, who had won in Michigan the name of being a one-man grand jury, was probing deeply--and with great fanfare--into the night life of one Elliot Roosevelt and one Johnny Meyer."

The NAACP said that "the rank and file voter" will find it hard to forget in November 1948 the record left in the 1st Session by the current Congress.

Pepper Only Dixie Solon With Clean Vote Record

Afro American, Baltimore, Md.

(37) Congress

Poll Shows Him 100 Per Cent Right on 16 Major Roll Calls; Alabamans Average Good

10-18-47

NEW ORLEANS (ANP)—Only one of the 25 Southern senators, Claude Pepper of Florida, voted right 100 per cent of the time on 18 important issues in the first session of the 80th Congress, according to a poll of Southern sociologists. 10-18-47

Sens. Hill and Sparkman of Alabama voted right nine out of every 10 times; Barkley (Ky.) and Fulbright (Ark.) were right four out of every five times; Johnston (S.C.) and Thomas (Okla.) three out of four times.

Based on 18 Roll Calls

Members of the Southern Sociological Society in the 13 Southern States were asked by The Southern Patriot, published here by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, to judge what was a good or bad vote on 18 important roll calls in the Senate and 14 in the house.

The issues include, tax reduction, the seating of Bilbo, confirmation of Lilienthal, portal pay, foreign relief, the poll tax, etc.

Both senators from Alabama, Florida, and South Carolina had good votes on 50 per cent or more of the 18 issues. Six States: Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia had one senator with 50 per cent or more good votes to his credit.

Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia were at the bottom of the list with both senators voting wrong 50 per cent or more of the time. "A majority of the Southerners, 14 out of 25, voted with Republican leader Taft 50 per cent or more of the time on the 18 roll calls," the Patriot revealed.

10-18-47

New Member Of Un-American Committee Said Anti-Negro

(37) Congress

World

Atlanta, Ga, Wed, 12-24-47

NEW YORK — (A N P) — "The reactionary character of the house committee on un-American activities was strengthened, if that is possible, by the appointment last week of F. Edward Hebert, Democratic representative from Louisiana, to replace Rep. Herbert C. Bonner (D-NC)" said the Civil Rights congress in a special statement. "His seven year voting record in congress has been consistently on the side of big business, union-breakers, white supremacists and red-baiters. 12-24-47

"Rep. Hebert has always voted against abolition of the poll tax, and in the 79th congress refused to support the bill for a permanent FEPC. In the 80th congress he voted for the Taft-Hartley bill, for weakening the Wage-Hour act and against rent control; he supported the NAM tax program and voted for the Rees "loyalty" bill, which would put on the statutes the President's loyalty order, now threatening the civil liberties of 2,000,000 government workers.

"In previous session, he managed to cast nine anti-labor votes and five to undermine a program of effective price control.

"One of Rep. Herbert's major contributions during the war was to lead a fight to bar the War Shipping administration from housing Negro and white seamen, while waiting to be shipped out, on a non-segregated basis in a New Orleans hotel. The Louisiana Weekly declared at the time that Congressman Hebert's race baiting activities are indeed lamentable....in his recent conduct in the Hotel Senator affair he sinks to the level of Bilbo and Rankin and the rest of the Negro-hating congressmen who have not the faintest idea of fair play, justice and democracy."

"Such is the 'Americanism' of congressmen who are passing judgment on the loyalty of fellow-Americans and seeking to establish a system of thought control in our country.

"The campaign for half a million signatures for abolition of the un-American committee, now being conducted by the Civil Rights congress, will be completed by mid January, when they will be presented to the house of representatives. Rep. Hebert's appointment to the committee makes this campaign all the more urgent.

37 1947

Congress

Walter White

[illegible]

People, Politics And Places

Chica.

Congress and the Negro

OVER A PERIOD of 29 years I have seen a modest revolution in Washington in the attitude of members of Congress towards the Negro as a minority. When the Negro was virtually impotent because of his votelessness prior to the population shifts of the last three decades and the successful attacks on the white primary and other forms of disfranchisement, the great majority of Congressmen and Senators had only indifference or contempt towards colored voters. Occasionally there appeared on the Washington scene men of great integrity like the late Senator Edward P. Costigan or Senator Robert F. Wagner who put principle above political expediency but their numbers were few.

The emergence of the Negro vote as a decisive factor in national elections has measurably increased the respect of politicians for the group which today holds the potential balance of power in 17 states with 281 electoral votes. But we still have a long way to go to demonstrate that the Negro is not the simple-minded idiot some members of Congress manifestly still believe him to be, if the recent action of the Senate Rules Committee on various proposals to end filibusters be accepted as a criterion. There was comment in this space on these proposals a few weeks ago in which the details of the resolutions introduced by both Republican and Democratic Senators to shut off filibusters were discussed.

The one and only effective way to shut off the diarrhea of words of the Bilbos and Tom Connallys of the Senate against anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, FEPC and civil rights bills is amendment of the rules to provide that a simple majority instead of the present two-thirds vote of the Senate shall end debate. Each of the four proposed resolutions provided that this should hereafter be the rule. The Senate Rules Committee permitted the resolutions to gather dust until the NAACP and other organizations insisted on action. Then the Rules Committee bestirred itself. But only slightly. The mountain labored and brought forth only a mouse and an exceedingly anemic one at that. The committee, in cowardly fashion, threatened by Overton of Louisiana and other mentally neanderthal Southerners, left the two-thirds vote as a requirement to end filibustering untouched. The only changes recommended were, first, that there be no filibustering on "amending the journal" and, second, on receiving the credentials of a Senator.

[illegible] Ill.

Will Not Affect Legislation

THE LATTER HAS MODEST significance although it manifestly will not affect filibusters against legislation. The Southerners in making this concession throw their unspeakable pal, Bilbo, to the wolves to avert, they hope, a rising tide of public resentment against filibustering.

But the traditional methods of preventing a vote on any measure a determined minority sets out to kill have not been changed one iota. Any Senator could still speak **twice** on any bill and **twice** on any amendment to that bill for as long as his physical strength holds out. It will be remembered that the arrogant and bigoted Senator McKellar of Tennessee, who along with Senator Taft has deservedly taken a terrific beating on the David Lilienthal confirmation, boasted in 1946 that he and his filibusterers against the FEPC had in reserve 103 amendments on each of which he and others would speak twice.

Let it be clearly understood that unless and until the Senate can impose cloture by a majority vote there isn't the slightest possibility that we shall ever have an FEPC, an adequate civil rights laws, a federal law against lynching or the poll tax or any other legislation to protect minorities or the democratic way of life. Overton, with an arrogance that no Senator would take lying down if he had the slightest self-respect or if he had any concern for the wishes of his constituents, has publicly stated that neither he nor any of his fellow-Southerners would object to adoption of the Rules Committee's report (Why in the world should they?) but that if any effort is made to change the vote from a two-thirds to a majority vote, he and his mates will filibuster to doomsday. And yet the United States has the nerve to blast Russia for use of the veto in the United Nations while cracker legislators contemptuously exercise the veto over the Senate majority and the nation's business whenever they choose!

Sat. 5-10-47

'Pressure' Your Senators

ARE YOU GOING to let your Senators get away with this arrant hypocrisy? They will most assuredly do so if you as an individual do not insist firmly but intelligently upon your two Senators that they fight for amendment of the Senate rules so that a majority vote can end a filibuster. Will you do this?

And will you get every organization to which you belong to make a similar request and to keep on requesting until we get action? Unless you and I do this, we can kiss goodbye every vestige of hope ever to see enactment of FEPC, anti-lynching or any other remedial legislation we so desperately want and need.

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

So Far It Is A One-Way Street

Atlanta, Ga.

Sunday-7-6-47

Mr. David Lawrence ,the very able editor and publisher, pays tribute to "The Solid South" in the United States News of July 4:

"The Solid South holds the balance of power today in America.

"Without the support of 20 Democrats in the Senate, and 106 Democrats in the House—virtually all of them from the Southern States—the labor bill could not have been enacted last week over the presidential veto.

"Without the support of the Southern delegation in Congress, there can be no tax reduction while Mr. Truman is President.

"Without the preventive power of the Southern Democrats, America today would be in the throes of industrial disintegration.

"The Solid South has kept the balance in America. It has saved America from radicalism of either the Communistic or the Fascistic sort.

" 'Left wingers' may ridicule the South on the radio and attack the Senators and Representatives in the public prints as 'reactionary,' but the true 'reactionaries' are those who want special privileges for themselves and expenditures of public funds for their special projects.

"The 'liberals' are those who stand up for the traditional American principle of initiative and free enterprise against State Socialism.

"To say that the Southern Democrats fight 'liberal' legislation is to overlook the fact that the Wagner labor relations law was enacted in 1935 predominantly with the aid of the Southern Democrats. These Democrats likewise supported nearly every New Deal measure in the prewar years from 1933 to 1941.

"The truth is the Southern Democrats are ready to accept 'liberal' legislation in the economic field and give it a chance when it appears to be for the public good, but they are just as ready to vote for amendment or repeal when they see mistakes or abuses in the operation of any law."

None can deny that Mr. Lawrence has spoken truthfully. The Southern Democrats do hold the balance of power. To some they are "Southern Republicans," to some "they place principle above party."

Sun-7-6-47

Reconstruction

Mr. Lawrence's praise no doubt is welcome to Southern ears.

But it will not be very comforting. So far, for these Democrats, reciprocity has been a one-way street.

There is every evidence that the South is in for another period of "reconstruction," and while it will be milder than that of 1868 to 1879, and while it is true the South has persistently and unwisely asked for it, it will be nonetheless painful and there will be injustices in it.

The Southern Democrats who have joined with Republicans appreciate taffy, but they would more appreciate some actual reciprocity.

The Fair Employment Practices Act, a national bill aimed specifically at the South, is now up for hearings.

Votes

It is a political bill aimed entirely at votes in the industrial centers and industrial and service business employment. Most of the Negroes in industry are in key political cities of the East and in key States where the Negro vote for four national elections went Democratic.

Yet, most of the 13,000,000 Negroes in America are in the agricultural South and about 70 percent of them are not in industry but on farms and in farm jobs.

Thousands of them have been able to become farm owners by farm aid now marked for destruction by Republicans. Thousands more have been able, by virtue of the Democratic administration farm acts, to rebuild the soil of their farms and make them into profitable enterprises.

Most of the nation's farms are in the South—and most of the farmers that need help in the cruel transition from row crops to a balanced farm economy are in the South. They, and their representatives would like some help from the Republicans who hold the balance of power in this issue . . . but they don't get it.

No Help

And, yet, the Republicans who so loudly push for the FEPC Act, for votes in key states, cynically desert the Southern Democrats, not merely on the issue of the FEPC, which is being heard now, and which will be passed, not now, but in the Fall or in the January session when the 1948 campaign is near—but also on the farm measures which will assist more Negroes than FEPC.

Sun-7-6-47

The slap on the back is fine, but the Democratic Senators now opposing the bill would appreciate some necessary Republican votes . . . which they will not get.

The Southern Democrats who so pleased their colleagues, the Republicans, also are concerned about an anti-lynch bill, now in the hopper and also sure to pass in the Fall or early 1948 when the ears of the voters are more attentive.

Lynchings

It is plain that the law will probably do more harm than good, for at least a generation. What will do real and lasting good is such actions as those by peace officers in Carrollton, Ga., and the Alabama township which stopped a mob by courageous action. A law depends upon juries, and lynching has gone unpunished in the South not because of lack of law but because of lack of moral sense on the part of some peace officers and juries. The crime in Walton County and the moral failure at Greenville, S. C., make it difficult for the South to oppose such a law.

Southern river dams get voted out—Western ones get voted in.

The Southern Congressmen and Senators would appreciate a few votes from the Republicans who hold the balance of power in this issue—but they won't get them.

Maybe it doesn't deserve them. But the trouble is going to be that in correcting abuses the South unintelligently has allowed to exist, there will be new abuses which will create new wounds that will last a long time and do harm in this generation.

But, as I have said before, perhaps that is the price we have to pay for demanding to be let alone in certain moral wrongs.

The Democratic Party is in for a long, bad spell, and fair words will be of slight comfort.

NATION'S CAPITAL

- By -
Louis Lautier
For the NNPA

Norfolk, Va. Sat-8-9-47

(37)

A Brief Summary Of The Work Of The First Session Of The Eightieth Congress Is Presented By The NNPA Correspondent

Journal and Guide

WASHINGON, D.C.—A fair appraisal of the work of the first session of the Eightieth Congress which drew to a close in the early hours of Sunday, July 27, cannot now be made. The perspective is too clos for an evaluation of its accomplishments and failures.

This was the first Republican controlled Congress in sixteen years, and the first peacetime-elected Congress in six years.

On foreign affairs the Republican Congress went along with the Administration, making foreign policy bipartisan and appropriating $250,000,000 for economic and military assistance to Greece, and $150,000,000 to Turkey. It also appropriated $332,000,000 for relief in Greece, Italy, Austria, Trieste and China but barred relief to Hungary and Poland.

In domestic affairs, the most controversial legislation enacted was the Taft-Hartley bill.

On the question of economy, Republicans and Democrats differ. The Republicans claimed the Congress saved taxpayers $4,120,800,000. Democrats say this Republican claim is phony.

One of the major pieces of legislation enacted was the National Security Act providing for merger of the armed forces and the setting up of the Air Forces as a co-equal of the Army and Navy.

Out of this act colored people expect in the reorganization of the armed forces the office of the civilian aide to the Secretary of War to be moved up within the office of the Secretary of National Security and men, who were there to see with assistant civilian aides appointed in the offices of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of the Air Forces.

The woods already are full of candidates for these positions. In this case, however, the jobs ought to seek the men, and not the men the jobs.

Journal+Guide
Norfolk va.

Congress also extended rent control until Feburary 28 but allowed some increases in rent.

It also enacted legislation making the Speaker of the House and the Senate president pro tempore the first and second in line to succeed to the Presidency in case of the removal, resignation or death of the President and Vice President. Sat. 8/9/47

The House passed the Bender anti-poll tax bill.

The Senate held hearings on the Ives bill to ban race and religious discrimination in employment. The measure was referred by a subcommittee back to the full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee for further study.

No action was taken by either chamber on antilynching legislation. A petition to discharge the House Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the Case anti-lynching bill was filed in the House but it had not received sufficient signatures before adjournment.

Some of the failures included minimum wage legislation, universal military training and health insurance. On these measures there is a wide divergence of opinion.

Sat. 8/9/47

Efforts of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to get the office of the Recorder of Deeds transferred to their control failed. A bill to carry out their purpose was introduced but as it was finally approved it authorized only the installation of photostatic equipment for the recordation of deeds.

Although Congress was economy minded, it appropriated $4,106,480 for Howard University in regular appropriations and $181,000 in a supplemental appropriation to equalize salaries of Howard's teaching staff with public school teachers in the District of Columbia. The regular appropriation was $1,528,030 more than was appropriated for the university for the last fiscal year. 8/9/47

It also appropriated for Freedmen's Hospital $2,192,000, which was $1,151,600 more than was appropriated for the last fiscal year.

First Session of 80th Congress Ended With Little Done to Benefit Minoritie

(37)

The Afro-American - Baltimore, Md

Appropriations Increased for Howard Univ., Freedmen's; Many Changes Administrative

Sat-8-9-47

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — A fair appraisal of the work of the first session of the Eightieth Congress which closed on Sunday, July 27, cannot be made now, because the perspective is too close.

It was the first Republican controlled Congress in 16 years, and the first peacetime-elected Congress in 6 years. It failed to take final action on any of the major bills designed to uphold minority rights.

On foreign affairs the Republican Congress went along with th Administration, making foreig policy bipartisan and appropria ing $400,000,000 for economic an military assistance to Greece an Turkey. It also appropriate $332,000,000 for relief in Greece Italy, Austria, Trieste and Chin but barred relief to Hungary an Poland.

Progress Seen in Security Act

In domestic affairs, the most controversial legislation enacted was the Taft-Hartley bill. On the question of economy, Republicans contend the Congress saved taxpayers $4,120,800,000. Democrats say their figures are incorrect.

One of laws enacted was the National Security Act providing for merger of the armed forces and the setting up of the Air Forces as a co-equal of the Army and Navy.

In the process of reorganization, it is believed, the office of the civilian aide to the Secretary of War will be moved up within the office of the Secretary of National Security and assistant civilian aides will be appointed in the offices of the Secretaries of War, Navy and Air Forces.

Congress also extended rent control until Feb. 28 but allowed some increases in rent. It also enacted legislation making the Speaker of the House and the Senate president pro tempore the first and second in line to succeed to the Presidency after the Vice President.

Couldn't Get Together

The House passed the Bender anti-poll tax bill. The Senate held hearings on the Ives bill to ban race and religious discrimination in employment. The measure was referred by a subcommittee back to the full Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee for further study.

No action was taken by either chamber on antilynching legislation. A petition to discharge the House Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the Case antilynching bill was filed in the House but did not receive sufficient signatures. Sat-8-9-47

Recorder's Office Saved

Other failures included minimum wage legislation, universal military training and health insurance. However, the Congress refused to transfer the Recorder of Deeds office and place it under the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Although economy minded, Congress appropriated a total of $4,287,480 for Howard University $1,528,030 more than was given for the last fiscal year. It also appropriated for Freedmen's Hospital $2,192,000, or $1,151,600 more thar last year's appropriation.

The Senate began its session with a filibuster on the seating o Theodore G. Bilbo, still Senator elect from Mississippi and ende in another filibuster on the Mis uri vote question. There was wever, no change in the cloture e.

37 1947 Congress (80th.)

Polls Show Congressmen Ignore Their Constituents

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

By ALICE DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — A study of public opinion polls in comparison with the record of the 80th congress discloses some remarkable differences of opinion between the people and their representatives. According to the polls the people knew exactly what they wanted on six separate issues—and on all of the six, congress did either the exact opposite or nothing at all.

Wed. 9-10-47

The study, conducted by the Progressive Citizens of America showed that the people wanted prices reduced—and congress did nothing. Seventy-one percent wanted rent control — and congress scrapped effective federal control. Seventy-five percent sought low cost housing— and Congress stymied the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill in committees. Seventy-seven percent wanted expanded social security for millions not now covered—and congress did nothing. Sixty-six percent wanted an increased minimum wage—and congress did nothing. Seventy percent wanted Greek-Turkish aid handled by UN—congress by-passed by approving the Truman doctrine. Wed.

SPECIAL INTEREST 9-10-47

On the other hand congress was very obliging to special interest groups which expressed their wishes through lobbies rather than public opinion polls. It obliged the real estate lobby by passing the Wolcott bill, scuttling building and rent controls. It made the National Association of Manufactures happy by passing the Taft-Hartley law to hamstring the trade unions. In obedience to the power lobby, congress ignored all proposals for valley authorities live MVA. For the wood interests, congress authorized a sky-high tariff, though the bill was vetoed. The senate passed a bill to exempt railroads from the

Atlanta Daily World.

anti-trust laws. And the sugar lobby was accommodated with a sugar act which ups the consumers' sugar bill by $30,000,000. A tax bill giving enormous cuts to big business and very tiny ones to low income groups was twice passed and twice vetoed.

The record suggests a lively question for a public opinion poll; Whom do elected representatives represent? Wed. 9-10-47

NAACP'S LABOR SECRETARY
SLAPS EIGHTIETH CONGRESS September 26, 1947

Grand Rapids, Mich., Sep 24th--Flaying the Eightieth Congress for its failure to pass needed legislation, Clarence M. Mitchell, NAACP labor secretary, told the Catholic Tri-State Conference meeting here that, as far as the welfare of the people is concerned, this last Congress might just as well never have been in session.

Mr. Mitchell declared that the only people who benefited from Congressional consideration of FEPC legislation in 1947 were those railroads which collected fares from persons who went to Washington to testify, and Governor Wright of Mississippi who was in a campaign at the time, and, undoubtedly, endeared himself to his supporters by claiming credit for blocking passage of the act.

Press Service of the National Association for the advancement of Colored People

The labor secretary pointed out that, beside ignoring the FEPC Bill Congress failed to broaden the Social Security Act for the coverage of domestic and agricultural workers, neatly pigeon-holed bills to raise the minimum wage level to more nearly meet the present cost of living, and, through the Taft-Hartley Bill, shackled the American labor movement by preventing its leaders from political action to defeat the worst Congressional offenders at the polls. N.Y. N.Y. Fri. 9-26-47

"The Congress further cut appropriations of the Wage and Hour Administration - thereby decreasing the staff of the agency at a time when 51 per cent of the establishments being investigated are found to

Press Release, Sep 26 -2-

be violating the law and more than $18,000,000 is being illegally withheld from over 300,000 underpaid employees," Mr. Mitchell said.

Fri. 9-26-47 Fri.

"There is need for year-round political education so that only those persons whose total record is good will have an opportunity to get elected. We must mobilize the right-thinking people in a national drive which will write the badly needed social reform into our law," the labor secretary concluded.

Press Service of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The conference, called by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, was attended by 3,000 delegates. Mr. Philip Murray, President of the CIO, Dr. George Shuster, President of Hunter College, New York City, and His Eminence Edward Cardinal Mooney, the Archibishop of Detroit, also spoke.

37 1947

Congress (80th)

(37)

Liberals March In D.C. Seek Action

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

By ALICE DUNNIGAN

Sun. 1-5-47

WASHINGTON—(ANP) — All roads led to Washington last week when groups of representative citizens from all over the nation gathered in the capital for the opening of the 80th Congress.

Though coming from different sections, all had the same ideas in mind—"don't let Bilbo get in the senate," "pass anti-lynch legislation," "pass a federal FEPC law."

One group, made up of 250 delegates, Negro and white, joined in the American Crusade to End lynching's drive, headed by singer-actor Paul Robeson. Another group, midwesterners, boarded special "Unseat Bilbo" trains in Chicago Thursday for arrival in Washington the following day. Still others, from various sections of the south, bent on accomplishing the same aims, began the eastward trek by all modes of transportation.

LEADERS SPEAK

The Robeson group had been engaged in an 100-day American Crusade to end lynching. At a conference held Thursday evening in Ebenezer church, Robeson, Dr. Clark Foreman, president of Southern Conference for Human welfare; Dr. Max Yergan, president National Negro congress; the Rev. W. Tllis Davies, Unitarian minister from Orange, N. J., and Miss Charlotta Bass, editor of the California Eagle; addressed groups of delegates, prior to a visitation on congressmen and senators to urge positive action on an anti-lynch bill and unseating of Sen. Bilbo.

1-5-47

The crusade was launched Sept. 23 by a pilgrimage to Washington, at which time a seven-member delegation waited upon President Truman to ask his support of needed legislation. During the 100-day period, the group has been active in a nation-wide campaign designed to obtain whole-hearted support against denial of citizenship rights for minority groups.

The special train group out of Chicago was sponsored by the Baptist General State convention of Illinois, headed by Dr. James L. Horace, pastor of Monumental Baptist church, Chicago. Working in conjunction with the Baptist group were several Negro organizations.

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(37) 80 Congress

Martin Overrules Powell's Point Of Order In Talk

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON. — (NNPA) — Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Democrat, of Harlem, last Tuesday literally made Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat of Mississippi, leader of the white trash bloc in Congress, eat his words:

Sun. 2-23-47

During a discussion of the House resolution directing Speaker John W. Martin to certify to the United States attorney for the District of Columbia charges of contempt of the House Committee on un-American Activities against Gerhard Eisler, labeled the top Communist in this country, Rankin used the word "n——" several times.

The Congressional Record of February 18, however, credits Rankin with using the word "Negro" the several times he said "n——," even after Mr. Powell had made a point of order against the use of disparaging terms in referring to any group of citizens.

At first when Mr. Powell sought to make a parliamentary inquiry, Rankin refused to yield for that purpose. Mr. Powell then made a point of order. Asked by Speaker Martin to state his point of order, Mr. Powell asked:

"Is it within the rules of this Congress to refer to any group of our nation in disparaging terms?"

"It is not disparaging to call them 'niggers,' as all respectable niggers know," Rankin interposed. (The Congressional Record substituted the word Negroes" in both places.)

(37)

"I am addressing the Speaker," Mr Powell retorted.

Mr. Martin said he was not aware of the disparaging term. Mr. Powell said the term used was "n——." Mr. Martin said he understood Rankin to say "Negro." Rankin, however, made himself unmistakable clear.

"Mr. Speaker," he said, "I always say and what I am always going to say when referring to these people."

Daily World

Mr. Martin told Rankin to proceed in order and overruled Mr. Powell's point of order. Representative Clarence J. Brown, Republican, of Ohio, rushed up to the well of the House and engaged in a bit of animated conversation with Mr. Martin. Apparently he was not pleased with the ruling.

Atlanta, Ga.

At the time Mr. Powell made his point of order, Rankin was expressing his belief in the credibility of William O'Dell Nowell, of Detroit, who identified photographs on passports as those of Eisler.

Sun. 2-23-47

"Now, I have lived all my life in a State where we had many many lawsuits between Negroes and whites and between Negroes he did not use the word "Negroes."

"I am used to cross-examining them," he continued. "I know something of the way they testify, and have a fairly good way of weighing testimony and I am judge, this Negro, Nowell, was sincere in every word he said."

Point Overruled

After Mr. Powell's point of order was overruled, Rankin said:

"It is not a disgrace to be a real Negro. As I said on this floor before, if I were a Negro, I would want to be as black as the ace of spades. I would then go out with Negroes and have a real good time. The agitators are doing the Negroes of this country more harm than everything else put together.

80th Congress

"Let us take this Negro, Nowell. He had been a Communist. They took him to Moscow to give him a course of Communistic training. He testified that included in that course he was taught how to plan and carry out the overthrow of the Government of the United States—how to carry on subversive activities of all kinds.

"It finally got so bad that this Negro, Nowell, revolted, and I want to tell you now the American people owe him a debt of gratitude for exposing this infamous program

"When I asked him the question, he said that that race riot in Detroit a few years ago was caused by Communist agitation. They did not kill thirty Negroes, as was reported. They killed about 700.

Claims Band Formed

"There was a Negro from my county who had organized a band up in Saginaw, Michigan. He was down on Belle Isle playing when the riot occurred. They had seventeen Negroes in this band. When the trouble started they got into a bus and started to leave. Their bus pulled up in front of a hotel in Detroit and a mob raided it and killed every single one of them. That is what these Communists are stirring up."

Obtaining the floor later, Mr. Powell said he would at all times and in all places refer to members of minority groups "in the highest terms," adding that 'it is unbelievable that any practice contrary to this can be allowed in this the highest body of this nation.'

Mr. Powell said he was opposed to the Committee on un-American Activities because of the way it has functioned. He said he believed such a committee could do a tremendous job for good, but the present committee has directed its activities at only one phase of so-called un-American activities—Communism.

'I am not a Communist and I am not in favor of Communism," Mr. Powell declared. He said, however, he must defend the right of an individual to maintain any views he holds until such views are declared illegal by Congress.

He said he was not in favor of citing Eisler for contempt because he had faith in the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to do their jobs and in the United States to triumph over any "ism."

(37)

Must Prove Charge

Mr. Powell said he would vote against Eisler if the evidence were properly presented and it was indisputably proved that he was an enemy of this country.

Daily World

He charged the Committee on un-American Activities follows an un-American pattern of prejudgement and is not impartial in its investigations, is one-sided, and creates a terror of Communism while it ignores deeds of strife and violence.

Atlanta, Ga.

"If the Committee on un-American Activities would go into such things as the Columbians, Inc.," Mr. Powell said, "the lynchings of Georgia and elsewhere, the anti-Negro and anti-Jewish groups and the Ku Klux Klan, then I would support it. As it is now constituted and functioning, I cannot support this or any other citation."

Sun. 2-23-47

The vote to cite Eisler was 370 to 1. Representative Vito Marcartonio, American Labor Party, of New York, cast the lone dissenting vote. Mr. Powell answered "present" but did not vote. Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois did not vote.

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(37)

Compromise Attempts Fail, 14 Demo Senators Band For Extended Debate To Aid Mississippian, Tax Bill First Up

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 1-3-47

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3—(AP)—The 80th Congress—first controlled y Republicans in 15 years—convened today with the Senate in an proar over seating Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) and the House ready for usiness.

Last minute efforts to compromise the Bilbo controversy failed hen 14 Democratic senators organized for "extended debate" gainst a Republican-led move to ar the Mississippian from the hamber.

The White House announced resident Truman would deliver is state of the union message at a int session in the House Monday, 1 p.m., EST, if both Houses are rganized then.

* * *

THE NO. 1 MEASURE OFERED in the House was the Republican plan to cut individual income taxes. Instead of the proposed 20 per cent reduction "across the boards," it provides for a 20 per cent tax cut on the first $300,000 of income and a 10.5 reduction on income above that figure.

Hundreds jammed Capitol corridors hours before the opening gavel fell, seeking admittance to Senate galleries to hear the scrap over Bilbo. Comparatively, calm resigned in the House galleries.

The first Republican-controlled Congress since 1931 convened promptly at noon.

In the House, Ralph Roberts, retiring doorkeeper, rapped the gavel signaling the start of a potentially historic session. A prayer by the Rev. James Shera Montgomery was the first order of business.

Secretary Leslie L. Biffle banged the gavel in the Senate, where the prayer was said by Chaplain Frederick Brown Harris.

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS made it plain they will resist by talk the effort of Republicans and some Democrats to prevent Bilbo, who has been accused by the Senate war investigating committee of using his office for personal gain in dealings with war contractors, from taking his seat today.

Sen. McClellan (D., Ark.) told a reporter there will be "considerable debate."

Sen. Taft (R., Ohio), chairman of the Republican steering committee, retorted, "We have a way to beat that."

"Cloture," he explained to reporters.

ONCE THE OUSTER MANEUVERING IS ENDED, the Republicans are ready to take over control of the Senate.

(37) Cong

Their 51 to 45 majority assured the election of Sen. Arthur Vandenberg (R., Mich.) as presiding officer, Sen. Wallace White (R., Me.) as majority floor leader and Sen. Kenneth Wherry (R., Neb.) as party whip.

The News

On the Democratic side, Sen. Alben Barkley (D., Ky.) becomes minority leader and Sen. Scott Lucas (D., Ill.) takes over as whip—the job of making sure party members are on hand when votes are needed. Republican Carl Loeffler steps into the shoes of Leslie L. Biffle as secretary of the Senate. Biffle becomes director of the minority policy committee.

Birmingham, Ala.

House Republicans lined up to designate Rep. Charles A. Halleck, of Indiana' as majority leader after installing Rep. Joseph Martin, of Massachusetts, as speaker in place of Sam Rayburn (D., Tex.). Halleck's whip, is Leslie Arends, of Illinois. Fri. 1-3-47

Although the division of top posts among the Republicans was considered closed by the party leadership, Sen. Clyde M. Reed, of Kansas, issued another blast against giving White both the floor leadership and the chairmanship of the commerce committee.

Reed, who had hoped to head the commerce group himself, contended that White had attended only four of the committee's 67 meetings in the last congressional session.

* * *

"IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER PARTY POLICY to distribute the posts of distinction more widely than has been done," Reed said.

A flood of proposed legislation, ranging from bills calling for revision of the Wagner act to a 20 per cent down-the-line slash in income taxes, awaited the opening gong in the House.

Labor and taxes took top billing for action in a Congress which seemed likely also to bear down heavily on cutting government expenditures in an effort to balance a budget long out of trim.

In the House, Republicans planned to introduce quickly bills designed to stop strikes with an impact on public welfare such as the soft coal walkouts. A group headed by Sen. Ball (R., Minn.) reports to the party steering committee tomorrow on a recommended program for the other side of Capitol Hill. The News Birmingham

The question of how far Republicans and Democrats will cooperate on legislation remained unanswered despite assurances from both sides that they will join in supporting a "constructive" program. Fri.

The Republicans said President Truman's recommendations will provide the answer. The Democrats said it depends on how far the Republicans want to go in upsetting what the Democrats have done in the last 14 years. 1-3-47

Only 3 Lobbying Before Congress

Afro American

Unable to Present All Racial Problems

EXPENSES HEAVY

Baltimore, Md.

Total of 738 Included on Registration List

Sat. 5-24-47

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — One thing that has stood out like a sore thumb since the 80th Congress convened on Jan. 3, is the inadequate representation of colored people before Congressional committees.

There are 738 lobbyists registered under the Lobby Act. They represent all kinds of interests seeking to influence legislation. But a search of the registration lists disclosed only three colored registrants. Sat. 5-24-47

They are:

Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council; the Rev. James C. Olden, representing the militant church movement, and Leslie S. Perry, legislative representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Brown's Report

Mr. Brown's quarterly report filed with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate shows that for the first calendar quarter he received $1,200 in membership contributions and spent $889 for printing, $200 for traveling expenses, and $400 for postage, and that he has sent news releases to wire services and weekly publications.

Mr. Perry reported that he had spent $7.50 mailing briefs in opposition to the seating of Bilbo, to 50 Senators; $1.50 for taxicab fare and mimeographing testimony on cloture resolutions, 40 cents for taxicab fare to testify on rent control, and 50 cents for notarizing quarterly lobbying report.

Gets Free Will Offering

Mr. Olden said that his employment will continue "until the racial problem is solved." He is paid no fixed amount but receives free-will offerings from churches and interested individuals. He said he is not lobbying but simply wants the privilege of getting in touch with members of Congress.

In addition to these three persons, others seeking to influence legislation include Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Will Maslow, the American Jewish Congress, and Paul Sifton of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC.

Mr. Sifton reported that he receives a salary of $6,000 a year from the council and $800 a year from the Committee for Extension of Labor Legislation. His expenses during the quarter totaled $107.94 from the council and $52.63 from the Committee for Extension of Labor Legislation.

Like Circus

Congress is like a three-ringed circus. There are an average of 18 hearings scheduled daily before House and Senate committees.

It is impossible for one or two men to present to these committees the views of colored people on health, education, labor, veterans' affairs, military matters and the other issues which are under consideration.

GOP Congress Oddly Silent on FEPC, Lynching, Poll Tax

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md. Sat. 6-28-47

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Despite campaign promises, the Republican majority in Congress is eloquently silent on bills which would benefit America's minority groups and there is little likelihood that any bill will be enacted on lynching, the poll tax or FEPC before adjournment.

During the 15 years when they were in the minority, the Republicans blamed Southern Democrats for blocking the measure "nearest their hearts" and clamored loudly for passage of anti-lynching and fair employment legislation. Sat. 6-28-47

Now that they are in the majority, however, the Republican law-makers content themselves with sounding off loudly over the veto of their pet tax "slash" bill, remain silent on the other measures.

Congress Spurns 'Must' Legislation, Rushes to Recess

The Worker — New York, N.Y.

Sun-7-27-47

By Abner Berry

The 80th Congress opened in an atmosphere filled with arrogant Republican Tory chants. Senator Taft announced triumphantly, "We must clear away the rubble of the war and the New Deal."

The Congress ended in a demonstration of unrestrained cynicism.

Sandwiched in between opening and closing was the worst legislative record of any American Congress in modern times.

Main target of the first Republican-controlled Congress since 1930 was the organized labor movement, and through it the entire people's progressive camp.

★

CONGRESS REFUSED to increase the minimum wage from 40 to 65 cents an hour, to expand social security benefits and to control run-away prices.

Instead the country was given the Taft-Hartley Bill, characterized by labor leaders as an "introduction to fascism." Sponsors of the Bill asserted with a straight face that the slave law would give workers their "freedom" to work without the protection of unions.

With a housing crisis existing for over 500,000 families located in a number of industrial cities Congress refused to do anything about housing—except to drop rent control, increasing the hardships already suffered by allowing 15 per cent rent raises. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, which would have authorized a comprehensive home-building program, was left to die, after being okayed in committee.

Twice the Republican, rich man's Congress tried to pass a tax relief bill for the very wealthy and each time the Presidential veto was sustained.

Low-cost public power was opposed by the Congress through slashing Interior Department appropriations, and a measure of flood control and agricultural rehabilitation was hampered by cuts to the Department of Agriculture.

Congress, due to pressure from veterans' groups, passed legislation allowing terminal leave pay bonds to be cashed. Also provided was an extension of time in which to apply for the bonds from September 1, 1947 to September 1, 1948. It was a cheap gesture to the veterans' vote, costing nothing and relieving some powerful pressure, including that from the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America. But 2,000,000 veterans were left homeless.

7/27/47

FEPC LEGISLATION was dangled before the people by Congress and ditched without debate. There was a cynical flurry of activity around the introduction of an anti-lynching bill, but that, too, was not brought to the floor of either house.

Cheapest of the cynical political tricks played by this Congress was the handling of the anti-polltax bill. With a week to go the Republicans rushed the bill to the floor of the House and passed it over the heated objections of the southern Democrats. Everyone knew that the legislation would have no chance of passage in this session, but it seemed good politics to record a sham battle between poll-tax Democrats and northern Republicans. The noise of the sham battle, it was thought, would drown out the memory of joint work these two forces had done in the interest of monopoly on all other issues.

The failure to do anything positive about the civil rights of the people, however, was matched by the most uninhibited whacks at political freedom.

Clearly reminiscent of Hitler, the Republican Congress turned over to John Rankin and J. Parnell Thomas the task of taking the country on its first step toward fascism—the illegalization of the Communist Party.

The President, consistent with the foreign policy he pursues jointly with the Republicans, aided this development by instituting loyalty oaths for government employes and barring Communists from government jobs.

Sun-7-27-47

IT IS HARD TO PICTURE, short of enemy occupation, a group of men who could have done worse in the seat of power than the men in control of the 80th Congress.

They have branded as "subversive" every public figure, from Eugene Dennis through Wallace to Lillenthal, who opposed any part of their program. They have left the people without security against the predatory trusts. They have caused to be syphoned from the people's pockets 24 billions of dollars in savings and increased consumers' debts by billions. They have encouraged reaction and war trends abroad

The gentlemen will go home to repair political fences during the recess. If the people are wise they will tear up the fences and make them into a platform for a people's Congress in 1948.

37 1947

D. C.

Self Rule And Equal Suffrage Aim For District Of Columbia

News
Birmingham Ala.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1—(AP)—Self government for the District of Columbia—"whether it wants it or not"—together with equal suffrage for Negroes and whites is proposed in a report made today by a congressional committee.

A House District of Columbia subcommittee, winding up an extensive 10-month investigation of government problems in the nation's capital, said in its preliminary findings: Sun. 11-2-47

1. Residents of the district for more than one year should have the right of the ballot in choosing local officials and this right should not be withheld "by reason of race or literacy."

2. The present "crazy quilt pattern" of district government, with 48 or more federal agencies participating, should be replaced by a "representative local government" with elected officials making and administering the district's own laws. One witness told the committee the district has more separate agencies of government than the federal government.

At present, district residents cannot vote for either national or local officers. The House study does not suggest they be given the right to vote for preisdent or members of Congress. Thousands of federal employes, however, maintain legal residences in their native states and vote there in federal elections.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT now appoints the three district commissioners who are the heads of the existent district government. Fifty-two members of Congress are on standing district committees and subcommittees. Congress must pass almost all district laws.

This situation, the subcommittee reported, is "completely absurd . . . and out of proportion," with Congress devoting so much time ruling a community of 870,000 in comparison to its responsibilities on national and world problems.

Today's report, prepared by a subcommittee headed by Rep. Auchincloss (R., N. J.), is subject to change before it goes to the full committee for further consideration. Auchincloss said he hopes to introduce legislation next year embodying the recommendations. The report contemplates full local government by July, 1949, if Congress approves.

Chief opposition in Congress is expected to come, as it has in the past, from Southern members of the Senate who have successfully blocked anti-poll tax and lynching legislation.

The chief stumbling block to local acceptance, according to Philip L. Graham, publisher of The Washington Post, is "a climate of ignorance and fear" in Washington.

In a recent speech, Graham said many white citizens are "willing to give up the franchise rather than permit the Negro to vote."

Sun. 11-2-47

IN BRIEF, THIS is the setup the group proposed:

1. The present standing committees of Congress would be replaced by a 15-man joint committee from the Senate and House which would "review" legislation passed by a district council of 15 members.

2. Members of this council would be elected from the city at large, although two would have to reside in each of the city's four major sections.

3. The council would select a district manager, to be paid a maximum of $25,000 a year, who would serve in the same capacity as a city manager.

4. The council would pass "local ordinances" which would be effective without congressional approval, but would be subject to veto by Congress. It could also pass general legislation, such as ordinarily passed by a state, but these laws would not be effective until after lying before Congress for 60 days. The Congress could veto them if it chose in the interim.

5. The city manager would appoint heads of 11 executive departments, which would consolidate all existing district and federal agencies. Sun. 11-2-47

6. The district government would run its own financial affairs, now handled by federal agencies and Congress, subject also to congressional veto.

7. The federal government, which owns almost 50 per cent of the real property in the district, would pay $1.75 a hundred on valuation, compared to the general $2 rate, in lieu of taxes, as its share of district expenses and other arrangements would be made to pay for district services furnished the United States and vice versa.

37 1947 Georgia

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

(37) Ga.

This Starts Out as an Essay---

Atlanta, Ga.

Mar. 2-3-47

This starts out with the idea of being an essay on government and ignorance.

I start out on it because of a number of letters. One letter in particular touched me.

It came from rural Georgia. It was written on ruled tablet paper. The writing was in pencil. It was barely legible. The grammar was bad and the spelling worse. It was an indignant letter.

It resented the fact that Georgia is so often criticized as an ignorant State and that Georgia people are referred to as ignorant wool hat people.

I am a little tired of it myself. But I am even more tired of running away from the facts.

Georgia has a high percentage of illiteracy. We got a look at ourselves in selective service records, a look at what a bad job we have done for our people in health and education.

It is not entirely our own fault. But much of it is.

Effort We haven't had the money to spend, but we have not tried hard enough. If we will be honest with ourselves we will admit we have not really tried hard. We have always kept the teachers at the second table and have almost made mediocrity a necessity.

We have made the error of getting angry at criticism. That is understandable because so much of it is inaccurate, distorted and prejudiced. The cold facts are bad enough.

The worst ones among us, though, are those who insist we shouldn't slap our own faces, but should continually stroke the fur of the fat cats of traditions and legends and of the fat tom cats in office or other high places.

There are times for a pat on the back and times for a slap in the face. The most effective slap is a self-administered one.

We can't get angry and defend a lynching by pointing out Chicago's gang killings or a crime wave in California.

Lynchings are evil and wrong. They add usurpation of the law to murder and are therefore much more damaging to our moral fabric and to us people than a plain murder. A wrong somewhere else doesn't mean a wrong here is all right.

Wishful thinking is no good.

We must pull at our own bootstraps. Stopping only to slap our own faces when we need to pull the harder.

We must always be willing to admit that wrong is wrong and that, even as a man reaps what he sows, so does a state or nation.

Government If we have ignorant or uninformed persons, and we do, it is our responsibility. They are evidence of our own failure in government . . . in those of us who are better informed.

There are many who are fine, wonderful persons.

To say that every ignorant or uneducated, uninformed person is part of a rabble, and a bad, dangerous person, is to commit the worst sort of wrong.

Many of these are the salt of the earth; great, wonderful people in whom are all the noble elements of life and character.

They have taught themselves much and have found an anchor. They go on to support schools, to skimp and save and educate their children, support their churches, work for what is best, according to their lights.

I have a sympathy for the others—those who have found no anchor, who do make up a sort of resentful, restless, discontented element which is an easy mark for the clever speaker, which can be made to believe that any man who tries to obtain justice for the Negro is a a "nigger lover" who seeks to bring about intermarriage and social mingling of the races. It is easy to make them think the city dweller lives in ease and hates the poor.

I can get awfully put-out with them at times. Especially when I see the squalor and misery of the poor in cities.

But, there but for the grace of God go you and I.

Only a fool would feel superior to them.

The honest man or woman must say to himself, "The government of my country and my State, of which I, as a person have had better opportunities, has not done its job well. I have failed. We have failed ourselves.

Mar 2-3-47

Failure I can understand how these people feel they have a right to share in political spoils. I can understand their just resentment when they are told that well-bathed men in good suits and possessing well-fed stomachs refer to them all as rabble and bums.

How good is good government?

The answer must be—too often it is not good enough.

It rarely reaches those who most need good government.

The Roosevelt government strength grew out of the fact that it did reach farther down to people who never before had felt they had a government concerned with their problems. They found a government which enabled them to keep homes, to build homes, to buy farms, to conserve and build their soils, to guarantee their bank deposits, to bring electricity to farms . . . a government concerned with the needs of people.

Long ago, as a young reporter, I learned to dislike and distrust the type of reform "good government" which arrested all the street walkers and raided the vice quarters, but never did anything about the economic wrongs that made it necessary for someone's daughter to become a street walker. Too much that passes for good government isn't really very good.

There is just one way to get it.

That is by being honest with ourselves and by hard, honest work at our needs.

We must know what is wrong and evil and fight against it. We must admit our failures and quit whining for someone to say how lovely we really are if people would only understand us. We must not defend our wrongs merely because there are wrongs elsewhere. Let's slap our own face, not wait for someone else to do so.

And, finally, we must be eternally vigilant.

A CHANGE NOTED IN HERMAN TALMADGE.

Register

Des Moines Iowa

(37) Ga.

Herman Talmadge, son of 'Gene, is running for governor of Georgia again next summer. But since the state supreme court found illegal his attempted forcible seizure of the governorship after the sudden death of his father, he is somewhat more circumspect.

Herman is now posing as a gentleman. The New York Herald Tribune sent Louisiana-born Carl Levin barnstorming with Talmadge to see what he was up to. Levin reports that Talmadge is a mature, serious man at 34. He says "Negro" instead of the coarse "nigger" his father affected, and thanks the Negro waitress for a second cup of coffee.

10-25-47

If you *ask* him about white primaries, he's for them: "There'll be white primaries in most parts of the state. If the Negro comes to the poll, you just chase him away."

But this is gentlemanly compared to the way Eugene Talmadge and Theodore Bilbo used to talk. And Herman only talks this way when pressed.

His speeches right now steer clear of the race question. He talks about soil conservation, reforestation, Georgia's promise as a cattle state, new industries—things any up-and-coming Southerner, white or black, conservative or liberal, is likely to favor.

Herman's father used to boast that he carried the state without carrying a single city big enough for streetcars, and that was the way he wanted it. Herman cultivates the city voter, too.

Perhaps Herman Talmadge is more dangerous than his father ever was, because he appeals to others besides the rednecks and the roughnecks his father courted.

But the changed tactics themselves are a sign of a change in Georgia itself. Georgia is rapidly transforming itself from the run-down, poor-white cracker state of Tobacco Road and short-staple cotton. The time may not be too far distant when neither the rough Talmadge nor the smooth Talmadge will be a danger there.

37 1947 Mississippi

MISSISSIPPI NEGRO CAN SEE PROGRESS

37 New York N.Y.

But Efforts of Supporters Are Often Obscured by 'White Primary' Adherents

Sun. 2-9-47

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 8—Projection of the doctrine of increased rights for the Negro in the South, which has impinged explosively upon the political life of this State in recent weeks, can be seen in many daily incidents reflecting varying degrees of support.

There is no symbol that is similar, historically, to the Federalist papers that rallied revolutionary colonists to support constitutional government, or the Abolitionist pamphlets that solidified Southern opposition in Civil War times.

There are just gatherings, social and religious, small official developments and lots of talk, conducted frequently with ideological friend and foe unknowingly working together.

Mississippi business and professional men, whose divergent views support any or all of three general propositions encompassing more education for Negroes, wider fields of employment for Negroes and improved suffrage privileges for Negroes, talk enthusiastically here of the State's Balance-Agriculture-With-Industry Act.

Promote Negro Education

These Mississippians by no means present a solid bloc against Negro advancement. Most of them are actively promoting better education for Negroes. The agriculture-industry plan is aimed at increased Negro employment as well as white.

There are few adherents to the recent demand of Negroes that they may be permitted to vote in Democratic primaries. However, many of them will discuss the subject willingly, although heatedly, on the point that Mississippi's population is almost evenly divided between white and black.

Director of agriculture-industry balance (BAWI) plan is William E. Barksdale, youthful former secretary of the late Governor Tom Bailey. He points out that the BAWI plan, successfully drawing outside industries into the State, features a labor survey for the prospective industry that lists black and white laborers in the area without any "distinguishing remarks."

The Negro is not "an afterthought," Mr. Barksdale says, but a laborer worthy of his hire and entitled to State consideration.

In recent days the Mississippi State Building Commission has approved appropriations for various public schools throughout the State, the largest single amount being for Negro schools in eight counties.

$300,000 for Vocational College

The Board of Trustees of the State institutions of higher learning are now checking sites for a $300,000 vocational college for Negroes. Jackson College for Negroes, which has 500 students, has seen its appropriations rise in recent years from $10,000 to $113,000.

Tomorrow a Methodist Church in Jackson will observe its annual Race Relations Day with two white speakers. Its purpose is to further interest in Christian education for Negroes. In published announcements it urged whites and Negroes to attend the meeting. The clergy are principal supporters of Negro rights in this region.

Last night in a small, frame Negro church on the outskirts of this town a CIO organization meeting was held, attended by twenty-five Negroes working in a local factory. A white man with a thick southern accent addressed them on unionization.

Two organizers, both northern white men, talked of their progress, which they said was slow in many instances because of attacks leveled against them for "mixing" whites and Negroes in the same union. One flipped through a dues book and said:

"Look at some of these signatures. You can't make them out. These Negroes have no schooling. It's hard to get things over to them. And some of the whites are no better off. They give us addresses and we mail letters to them announcing a meeting and half the letters never get there. There's no such address. They just don't know simple numbers and street names. Education is what they all need. That will help them so much."

On the steps of a public building yesterday an elderly Negro woman fumbled with her purse while an icy wind tore at her clothing and disarrayed her gray hair. A young man stepped outside, held open the heavy door and, sheltering her in the crook of his arm, gently guided her inside.

'Outside Influence Bad'

"The Negro problem is our problem," he said later to an inquirer. "Outside influence is a bad thing down here. I got nothing against Negroes. They need a lot of things. I want to see them get those things. But it's got to be the Mississippians' way first."

The white reactionary, who is in the majority and openly supports race hatred with talk on street corners, in restaurants, on trains and buses, was still expressing hope here that a special session of the Legislature will be called to repeal certain statutes and insure a "white primary" when Governor Field L. Wright returns to the Capitol on Monday.

It still appeared unlikely that a special session would be convoked, although experts on constitutional law were reported studying the possibility of a scheme that would permit rescinding all primary statutes without first amending the State Constitution. This is the legal difficulty that has barred such action in a move to make the Democratic party a private club that could ban Negroes from the primary polls.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL

37 1947

New York

'RACIAL DISUNITY' IMPUTED TO MAYOR

The Times

Thurs. 1-16-47

(37 N.Y.)

Negro Leader Declares 'Irish Group' Excluded Him From Tammany Insurgent Unit

New York, N.Y.

Guy R. Brewer, Tammany leader of the Twelfth Assembly District, North, declared yesterday that, although he was the first leader to challenge the domination of Tammany by Clarence H. Neal Jr., he had been excluded from the so-called Irish group of insurgents headed by Frank J. Sampson. He charged that the Mayor wanted to keep this group exclusively Irish.

The Times

New York N.Y.

In a statement issued at the Hotel Theresa, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street, Mr. Brewer, a Negro, said that more than a year ago, when the Mayor was still working with Mr. Neal, he had appealed to both Mr. O'Dwyer and Paul E. Fitzpatrick to aid in cleansing Tammany of underworld influence.

Thurs. 1-16-47

"These two 'Johnny-come-lately' reformers were eloquent in their silence and for months I bore the brunt of everything that Neal could throw at me, forsaken and alone," Mr. Brewer said. "For over one year I tried vainly to see the Mayor. He not only refused to see me but also threw my letters in the wastebasket."

Says He Was Excluded

Mr. Brewer added that last fall he met Mr. Sampson in City Hall and asked to be included in the insurgent group opposed to Mr. Neal and then pointed out that every leader in the group was of Irish descent and that this looked bad. He quoted Mr. Sampson as having replied: "That's the way the Mayor wants it and I'm sorry but we can't take you in."

Mr. Brewer said that the Mayor later saw J. Raymond Jones, and recognized him by appointment as Deputy Housing Commissioner, not as a member of the Sampson group but as a "black auxiliary."

"Now, as I told Sampson, this great city of ours is made up of all races and creeds and the Mayor has taken a long step toward racial disunity by excluding those Democratic leaders who are of Jewish, Italian and Negro descent," Mr. Brewer added. "Let him have his little Irish rebellion and see how far any movement of this nature founded upon Nordic superiority and bad faith will get."

Ready for Primary Fight

New York. N.Y.

At Tammany headquarters it was said that the situation had not been changed by Mr. Sampson's announcement that Mayor O'Dwyer had selected him to reorganize Tammany. Members of the group that agreed upon Carmine G. De Sapio as their choice for leader in case Edward V. Loughlin should resign expressed readiness to leave the decision to the primary election next fall.

The Times

Mr. Sampson said that the members of his group would hold a meeting at its headquarters in the Hotel Commodore tomorrow afternoon and that all members of the Tammany executive committee would be invited to participate in a discussion on the leadership. Mr. Sampson expressed complete confidence in the ultimate reorganization of Tammany, since this had the support of Mayor O'Dwyer and the Democratic State organization.

Thurs. 1-16-47

"We aim to form a political organization that will have the confidence of the public," Mr. Sampson said. "We intend to have committees to pass on the qualification of candidates, particularly judicial candidates, to prevent recurrence of reports of improper influences in determining such nominations as there have been in the past."

37 N.Y.

Thurs. 1-16-47

37 1947 The South

37

JAY G. HAYDEN

The Constitution

Two-Party System Seen in South

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON — Departure of Theodore Bilbo from the Senate (certainly never to return for longer than a single speech in his own defense) and the closely coincident death of Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge, of Georgia, may herald the end of an era in Southern politics. Tues., 1-7-47

Not that these eliminations presage any early rush of Southern Negroes to the polls. In Mississippi, so long as Negroes continue more numerous than whites, as was the case in the last national census, it will require the United States Army, as well as the Congress and the Supreme Court, to accomplish real Negro enfranchisement, and the same presently is true of some other states.

BUT THE TIME has passed when Southern politicians could successfully model their whole political careers on the issue of "white supremacy" as did Talmadge, Bilbo and the late "Cotton Ed" Smith, of South Carolina.

A rapidly rising number of Southern statesmen are turning to the belief that the one-party system—created for the purpose of excluding Negroes and maintained mainly by means of the now outlayed "White Democratic Primary"—has become both untenable and unwise.

CONTRIBUTING strongly to this trend of Southern thought is the clearly evident and seemingly irretrievable smash-up of the union between the South and Northern radicalism, which elected Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Presidency four times. It is difficult to see how the South can again share in control of a national administration until it reorients itself politically.

And just as significant in determining future events may be the growing ideological unity between the South and the rural regions of the North and West, from which an overwhelming majority of present Republican Congressmen emanate.

Even as to Bilbo, there is much less antagonism between Republicans and Southern Democrats than might appear to a reader of the Senate debate not in personal touch with the contestants. Republicans conducting the Bilbo ouster were exceedingly tender as to Southern sensibilities, and leading Southern Senators, talking behind the scenes, seemed not at all worried. The Constitution

IT IS a fairly safe bet, for example, that the threat of majority cloture, to enable adoption of such instruments of Southern coercion as the anti-poll tax, anti-lynching and FEPC bills, will not eventuate.

The Southerners appear to feel far safer in the hands of the Republican-controlled Congress than they did last session, when the more numerous New Dealers were vying with Republicans in support of legislation that might influence Northern Negro votes.

What will happen meanwhile in the South? The guess of some leading Southern Senators is that the movement for election reform, already begun faintly in Virginia, North Carolina, Texas and Georgia, will accelerate and tend gradually to break down the one-party system. They say, however, that no marked change is likely until after the 1946 presidential campaign, in which they expect the Democratic party to split up and take a terrific licking.

THE FACT, of course, is that disenfranchisement in Southern States has not been confined to Negroes. The poll tax and other devices created to keep out Negroes, have disenfranchised a lot of white citizens also. Atlanta, Ga.

For example, in the hotly contested final Democratic primary in Mississippi in 1940, Bilbo won with 91,334 out of 153,775 votes cast. The total vote in this actually decisive election was about 11 percent of the over-all population of 2,183,796. Considering only the 1,106,327 white population, the 1940 Mississippi voting proportion was 22 percent, compared with over 48 percent in Michigan and 46.5 percent in New York. Tues.

VOTING EXCLUSION may not be the reason, but it also is true that Mississippi, by every measure of per capita wealth, is the poorest State in the Union. 1-7-47

Quite a few Southerners are coming to the conclusion that abandonment of the one-party system is the first essential step toward shaking off both political and economic degradation.

Big Political Events in The Making in the South

The Worker New York, N.Y.

Sun. 5-11-47

37

By Nat Ross

One of the main features of the present political situation in the South is that it is very fluid. Big changes are in the making in connection with the 1948 elections.

In an over-all sense this is seen in relation to Henry Wallace. The polltax-minded southern press has fiercely attacked him. But sympathy for Wallace's fight against the Truman doctrine is widespread among Democratic Party voters. Furthermore, no living white American has the prestige among the oppressed Negro people in the South that Wallace has. All of this reflects sentiment for Wallace's fight for peace, for a prosperous South and for a political line-up based on the progressive Roosevelt tradition.

However, this widespread sentiment has not been crystalized or organized except as it was given expression by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at its recent executive board meeting in Birmingham. This important democratic people's mass organization issued a warning to both major parties "to reverse their present dangerous trend" in domestic and foreign affairs and called the southern people to united action.

★

IN THE PIVOTAL State of Georgia, one of the strongest political struggles is under way between the Talmadge-KKK forces and those of Gov. Thompson. The Talmadge and Thompson forces are preparing to send separate delegations to the National Democratic Convention. Their struggle for political control of Georgia may not be decided in the 1948 Democratic primaries, but, for the first time in 60 years, in the general elections.

In this turbulent and mobile situation, the progressive forces are striving to build a broad democratic, anti-KKK coalition. This coalition of labor, the Negro people, the farmers and progressive middle class, can be built in the fight against Talmadge, the main enemy of the people of Georgia, in opposition to every form of the so-called white primary and in support of the pressing needs of the toiling masses. Sun. 5-11-47

In every southern state, big political struggles are in the making. In Alabama we witness the fierce legislative struggle between Gov. Folsom and the combined forces of the steel trust and the Black Belt Bourbons. In Florida there is a fierce fight over the white primary and between the Pepper forces and the reactionaries.

★

IN TEXAS the reactionary Gov. Beauford Jester is striving to cripple the trade unions and to disperse the tremendous Roosevelt-Wallace sentiment.

Throughout the South, the fight against the federal and state anti-labor legislation, the demand for funds from Congress to aid the impoverished South and not for armaments to Greece and Turkey, the struggle against the white primary and other voting restrictions, must become the basis for the new political line-ups that are maturing. It is on this basis and in the struggles for the everyday needs of the people, that the movement must go forward now both within the Democratic Party and outside its ranks.

The fact that despite all threats 700,000 Negroes voted for progress in the South in 1946, should serve as a valuable lesson in the struggle for Negro-white unity. In this connection, it is essential to bring to the millions of pro-Roosevelt, pro-Wallace southern whites, **the fundamental truth,** that only in the united fight for Negro rights can they defend and advance their own interests and those of the whole democratic South.

★

THE BROAD democratic coalition of labor, the oppressed Negro people, the farmers, veterans and middle class is maturing on the basis of a minimum program for a prosperous South in a peaceful, progressive America. One of the major aims of this loose coalition is the defeat of the KKK and polltax Democrats and the strengthening of the Roosevelt - Wallace - Pepper - Folsom-Arnall forces in the Democratic Party and among the progressive masses outside the Democratic Party.

The State Committees of the Communist Party in the South and the Party clubs are following closely the political situation and line-up in their states and localities. They are working out concrete tactics for building the broadest democratic unity of the Negro people and the white masses of the South based on the most pressing needs of the people.

37a 1947

Federal (Mississippi)

Rankin Gets Backing For Sen. Bilbo's Post

montgomery, Ala. Advertiser

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17.—(AP)—J. O. Day, executive assistant to the late Senator Bilbo (D), Mississippi, announced today his support of the candidacy of Rep. Rankin (D), Mississippi for the vacant Senate seat. Thurs. 9-18-47

"I am definitely of the opinion that Congressman John Rankin of the first district is the man best fitted to succeed Senator Bilbo and to represent Mississippi at Washington now. . . .

"He knows the game without having to be told. He knows our problems and the dangers that confront us as a people and as a nation now. He has the courage necessary to take up the fight and the knowledge and basic facts required to present the truth on the issues involved."

MISSISSIPPI SHIES FROM A '2D BILBO'

The Times New York, N.Y.

But Observers Feel Seekers of Seat Must Lean Toward 'White Supremacy' Issue

Mon. 9-15-47

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 14—The possibility that many Mississippi voters will turn away from any candidate who bids for the Senatorial seat of the late Theodore G. Bilbo by emulating Mr. Bilbo's campaign billingsgate on the subject of "white supremacy" appears to be growing stronger daily.

Mississippians of all shades of thought recognize that at this stage all seekers of public office must subscribe in some measure to "white supremacy" precepts in order to capture voters' allegiance in a region that still insists on racial segregation based upon equal and separate facilities.

Consequently, Mississippians, white and Negro, liberal and conservative, frequently decide on the candidate they will support on the basis of local understandings and behind-the-scenes maneuvers which often present puzzling paradoxes that are misinterpreted by northern critics. Mon. 9-15-47

Regarded as a 'Mountebank'

Thus, Senator Bilbo, who employed extreme phraseology in voicing his "white supremacy" creed, was locally regarded in many circles as a mountebank on the political hustings, and in his successful 1946 campaign it was definitely felt that he symbolized a state-wide resentment against "outside meddling."

On the other hand, Representative John E. Rankin, a leading candidate for Mr. Bilbo's unexpired term in the Senate, and an ardent "white supremacy" advocate, is bitterly disliked by liberals and Negroes, who declare that he has a local reputation for bringing "a sincerity" to his prejudices that is repellent to many Mississippians who reluctantly accepted Mr. Bilbo.

In the case of Forrest B. Jackson, political legatee of Mr. Bilbo, and regarded here as an exceptionally strong candidate in the Senatorial race, this undercurrent of feeling that strong language on "white supremacy" beliefs could be hurtful today, can be seen in Mr. Jackson's statement that he fully supports Mr. Bilbo's principles but hopes to adopt "better methods" in expressing them.

Another of the strange paradoxes that pepper Mississippi politics can be seen in the case of Mr. Jackson and the Negro voters. Mr. Jackson, an outstanding courtroom lawyer with a reputation for perspicacity, is unpopular with Negro leaders who regard him as "white supremist" of the Bilbo stripe without Bilbo's clown-like antics.

Negroes Favor Stennis

Another candidate, Circuit Judge John J. Stennis, is regarded by white liberals and Negro leaders as "the finest man in the campaign."

Judge Stennis is a graduate of Mississippi State College and the University of Virginia Law School. Although Judge Stennis mildly supports "white supremacy" as a campaign matter, Negro leaders rely upon him as a friend in the traditional sense of a kindly disposed white leader who brings wise understanding and tenderness to racial problems.

However, Negro leaders do not plan to stir up any support for Judge Stennis for fear it would hurt his chances in the rural areas where "white supremacy" is an important factor. The supporters of Judge Stennis are hopeful that a free-for-all contest might usher him into office.

There was considerable excitement in this city today when The Jackson Daily News, edited by Maj. Fred Sullens, lifelong foe of Senator Bilbo, carried a front-page editorial urging the election to the Senate of Representative William M. Colmer, one of the three strongest candidates.

The editorial declared that if Mississippi is "to gain and hold the respect to which we are entitled," then it must "quit sending to the halls of Congress hysterical rabble rousers and spouting demagogues." Mon. 9-15-47

Mr. Colmer was described in the editorial as "safe, sane, conservative," and as a "statesman of sterling worth, a man who will command respect and confidence among his colleagues." The newspaper praised Mr. Colmer's work in behalf of southern agriculture and his record as chairman of the Special House Committee on Post-war Economic Policy and Planning.

RACE IS LETHARGIC FOR BILBO'S PLACE

37a Miss.

But All Five Candidates Will Adhere, in Varying Degree, to 'White Supremacy'

The Times New York, N.Y.

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 9—The question of who will succeed the late Theodore G. Bilbo as United States Senator from this state has become so perplexing that, with less than sixty days to election day, an unprecedented cloak of silence has settled over this usual hotbed of political activity.

Four Democrats and one independent Republican have already announced their candidacies for the Senatorial seat, but there is strangely little activity.

One veteran political figure in this capital city declared today that "not in twenty-five years have I seen candidates so quiet at this stage of a political campaign." Wed. 9-10-47

"There's hardly a breath of political talk on this city's streets today," he added. "It's all so puzzling that nobody seems to know what move to make next."

It is evident to date that the "white supremacy" precepts, so ardently championed by Mr. Bilbo, will be supported by all of the announced candidates in varying degrees of fervency. However, all of the candidates disclose a political awareness of the axiom that advocacy of "white supremacy" is necessary to capture large voting segments in the backwoods of Mississippi.

At this time, the strongest candidates would appear to be Representative John E. Rankin, for many years an outspoken champion of "white supremacy," and Forrest B. Jackson, since his childhood a protégé of Mr. Bilbo, and a follower of his dictum of white superiority.

Other candidates include Representative W. M. (Bill) Colmer, a member of Congress for the past fourteen years, regarded as a strong contender who could easily capture the race if Mr. Rankin and Mrs. Jackson tend to eliminate each other. Mr. Colmer was largely responsible for keeping the FEPC bill bottled up in the House Rules Committee. Wed. 9-10-47

Also there is Circuit Judge John J. Stennis, a graduate of Mississippi State College and the University of Virginia Law School, who mildly supports "white supremacy."

The independent RRepublican is L. R. Collins, a 76-year-old Spanish-American War veteran. The independent RRepublican group is known here as the "lily whites," to distinguish it from the regular Republican party. It often addresses its campaign literature to "the white voters of Mississippi."

Politics and People

Nation, New York

BY ROBERT BENDINER

10-4-47

37a Miss.

A FRIENDLY correspondent in Mississippi advises me that Northern newspapers can be of great service to the liberals of that state if they will only refrain from attacking John Rankin as he campaigns for the Senate seat of the late Mr. Bilbo. The wisdom of this counsel is further borne out by John N. Popham, a New York *Times* reporter, who writes from Jackson that a good part of Bilbo's success at the polls in 1946 was due to "a statewide resentment against 'outside meddling.'" Having no wish to meddle, I hope sensitive Mississippians will not regard it as outside interference if I quote—merely as a matter of public interest and without approval or disapproval—an editorial from their own Jackson *Daily News*. If Mississippians, that paper says, are "to gain and hold the respect to which [they] are entitled," they must "quit sending to the halls of Congress hysterical rabble-rousers and spouting demagogues." Sat. 10-4-47

It cannot be assumed, of course, that just because the *Daily News* is supporting another candidate it had Mr. Rankin in mind when it spoke those harsh words. As evidence to the contrary, we are assured by Mr. Popham and others that Rankin is so genuinely gone on the mystic doctrine of white supremacy that the very depth of his conviction may lose him the nomination. Mr. Popham reports the view of some Mississippians that "many voters, white and Negro, saw a large measure of the mountebank in Mr. Bilbo and never took his rantings too seriously," while Rankin, on the other hand, "is locally credited with bringing to his white-supremacy precepts a 'sincerity and bitterness' that might well repel many voters who went along with Mr. Bilbo."

I am glad to give further publicity to this tribute to Mr. Rankin, though I fear it may cost him votes that he can ill afford. His Tupelo machine lost every courthouse office in the preliminary primary of the last election, but what is that to a man of principle? The American Federation of Labor is working hard in the current campaign, and it has hopes that Rankin will rate no higher than fourth in a field of five, provided Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson can bring themselves to maintain a discreet silence. Sat. 10-4-47

Just in passing, and without editorial comment, I hand along the additional information that Paul B. Johnson, Jr., whose father was a New Deal governor of the state, is thinking seriously of joining the growing Mississippi free-for-all. Without campaign funds Johnson ran up a vote of 112,000 in the last governorship primary almost solely on the strength of his eloquent pleas for social change. Like other Mississippians, he is a determined opponent of "Yankee interference," but he specializes in resenting the activities of outside corporations, like the

10-4-47

oil, railroad, and power companies that poured money, rather than free advice, into Mississippi in order to elect their veteran lobbyist, Fielding Wright, to the governorship. State pride seemed curiously unaffected by this particular evidence of alien interest.

EXCHANGING A PIG FOR A SOW

Chicago Defender, Ill.

On hearing that Congressman John Rankin may run for the Senate to replace the late Theodore Bilbo we feel a little bit like the last line of the famous poem, "Casey at the Bat." That line, you will recall, reads, "There is no joy in Mudville, Mighty Casey has struck out." 9-20-47

The death of Bilbo was openly, frankly and baldly hailed as good news, even if it took fate, rather than politics, to intervene. The comment of writers for the Negro newspapers was, in particular, interesting. Langston Hughes took the position that Bilbo had inadvertently been of great service to the forces of progress by virtue of his blatant espousal of all that is evil in the universe. Sat.

There will be some who will take exception to Hughes' sanguine view of the demonic Bilbo. Hitler too was open, frank, unashamed of his anti-human views, and he seized power.

Bilboism has long been in power, and if in recent years its hold upon the South has been somewhat weakened it could with the right events become as menacing again as full-scale Hitlerism. That is why we are not at all sure that the ravings of the Bilbos, the Hitlers and the Rankins necessarily unite people by antithesis. None the less it was a view that was widely shared and it is true that Bilbo made many enemies for the South in the North. But that Bilboism is alive appears in the ambition of Rankin to succeed the other "mouthpiece."

Right now Rankin's right to hold a position in Congress is under constitutional test. It would be a great thing if the Supreme Court did decide that Rankin held office illegally and that he has not been sent to Congress by a true and proper electorate representative of all classes in his state.

Rankin will have opposition in any attempt he makes to run for the Senate. It is to be hoped that the right-minded element in his state will rebuke Rankin in life as the whole country has rebuked Bilbo in both life and death. But whether in the late Bilbo or the perennial Rankin the real evil of white supremacy is as shining, alive and horrible as ever.

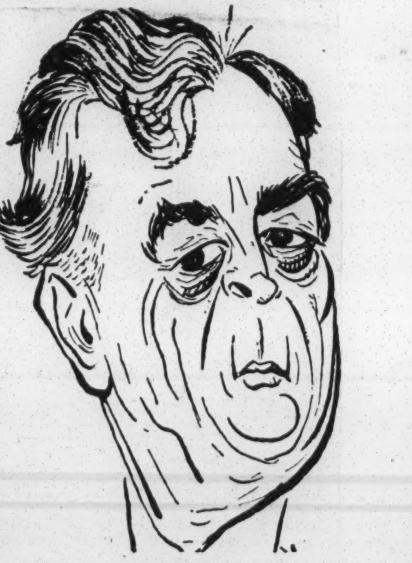
Rankin Fears Joe's Left

Daily Worker
New York N.Y.
Fri. 10-17-4

Joe Louis is spearheading a drive to kayo Rep. John Rankin's hopes of gaining the late Senator Bilbo's Senate seat, the blowhard Mississippi Congressman charged yesterday in a speech at Lexington.

AND, added the horrified Rankin, the heavyweight champ is also circulating a petition to have him thrown out of the House.

"A bunch of Communist inspired Northern Negroes headed by Joe Louis are circulating petition to deny me my seat in the Senate after I have been elected," Rankin yodeled, **"and even asking that I be thrown out of the House."**



RANKIN

Being a Communist should come as a surprise to Louis, who has long voted the Republican ticket. Louis couldn't be reached for comment yesterday, but the probability is there was one ounce of truth in Rankin's charge. Louis, you see, has also been a longtime champion in the fight against discrimination. And Rankin is one of America's No. 1 discriminators.

National Press

News, Birmingham, Ala.

MISSISSIPPI CONGRESSMEN

If Mississippi is to gain and hold the respect to which we are entitled in the sisterhood of states we must quit sending to the halls of Congress hysterical rabble-rousers and spouting demagogs. 10-13-47

Beyond cavil or dispute, the material welfare of our commonwealth was damaged in years agone by some of the men we sent to the House and Senate to frame the laws of the nation. We have been reviled and roundly abused because of men of this class. The public-at-large accepted them as typical of Mississippi. Our critics forgot all about the splendid statesmanship of John Sharp Williams and Pat Harrison while lambasting us for the fulminations of Theodore G. Bilbo and John Rankin. Mon.

Our state today faces an opportunity to redeem herself. Birmingham, Ala.

Mississippi can, if she will, get away from cheap showmanship and select a statesman of sterling worth to represent us in the Senate.

The rabble-rouser and demagog asks himself: "What depth of character, what meanest impulse among the unthinking people, waits to be rallied to my cause?" There he gets his utterly false and fallacious issues. News.

The rabble-rouser and demagog plays on the hates, fears, greed, ignorance, passion and prejudice of these people. With all his skill he invokes each sleeping devil, each vicious thought, in the minds of men that he would rule. With low cunning he feeds those fears and hates and stirs the lowest passions in the hearts of men. When evil thoughts in human minds are dominant the demagog always wins and he goes to the halls of Congress ready to lead the people down steep places to their death, as the demon-filled swine on the steep slope at Gadara were dashed to their death in the surging sea. 10-13-47. Mon.

Mississippi can and must get away from men of this type.—Jackson (Miss.) Daily News.

Late Senator's Great Hatreds Still Followed

Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.
Sun. 10-26-47

BY KRIS KREEGER

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 25—(AP)—The memory of Theodore (The Man) Bilbo, Mississippi's acid-tongued proponent of white supremacy, is getting surprisingly little attention in the free-for-all campaign for the Senate seat left vacant by his death last August.

Despite widespread belief in the state that "the Yankees" persecuted Bilbo, only one of the six aspirants to his toga has made the late master of filibuster a chief topic of campaign oratory.

That one is Forrest Jackson, who was "The Man's" lawyer in the Senate hearings which resulted in keeping Bilbo from taking his seat in the present Congress.

Many a stump speech by other candidates, however, has centered on subjects that were Bilbo favorites—such as Negroes, communism, the FEPC and "outside" influences. Sun. 10-26-47

TWO MEMBERS of the House of Representatives are among the candidates—John E. Rankin, of Tupelo, and William Colmer, of Pascagoula. Others are Circuit Judge John Stennis, of Jackson; Sewey Norton, of Gulfport; L. R. Collins, of Jackson, and Paul B. Johnson, Jr., of Hattiesburg, a lawyer and son of a late Mississippi governor.

Collins is the only Republican. His party claims scant membership in Mississippi.

A seventh candidate, Dewey Norton, of Gulfport, the last to enter the contest, has withdrawn. Neither he nor Collins made an active campaign.

Gov. Fielding L. Wright has remained carefully neutral, giving no indication of personal preference.

The race will be decided by plurality vote in a general election Nov. 4. The winner will serve the five remaining years of the Senate term to which Bilbo was elected in 1946.

Thus far, the campaign has aroused sparse interest. Attendance at rallies generally has been small. There has been little of the name-calling and personal bitterness which enlivened Bilbo's harangues and usually those of his opponents.

News,

* * *

JACKSON IS THE ONLY candidate who was a close personal or political associate of Bilbo. His first job "in politics" was that of a page boy in the state Senate when Bilbo was governor. He has been an attorney for the state tax commission and an assistant state attorney general. Birmingham Ala.

In his stump talks, Jackson has emphasized the two senatorial committee investigations last Winter into Bilbo's activities and the subsequent Senate debate on Bilbo's fitness. He represents these as unjust attacks upon Mississippi's integrity.

One of the Senate investigations Jackson recalls probed charges that Bilbo had used his office to gain personal favors from war contractors. The other considered accusations that he had urged terrorism against Negroes to keep them from voting in the Democratic primary.

Rep. Rankin, whose speeches in the House have often resembled Bilbo's Senate outbursts in tone and content, has conducted a campaign devoted largely to attacking the targets long common to both.

He claims that "every enemy of the white people," every "Communist-controlled Negro newspaper" is calling for his defeat.

He talks of the "Rankin plan" for Europe. He explains this as "for the people of Europe to get out and get to work."

Sun 10-26-47

COLMER HAS ASKED Mississippians to "promote" him to the Senate so that he might use his "experience and legislative knowledge to keep the FEPC and other anti-Southern legislation from becoming law." He says he will continue to support of the Taft-Hartley act which he describes as "the emancipation of labor from its tyrannical leaders."

Johnson, 31-year-old Marine veteran and unsuccessful candidate for Democratic nomination as governor earlier this year, says Congress needs "men with the moral courage to stand up in the Senate and tell Russia where to get off."

Judge Stennis, concentrating on advocacy of agricultural legislation and industrial improvement, asks citizens to send him to Washington to "take a place of agricultural leadership."

37a 1947 Federal Mississippi.

37a) Miss.

ONLY ONE CRIES 'PERSECUTION'

Bilbo's Name Seldom Invoked In Race for Vacant Senate Seat

Atlanta Constitution

Sun.

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 25—(AP) The memory of Theodore "The Man" Bilbo, Mississippi's acid-tongued proponent of white supremacy, is getting surprisingly little attention in the free-for-all campaign for the Senate seat left vacant by his death last August.

Despite widespread belief in the State that "the Yankees" persecuted Bilbo, only one of the seven aspirants to his toga has made the late master of filibuster a chief topic of campaign oratory.

That one is Forrest Jackson, who was "The Man's" lawyer in the Senate hearings which resulted in keeping Bilbo from taking his seat in the present Congress.

Many a stump speech by other candidates, however, has centered on subjects which were Bilbo favorites—such as Negroes, Communism, the FEPC and "outside" influences.

Two members of the House of Representatives are among the candidates—John E. Rankin, of Tupelo, and William Colmer, of Pascagoula. Others are Circuit Judge John Stennis, of Jackson Sewey Norton, of Gulfport; L. R Collins, of Jackson, and Paul B. Johnson, Jr., of Hattiesburg, a lawyer and son of a late Mississippi Governor. Oct. 26

Collins is the only Republican. His party claims scant membership in Mississippi.

The race will be decided by plurality vote in a general election Nov. 4. The winner will serve the five remaining years of the Senate term to which Bilbo was elected in 1946. 10-26-47

Thus far, the campaign has aroused sparse interest, and attendance at rallies generally has been small. There has been little of the name-calling and personal bitterness which enlivened Bilbo's harangues and usually those of his opponents.

Jackson is the only candidate who was a close personal or political associate of Bilbo. His first job "in politics" was that of a page boy in the State Senate when Bilbo was Governor. He has been an attorney for the State Tax Commission and an Assistant State Attorney General.

In his stump talks, Jackson has emphasized the two Senatorial committee investigations last Winter into Bilbo's activities and the subsequent Senate debate on Bilbo's fitness. He represents these as unjust attacks upon Mississippi's integrity.

"There are those in this race," he declares, "who did not raise their voices in protest, or even lend their presence for solace and comfort when Mississippi was being attacked, ridiculed and denied her rightful representation in the Senate of the United States."

Sun.

One of the Senate investigations which Jackson recalls probed charges that Bilbo had used his office to gain personal favors from war contractors. The other considered accusations that he had urged terrorism against Negroes to keep them from voting in the Democratic primary in which he was nominated for the Senate last year.

Ga.

The Committee hearings were concluded in late December. When Congress convened in January, a motion was made to keep Bilbo from taking the oath of office, on the grounds of unfitness.

After two days of furious debate, it was decided to postpone action on the motion pending improvement of Bilbo's health. He was seriously ill with cancer. He did not take his seat in the Senate, but he received his Senatorial pay under a compromise agreement.

He never went back to the Senate. Following a series of operations, he died at Foundation Hospital in New Orleans last August.

Representative Rankin, whose speeches in the House have often resembled Bilbo's Senate outbursts in tone and content, has conducted a campaign devoted largely to attacking the targets long common to both.

He claims that "every enemy of the white people," every "Communist-controlled Negro newspaper" is calling for his defeat.

He talks of the "Rankin Plan" for Europe. He explains this as "for the people of Europe to get out and get to work."

Although Bilbo and Rankin have appeared like Congressional twins to many outside Mississippi, their careers and positions within the State have been vastly different. Bilbo was elected Lieutenant Governor, twice Governor, and three times Senator. Rankin never before took part in a State-wide election.

Colmer has asked Mississippians to "promote" him to the Senate so that he might use his "experience and legislative knowledge to keep the FEPC and other anti-Southern legislation from becoming law." He says he will continue his support of the Taft-Hartley Act, which he describes as "the emancipation of labor from its tyrannical leaders."

Johnson, 31-year-old Marine veteran, and an unsuccessful candidate for Democratic nomination as Governor earlier this year, says Congress needs "men with the moral courage to stand up in the Senate and tell Russia where to get off."

We must stop Russia, he declares, "for if we permit them to dominate Europe, our imports and exports will drop and cotton will go back to four and five cents a pound and we will face another depression."

Judge Stennis, concentrating on advocacy of agricultural legislation and industrial improvement, asks citizens to send him to Washington to "take a place of agricultural leadership." He contends the soil conservation program is "in danger of being eliminated by the next Congress."

Neither Norton, the most recent candidate to enter the contest, nor the Republican Collins has made an active campaign.

BILBO SEAT IS SEEN GOING TO COLMER

37a

Times

Experts Give House Member Edge Over Four Rivals in Light Mississippi Vote

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 2—Mississippi's Senatorial contest for the five-year unexpired term of the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo comes to a close Monday with each of the five candidates apparently confident of victory.

There has been a marked lack of interest in the campaign, judging from the size of the crowds that have gathered for the candidates' addresses. The candidates often spoke to audiences composed of only a few-score persons.

J. Walker Wood, Secretary of State, predicts a total vote on Tuesday of not more than 225,000 out of a total registration slightly above 400,000. Other forecasters say the vote is not likely to exceed the 200,000 mark.

Much will depend on the weather. If the predicted heavy rains materialize, many thousands of voters in rural districts will not go to the polls and principal balloting will be in the cities and towns.

11-3-47

Sees, Colmer Victorious

Henry Nunnery, campaign manager for United States Congressman William M. Colmer, asserts that "the tremendous swing to Colmer during the last two weeks is evidence that this man who has never sidestepped an issue will be swept into the United States Senate." Times, N.Y. N.Y.

Another candidate, Forrest B. Jackson, declares that "as the outstanding champion of white supremacy, I will be swept into the Senate Tuesday with a large plurality that will be a clear-cut answer to the enemies of the South."

From the headqaurters of Judge John C. Stennis, R. D. Morrow, campaign manager, predicts that the jurist will attain a majority over his five opponents and win "by a large margin."

James A. Finley, campaign manager for U. S. Congressman John Rankin says the 65-year-old legislator will "carry northeast Mississippi by a heavy majority and get a splendid vote over the state generally."

Paul B. Johnson's headquarters announce confidence of victory on a "mathematical basis," computing his chances from the number of votes received by the youthful candidate during the recent Gubernatorial campaign.

Mon. 11-3-47

Experts Pick Colmer

Predominant opinion among veteran political observers in Jackson is that the most likely winner is Congressman Colmer, with Judge John Stennis a close second.

Mr. Colmer's campaign headquarters charges that the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations will be using money freely on Tuesday to influence voters against him because of his support of the Taft-Hartley Act. It is also being charged that at their headquarters at Rector Street in New York certain Negro and leftist organizations have been supporting anti-Colmer activities in Mississippi.

Because of the length of the ballot, which will bear the names of all Democratic nominees in the state, district, county and precinct primaries, it is unlikely that the identity of the winner of the Senatorial race can be made clear Tuesday night. Vote counting will be slow and in many precincts will be postponed until the next day.

MISSISSIPPI LEAD TAKEN BY STENNIS

Times, New York, N.Y.

New York, N.Y.

RepresentativesColmer, Rankin Trail in Race for Bilbo's Seat in Senate

Wed. 11-5-47

37a Miss.

By The Associated Press.

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 4—Circuit Judge John C. Stennis took and held an early lead tonight in the race for the unexpired United States Senate term of the late Theodore Bilbo.

In the first 158 boxes counted of the state's 1,716, Judge Stennis had 4,176 votes to 2,974 for Forrest Jackson, 2,470 for Representative W. M. Colmer, 2,135 for Paul B. Johnson Jr., 2,208 for Represenattive John E. Rankin and thirty for L. R. Collins, the only Republican.

37a

For the Governorship of Mississippi, returns from thirty-five precincts gave Democratic Gov. Fielding Wright 3,247, against 60 for independent Republican George L. Sheldon, one-time Governor of Nebraska. For Lieutenant Governor, Democratic nominee Sam Lumpkin had 3,174, against 73 for the independent Republican, Ernest J. Hoskins. Times, New York

Balloting was reported light, despite generally crisp, fair weather. There was scattered rain in the extreme northern areas of the state late in the day.

Wed. 11-5-47

INDIANAPOLIS, Nov. 4 (AP)—Ralph Harvey, Republican candidate for Congress in today's special election in the Tenth District, took an early lead over the Democrat, Frank A. Hanley.

Unofficial returns from 102 of the 394 precincts in the district gave Mr. Harvey 11,761 to 8,275 for Mr. Hanley.

The election was to name a successor to Representative Raymond S, Springer, Republican, who died in September.

Mr. Springer's pluralities over his Democratic opponents in the last three regular elections were 17,238, 14,858 and 26,162, in that order.

Bilbo Will Live Again

Courier Sat. 11-1-47

When the second session of the Eightieth Congress convenes (or probably the special session), Mississippi will be in a position to send a LIVE Bilbo with a vote to the United States Senate to represent that State. At an election, to be held Nov. 4, the voters of Mississippi will choose a successor to Bilbo. Pittsburgh, Pa.

According to the information that has difted out of Mississippi, none of the present candidates for Bilbo's seat are bargains. The public is well acquainted with John Rankin, the ranting congressman. Forrest Jackson, Bilbo's erstwhile attorney, is simply filling the old Bilbo speeches with capital letters and exclamation points. He is out to win on the same "white supremacy" illusion used by the gnome-like politician he would succeed.

Ironically enough, Bilbo may be more harmful to us in his grave than he would have been had he lived. On account of his illness, members of the Senate had postponed action on the question of his right to sit in the Senate. As long as Bilbo remained sick and action was postponed, Mississippi had but one vote to cast against us. As soon as a new senator, whose election cannot be questioned, is elected, two Mississippi votes in the Senate will become effective where there was only one so long as Bilbo lived.

In other words, the chances are that Bilbo will be more powerful dead than alive if either Rankin or Jackson is elected.

Shorty Doster, William Howland

STENNIS RANKIN COLMER

Two were for the Southern way of life.

MISSISSIPPI

No Tickle

Time

When Theodore Bilbo died of cancer last summer (TIME, Sept. 1), it did not mean that Mississippi was out of demagogues. Poodle-haired Congressman John E. Rankin automatically succeeded him. Rankin thought he might succeed almost as easily to Bilbo's seat in the U.S. Senate. Apparently he thought wrong. Mem.

New York, N.Y.

John Rankin was back home last week, stumping hard for the special senatorial election on Nov. 4. He was trying to make good on his promise to out-Bilbo Bilbo. But few Mississippians were listening.

Hillbilly Come-On. One afternoon when he drove into Mendenhall, seat of Simpson County, only seven courthouse loafers were on hand to greet him. To drum up a crowd, his nephew, Cason Rankin, hooked up a loudspeaker in the Congressman's black Buick sedan, toured the town playing hillbilly recordings. But half an hour's driving netted only three more shirtsleeved listeners. John Rankin brushed back his mane of stringy yellow hair, flung out his arms and shouted:

"What is that band of nigger Communists headed by Joe Louis circulating a petition seeking to get a million names on it to deny me my seat in the Senate for? Because they know I'll take the floor and tear to shreds the arguments for the Communistic F.E.P.C.—one of the most dangerous pieces of legislation ever introduced.

"They talk about us treating the nigger bad in the South. Why, in Chicago 20 years ago, they killed more Negroes in one riot than we have killed in the South since Reconstruction. In Detroit three years ago, they killed 300 niggers. They said they killed 30, but I have the figures."

Applause was light. Said one red-necked farmer: "Nothing like old Bilbo. Old Bilbo would tickle you right down to the seat of your pants."

End of the Road? John Rankin drove on. It was the same everywhere. Many a knowing Mississippi politician predicted that Rankin would be so badly beaten in the Senate race that he might not even run again for the House seat which he has held for 21 years.

New York N.Y.

The real senatorial race was between Rankin's fellow Congressman, William Meyers Colmer, 57, and Circuit Court Judge John Cornelius Stennis, 46. Colmer and Stennis were both waging well-organized, serious campaigns. Significantly, neither was making an issue of white supremacy; they went on record as favoring "the Southern way of life," and let it go at that. Running neck & neck, both were pulling bigger crowds than Rankin. 11-3-4

Commented an Episcopal minister at Jackson: "I believe that the tide of progress is finally sweeping even into Mississippi." Times New York, N.Y.

Limited Magic

Record Columbia, S.C.

There is one thing, among others, to be observed in the Mississippi race to select a successor to Theodore G. Bilbo as United States Senator.

Among the Democratic candidates John Rankin, veteran member of the House, brought up the rear, despite his attempt to outdo Bilbo, himself, in stirring up racial prejudice. Fri 11-7-47

Rankin has been elected ten times to the House by Mississippi's First district, and some of the so-called political experts are surprised by the magnitude of his defeat.

It should have occasioned no surprise. In Mississippi and in South Carolina there have been Representatives in Congress who entered statewide races only to discover that their vote-getting magic refused to cross the congressional district line.

Rankin Eulogizes Bilbo

Daily World

Atlanta Ga.

Fri. Nov-21-47

WASHINGTON, D. C.— (NNPA)-Representative John E. Rankin, Democrat of Mississippi who was decisively beaten for the Senate seat of the late Theodore G. Bilbo last Monday eulogized The Men in the House.

No man has ever served in the United States Senate, Rankin declared, "ever suffered the unjust treatment meted out to this humble reprsentative of the toiling masses of Mississippians.

The man who promised to out-Bilbo Bilbo if elected to the Senate said Bilbo "stood for the traditions which have characterized the people of the South from the earliest settlements, and for those policies of segregation by which alone the two races can live together in peace and security in that great section of the country. For that he was abused and accused of race prejudice."

Rankin added that "As a matter of fact, colored people in Mississippi have enjoyed more peace, more happiness, more prosperity and more security than they have ever enjoyed elsewhere in the United States States or anywhere else in the world under similar circumstances. As governor of the state, he never failed to see that they were protected."

(Editors Note: More than 300 colored persons have been lynched in Mississippi since 1882.)

Responsibility for the death of Bilbo was placed by Rankin on "Communist" who swarmed into Washington and "demanded not only that he be denied the seat in the Senate to which he had been elected but also the right to defend himself on the Senate floor."

Bilbo's Successor

Newsweek

New York N.Y.

Theodore (The Man) Bilbo had been quite frank about it. He had boasted that it was his enemies, notably Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson, who clinched his reelection to the Senate last year. Once he had been singled out as the No. 1 target of Northerners, liberals, Negroes, and Republicans, Mississippi voters had rallied to The Man whom they might otherwise have repudiated. 11-3-47

Last week the seat left vacant by his death was being sought by six candidates who all followed his example and used various forms of the judge-a-person-by-his-enemies technique:

▶ Rep. John E. Rankin, 65, fiery rabble-rouser, who is out-Bilboing Bilbo with: "Communists were going to set up a Soviet Negro republic in the Southern states. It would mean the murder of all you white men, and God knows what would happen to the women." The spark plug of the House Un-American Activities Committee boasts that he is opposed by "every enemy of the white people" and by "a bunch of Communist-inspired Northern Negroes headed by Joe Louis"—who actually is a Republican. News Week

▶ Rep. W. M. (Bill) Colmer, 56, gangly, moon-faced Pascagoula attorney, whose "white supremacy" is relatively mild, consisting of opposition to the Fair Employment Practice Committee and willingness to filibuster "anti-Southern bills." Rather than boast about his friendship with Fred Sullens, two-fisted editor of The Jackson Daily News, he flaunts the enmity of John L. Lewis, the CIO-PAC, and "labor czars" who condemn his vote for the "slave labor act."

▶ Forrest B. Jackson, 46, Bilbo's shrewd lawyer and protégé, who carbon-copies his mentor and doesn't make a point of the fact that he has occasionally defended Negroes in civil-rights cases. He claims that Bilbo's enemies are his enemies and attacks "that stinking editor, Fred Sullens" of "The Jackson Daily Liar." 11-3-47

▶ Paul B. Johnson Jr., 31, Marine veteran and son of the late Governor Johnson, who is wooing the vote of the "Red Necks"—Mississippi's poor white farmers. Having never held political office, the black-haired, loud-voiced lawyer has hardly been around long enough to collect the right kind of enemies. New York. N.Y.

▶ John C. Stennis, 46, dignified, gentlemanly circuit judge, whose chief political drawback is that he is highly regarded by Negro leaders and liberal whites. Afraid of winning friends instead of enemies from north of the Mason-Dixon Line, he says: "I'll have no truck with that crowd of outside radio commentators and newspaper columnists who attempt to interfere."

▶ L. R. Collins, 76, timber estimator and Spanish-American war veteran, who is running for the exercise. A Republican, he hasn't a chance; his enemies ignore him.

Although outside interference all but decided Mississippi's election last year, this year the choice was largely left to the state's voters on Nov. 4. As a result the nation's only senatorial race of the year was kept on an unusually calm and dignified plane—for Mississippi. In such an atmosphere, the man to beat was Colmer, an experienced lawmaker.

37 1947

General

ROOSEVELT'S "GRANDEST JOKE"

Afro-American (37) Baltimore, Md.

The late President Roosevelt called it the "grandest joke" when Vice-President John Garner came out for a Federal antilynching bill. Sat-7-12-47

The story is told in the July 12 issue of Colliers. when Jim Farley tells "Why I Broke with Roosevelt."

According to Mr. Farley the President said:

"'Jim, I have the grandest joke for you. I had Garner, Barkley and Rayburn in this morning for a conference on the antilynching bill. You'll never guess what Jack said.

"'Very seriously he said that he felt the colored vote in the border States and in Northern cities was so important that the legislation ought to be passed.'

"Roosevelt threw back his head and laughed till tears came to his eyes. 'Don't you love it?' he asked. 'Jack has done a complete about-face now that he's out looking for votes.'"

Farley also quotes FDR as saying, that he (Farley) would not make a sound vice-presidential candidate because he is a Catholic. And this led Farley to issue the statement:

"We must never permit the ideals of this Republic to sink to a point where every American father and mother, regardless of race, color or creed, cannot look proudly into the cradle of their newborn babe and see a future President of the United States."

***Editor's Note**—Of course, Jim Farley knows that no Catholic, Jew or colored person ever has a chance to become President of the United States. If the three minorities had sense enough to get together, they would.*

California 37

Courier.

Women Voters Rap Governor

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 11-1-47

By **HERMAN HILL**

(Los Angeles Bureau)

LOS ANGELES — **The Women's Political Study Club of California last week denounced Gov. Earl Warren for what they termed an attitude which is un-American and short-sighted in respect to Negro citizens of the State during his administration.** 11-1-47

The Political Study Club unanimously adopted a resolution at its eighteenth annual State convention here withdrawing its support from him and pledged itself to an all-out effort "to eradicate from high offices men who do not believe in an America for all Americans."

The resolution, one of twelve adopted, highlighted the two-day confab held at Bowen Memorial Methodist Church. 37

Spearheading the resolution, which might well affect the Governor's political future, was Mrs. Betty Hill, dynamic founder and executive secretary of the organization. Courier

ASK RECOGNITION Pittsburgh, Pa.

Other resolutions adopted criticized the executive committee of the California State Central Committee for failing to give recognition to Negro voters of the State by naming to the Policy Making Committee at least one Negro; gave a vote of confidence to McIntyre Faires, newly named Republican National Committeeman from California, and U. S. Senator William F. Knowland; asked that Negro police officers in Los Angeles be upgraded in the department according to merit; condemned communism; blasted discrimination in the armed forces; urged that the equal rights amendment be passed by Congress, and requested President Truman and Congress to enact legislation to protect the social security of the American Negro be-

37a 1947

General

The Advertiser

PROVOKED WITH GRANDMA

(37a) Gen.

Editor, The Advertiser:

Somebody told me the other day that you pretended to be a Christian gentleman. If you do, then all I have to say, is that you are the biggest hypocrite I ever saw. You know you hated Talmadge and that you hate Bilbo and you knew this all the time you have been writing editorials against them.

Wed. 1-8-47

Montgomery, Ala.

That man Carter from Troy got you told in no uncertain language and a large majority of the people who read you feel the same as he does. If you want to do something constructive, why don't you try to clean up your own rotten town and quit trying to tell the people of Georgia and Mississippi and Phenix City what to do. Oh, well, nobody pays any attention to you any way.

1-8-47

Wed. ROBERT J. BURNS.
Dothan, Alabama. 1-8-47

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

'I Purpose Never Once Again--'

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 3-23-47

(37a) Gen.

If it wasn't the road to political Damascus, I thought it was.

It came to me months ago, swiftly, in a Damascus sort of way, that one reason the people generally have too little realization of the facts of life with regard to politics, is that the real story too seldom has been told. We who write of it from day to day, or on occasion, have gone at it with the Jeffersonian approach as opposed to the Hamiltonian approach which was, "Your people, sir, are a great beast."

We have talked and written of the "people," of "rights," of "democracy," of "good government," the "power of the ballot," of "ideals," and quoted ringing epigrams and paragraphs from the sages and the martyrs of bygone political struggles. We have, I am convinced, done ourselves, politics and the people a disservice

Because, God help us all, that isn't the true story.

The Jeffersonian idea is mine—that the democratic way is slow, cumbersome, awkward and inefficient—but that finally, often after long travail, the voice of the people makes itself heard and felt.

That is why I have always believed, and still believe, that the legislative branch of government, being next to the people, is and of a right ought to be, the most powerful in expressing the wishes of the people. The fact that too often such branches are made up of representatives of pressure groups and greedy corporations is true, but does not change the basic fact. The corporations have their side of it. They are shake-down targets.

At any rate, the process is not slicked up in the smooth dress of the orators or the sayings of the wise.

Democracy is the people—almost always long delayed.

Humility One who deals in words, even modestly as in a newspaper column, is of necessity humble. The typewriter or the pen is a two-edged instrument, as those who use them inevitably learn. With the knowledge comes humility and an ability to shrug off insolence, arrogance, and abuse by the malicious or by those who honestly misunderstand.

Humility also comes with the knowledge that no matter how hard one strives to put the little words, simply and plainly one after the other, one does not always succeed.

I wrote recently of a political campaign as it is. I wrote also that until the people themselves really knew and cared, as they do not know and care, that even the good man running on a reform ticket, of necessity had to use the tactics of accepted political warfare to win. I said that "irregularities" were so much a routine that they had become an accepted part of the American tradition of politics, the subject even of humorous cartoons and jokes. To my shocked amazement three persons wrote in saying they were shocked that I had advocated crooked elections. It was confirmation of the fact that the people don't know about elections. But, with it came a new injection of humility. My words were not plain enough.

Captives Let us take one example. There are counties in every State which are "captive" counties. They vote but a small percentage of their eligible population. They may be, and are, delivered even as a dime's worth of ice or a bag of potatoes are delivered.

The Constitution

One simple reform would free literally thousands of voters.

That would be to abolish the numbered ballot.

Why isn't it done?

Atlanta, Ga.

Because those who hold the people captive don't want it done.

In the tightly held small counties it is possible to tell how a man or woman votes because of those numbers.

Sun.

And do not for a moment think they are not checked.

When Joe Smith doesn't vote right he finds he cannot renew the mortgage on his farm at the small town bank. Bill Jones finds he can't buy the fertilizer for his cotton crop on credit. John Doe discovers that he can't get that tractor he needs on time.

So, they do not vote. Or they vote right.

3-23-47

The employees of many a mill in large counties and small have been fired for not voting "right," and their names have been blacklisted. So, they do not vote. Or they vote right.

Who puts up the great contributions for the campaign funds?

Costs It costs not less than $100,000 to be elected Governor. And that is a small sum compared with what has become to be required in the past decade.

Do they put it up out of the goodness of their hearts? Or because they love democracy?

Politics is a struggle for power—and power can be used wisely or vilely. It also can make men drunk and irresponsible, cruel and arrogant.

This is but a part of the great, vast, unseen machine called politics, which weaves many a curious pattern.

And I think the people ought to know about it and about the how and why of elections and should not be left to think that it is merely a matter of getting the voters to the polls and that the votes always are correctly counted. And we have not let them know.

The result is that all over this country there are thousands who are sick of government and don't care a tinker's dam about government so long as it interferes as little as possible with their daily lives.

And that is bad. And I purpose never again to write of political campaigns in the bright tints of sweetness and light as if it were all syrup and sweet cookies.

37a 1947 Georgia

Georgia Gubernatorial Timber

Ex-Army Chaplain Looms as Threat to Young Talmadge

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 9-6-47

By STETSON KENNEDY
(Author "Southern Exposure")

ATLANTA—When "Hummon' Eugene Talmadge runs for Governor of Georgia next year, he may run smack-dab into his former preacher, the Rev. Joseph Rabun. If the Rev. Mr. Rabun chooses to run, he may prove to be the one man who can beat Talmadge.

Until a couple of weeks ago, the Rev. Mr. Rabun was pastor of the First Baptist Church of McRae Ga.—the church of the Talmadge tribe.

But Rabun went off to war as a chaplain, and came back preaching the kind of true Christianity which won't mix at all with Talmadgism, Ku Kluxery and "white supremacy."

One of the first things Rabun did when he got back from the war was to lead Georgia's white Baptists into their first joint convention with the State's Negro Baptists. At the convention, Rabun, refusing to be segregated, sat amonp the Negro ministers.

Ole Gene Talmadge almost had a "conniption" fit at this. And when he finally kicked the bucket his family almost called in another preacher to take Rabun's place in administering the last rites.

After that, Herman ran off to another church in town.

After a protracted and heated debate, the board of deacons of the First Baptist Church voted two to one to release Rabun. But Rabun's popularity with his congregation was brought out a few days ago when the Young People's graduating class named itself the "Rabun Class" in his honor.

And now there is talk in Georgia that Rabun may run against Talmadge next year—and beat him.

"WEAK SISTER" THOMPSON

To date, incumbent Gov. M. E. Thompson has not shown that he's got what it takes to beat Talmadge. You can't beat a Talmadge by trying to out-Talmadge him.

Thompson is no Talmadge; but neither is he an Arnall.

True, Thompson did veto Talmadge's "white primary" bill. But in so doing he said in effect that "probably if the white people want a 'white primary' they are entitled to it." He added that the Talmadge bill was the "wrong way to go about it." Sat. 9-6-47

A substitute "white supremacy" bill was then offered by Thompson—an educational test for voters (which would be discriminatorily administered against Negroes). But the Talmadgites wanted it their way, and so killed Thompson's bill.

VOTER'S WON'T EAT

Unless Talmadge succeeds, Georgia Negroes will be free to vote in next year's Democratic primary. Unfortunately, most of the State's voting Negroes are in the cities, which go against Talmadge anyway. In the rural counties, almost all Negroes are kept from the polls by economic sanctions ("if you vote you starve") and open Klan terrorism. Sat. 9-6-47

And so, with Klan klaverns and Talmadge "white supremacy clubs" muchrooming across Georgia, Thompson's demi-Talmadgism looks lost. Particularly since he has managed to alienate much of the labor as well as the Negro vote.

On the other hand, a thorough-going, anti-Talmadge man like the Rev. Mr. Rabun could win out. But no Talmadge has ever been beaten where there was more than one opposition candidate to split the anti-Talmadge vote.

And yet, even thought the county unit system might give Talmadge the decision in the primary, Rabun might have the nerve to run again in the general election as an Independent Democrat. There the county unit system does not apply, and the Negro and labor vote would carry full weight.

Having laid Ole Gene "At Rest," the Rev. Mr. Rabun may be called to administer final rites to the political career of the "heir-apparent" and to the infamous un-Christian doctrine of Talmadgism.

Political Pot in Georgia Is Beginning to Simmer

The Worker New York, N.Y.

Sun. 9-28-47

By Mary Southard

ATLANTA.—The Georgia gubernatorial pot is already simmering, with the state Democratic primary only ten months away. On the one hand, the Herman Talmadgeites are busy trying to grab control of the county Democratic executive committees and the Democratic Party machine throughout the state. Fred Hand, Talmadges mentor and speaker of the Georgia House, has been desperately trying to get the signatures (three-fifths necessary) to convene the Legislature without Governor Thompson's call. His open and announced aim is to disfranchise Negro voters who, since the white primary law was vetoed, may well hold the balance of power in the election for governor in 1948. (More than 100,000 voted in the last election.) He hopes to do this by enacting a law containing "educational requirements," patterned on Alabama's Boswell amendment.

★

ON THE OTHER SIDE, Georgia progressives and sections of the Georgia labor movement have begun to seek a program and a candidate who can defeat Talmadge.

During September a conference of a number of CIO United Steel Workers leaders including W. H. Crawford, regional director, and progressives was called at the Piedmont Hotel in Atlanta. Guest of honor was Reverend Joseph Rabun, Methodist minister from McRae (Talmadge's home town), who had won national recognition for his courageous stand against the Georgia white primary bill, and was recently forced to resign from his church by pressure from Talmadgeites in McRae

★

ALSO ATTENDING the conference was Rev. Archer Torrey, Episcopalian minister from Darien, who brought with him a mixed delegation of white and Negro labor leaders and progressives from south Georgia, including Sam Levine, county commissioner from Glynn County. Levine is known throughout the state for his courageous fight for the conviction of the prison camp officials who murdered eight Negro prisoners at Brunswick, and his successful removal of the notorious prison stockade.

The greatest achievement of the conference was scored when delegates at the Piedmont Hotel agreed to move the meeting to the Negro YMCA so that the Negro delegates could participate in the proceedings. This move underscored the necessity of a fighting alliance between white and Negro progressives if Talmadge is to be defeated next year, and showed at least the beginnings of a recognition that Talmadgeism cannot be smashed in Georgia without the participation of the Negro people. 9-28-47

37a 1947

Illinois

BEHIND THE SCENES:

Chicago Ballot Results Held Tribute to Dawson

Afro-American Sat. 4-12-47

By RALPH MATTHEWS

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

The most important topic around the Capital political circles this week revolves around the pros and cons of the Chicago mayoralty election.

It is the consensus of opinion that Rep. William L. Dawson, by holding the Democratic column in his entire district for the second time against the powerful Republican resurgance, has proved himself to be one of the country's most astute political technicians.

As such, they say, he is one from whom Robert E. Hannegan, the national chairman, and all the top men can take lessons.

Dirtiest Campaign

To realize what a battle Dawson had to wage, it should be remembered that former Congressman Arthur Mitchell once accused Dawson of waging against him the dirtiest campaign he had ever seen. Sat. 4-12-47

But it was Dawson himself who cried bloody murder this time, declaring that the Republicans had resorted to tricks which even he never dreamed of and to which he would not stoop. But, in spite of the tactics of his opponents, heturned in a 4,000 majority helping to elect Martin H. Kennelly for mayor and return his own candidate. William H. Harvey, to office as alderman.

King Considered Through

Dawson also is credited with writing finish to the political career of his old rival, William H. King, the Republican leader who has often opposed him both as a candidate for Congress and for control of the powerful First District. Sat. 4-12-47

So overwhelming was Dawson's victory that GOP leaders have come to the conclusion that King's usefulness is apparently at an end.

May Be Judge

This is based on the theory that if King was unable to lick Dawson last November when the whole country swung toward the Republiians and again was unable to mount the tide, then there is something lacking and new blood will have to be brought into the GOP picture.

But King will not go unrewarded for his long years as a Republican wheelhorse in the dark days of the New Deal. For the asking, it is said, he can have one of the two judgeships which the Republicans have to fill.

A good man and a good lawyer, he will face little opposition, it is believed, when the party bigwigs retire him to pasture. There will be a terrific struggle between the young Turks of the party to step into his shoes.

Dark Cloud on Horizon

But all is not gold that glitters at the end of the political rainbow.

In spite of his success, Dawson is faced with one of the toughest problems of his career as a result of the campaign.

This was the catapulting of the young Rev. Archibld J. Carey, son of the late Bishop Carey, to prominence by his elehtion as an alderman. Sat. 4-12-47

Carey, who by virtue of the new gerrymander of the district, will be in line to face Dawson as GOP opponent for Congress in 1948.

He is the only one of the recent crop Dawson considers a real threat.

Another Powell

Carey is young, handsome and possesses all of the dynamics of Harlem's A. Clayton Powell. A spellbinder, he is heir to all the influence and power once wielded by his father who was a real boss in Chicago.

Carey, although running as a Republican, had the support of the Democratic Chicago Sun, the New Dealish Daily Times, the Independent Daily News and the blessings of the powerful Republican Tribune and the CIO.

He only has to keep his nose clean to hold a portion of this support in the next election.

Built Church

He is pastor of the Woodlawn AME Church, whose membership he increased from 129 to 3,000. But, like Adam Powell, he is not a bluenose, but plays golf, gets on well with both the racketeer fsinge and the reform crowd.

Just before election he even made a speech at a prize-fight which won him popularity with the sporting element.

Also in the thick of the Chicago fight was dynamic and irrepressable Edgar G. Brown, who ran for alderman as an independent on an anti-Bilbo platform.

Edgar G. called for a write-in vote, promising to vght for a slum clearance program and increased playground space.

Write-In Campaign

Brown's campaign was a whirlwind affair due to the fact that the election commissioners had ruled months ago that there could be no write-in candidates when he first got the idea of running, so

But when the board reversed he abandoned the idea.
itself at the last minute after a white candidate in one of the districts had died, Edgar accused it of racial discrimination and leaped into the fray.

With only the use of a sound truck and some hand bills giving instructions how to write in a candidate's name which did not appear on the ballot, Edgar polled 4,500 votes.

But more important than either victory or defeat, he learned a valuable lesson which he will make the basis of a new campaign of the National Negro Council, which he heads.

Brown's New Program

Edgar discovered that in one precinct 25 ballots cast for him were thrown out because of incorrect marking.

As there were 100 precincts in the district, he estimated that on this basis that if colored voters lost 25 votes through lack of proper voting instructions, the race was losing approximately 2,500 votes in the First District alone.

If this is duplicated in New York, Detroit, St. Louis and other heavily-populated areas where the colored vote constitutes a balance of power, it is possible that a quarter-million votes are being lost annually through ignorance alone.

So the NNC will dedicate its new program to holding nonpartisan voting clinics to teach people how to vote.

Because of this discovery, he believes he can be of greater service to the race than if he had won. Sat. 4-12-47

Also being studied is the effect that the Chicago returns will have on the national election.

According to best estimates, colored voters are still 52 per cent Democratic in spite of the GOP trend, and the action of the Republican majority in Congress can send more back to the Democratic fold or reduce the lead.

37a 1947

Illinois

Chicago Council Approves New Ward Lines; Additional Negro Election Area Is Created

The New York Times Sun 9-21-47
New York, N.Y.
Date 9-21-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

CHICAGO, Sept. 19 — Chicago won new ward lines today after years of stalling. The final chapter of the fight was written with unexpected speed. In less than 30 minutes the City Council approved the remapping by a vote of 45 to 1.

Mayor Martin H. Kennelly, a leader in the drive, said he would redeem his campaign promise by signing the description of new boundaries as soon as it was in shape — within a few days. The Chicago Election Board said it would tackle the huge clerical task of rearranging its precinct records for completion before next April's primary, at a cost of $150,000.

Substantial changes are made in twenty-seven wards, with shifting of a dozen or fewer precincts in eleven wards, and no changes in twelve wards. Most important alteration was combining nearly all the precincts of the west side 20th Ward with the underpopulated 1st Ward, the downtown ward, sometimes called the world's richest.

Next in importance was creation of an additional Negro ward, the new 20th, carved out of the present 4th, 5th, 6th, 14th and 17th wards on Chicago's South Side. Other Negro wards are the 2d and 3d.

A letter from the Citizens' Association praising the remapping was read to the Council. It said:

"The plan eliminates the most serious inequalities and eases the problems of future redistricting."

Reasonable leveling of population was achieved despite the usual difficulties, the letter said. Standard of comparison is the average ward population of 67,936, based on the admittedly obsolete 1940 census. Seven wards are below 60,000, nine are slightly above 75,000, but the remaining thirty-four wards range within 7,800 above or below the 67,936 average.

37a 1947

National (1948)

Kentucky and Illinois To Furnish Fireworks In Widely Assorted 1947 Political Battles

Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.
Sun. 2-9-47

(372)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8—(AP)—Kentucky and Illionois furnish the main battlegrounds in widely assorted 1947 elections.

Kentucky has a hot gubernatorial contest coming up in November following August primaries. The Democrats are hoping to swing this "Border State" back into their column. Republicans won in the governorship race in 1943 and the senatorial scrap last November.

Chicago ranks high in political interest with her April 1 mayoralty election. The Republicans are waging a determined effort to complete the rout of Mayor Edward J. Kelly's Democratic organization they started in the November, 1946, voting.

These, and other State, county and municipal elections this year will furnish the first tests of strength among the major parties since the GOP congressional sweep last November. They may provide some signs for 1948.

Survey Cited

A survey by the government's division of the Census Bureau shows seven States will fill State offices of one kind or another this year. But only Kentucky and Mississippi elect Governors.

Twenty-nine States will hold county and township elections. On the local level, 73 cities of a population of 100,000 or more will elect mayors or other city officers. These are spread over 24 States.

Kentucky's incumbent Governor, Simeon S. Willis, a Republican, provided an upset four years ago when he won the governorship. He deefated J. Lyter Donaldson, former Democratic State highway commissioner, by a few thousand votes. Under State law, Willis is not eligible to succeed himself.

The question to be answered in the Republican primary in Kentucky is whether the nominee this time will be a Willis-supported man or one backed by the organization of United States Representative John M. Robsion. Lieutenant-Governor Kenneth Tuggle, a Robsion man, is a prospective candidate. The Willis forces have yet to put a man in the field.

In the Democratic primary a race is looming up between United States Representative Earle C. Clements and Harry Lee Waterfield, Speaker of the State House of Representatives. The primaries are August 2, the election November 4.

In Mississippi, where the Democratic primaries in August will settle the election to be held November 4, only Governor Fielding L. Wright has announced as a candidate so far. Wright succeeded to the governorship last year upon the death of Governor Thomas L. Bailey. The first primary is August 5, a run-off August 26 if needed.

Fight Seen In Chicago

The Chicago mayoralty contest will bring together the Cook County Democratic organization of Mayor Kelly and the State organization of Republican Governor Dwight H. Green. Green has been mentioned as a possible vice-presidential candidate on the GOP ticket in 1948.

The organizations have already named their candidates. Kelly has bowed out in favor of Martin H. Kennelly, 59-year-old business and civic leader. Kelly has been Mayor since 1933 and was a power in the various groups that help pile up majorities for Franklin D. Roosevelt. He took a licking in the elections last November when the Republicans captured several important county patronage offices.

Richmond, Va

Governor Green's organization is backing Russell W. Root, former Cook County Republican chairman. Republican National Chairman Carroll Reece recently urged a Root victory as a second major step to winning the presidency next year. The first, he said, was achieved last November.

Kentucky and Mississippi also will elect members of their State Legislatures, as will New Jersey and Virginia. Michigan elects some State officers and judges April 7. Pennsylvania and Wisconsin choose judges on November 4 and April 1, respectively.

General county elections will be held in Kentucky, Mississippi, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Partial county elections are set in Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Missouri, Michigan and Wisconsin.

Township voting is on the 1947 calendar in 19 States embracing about three-fourths of the 18,919 townships in the United States. (Townships are politically organized subdivisions of counties in 21 Northeastern and North Central States and of two counties in Washington.) 2-9-47

Robeson to Devote Two Years to Anti-Fascism

PM New York, N.Y.
Sun. 5-11-47.

By Associated Press

ALBANY

Paul Robeson plans to devote the next two years as a lecturer and singer to a fight against fascism.

Robeson disclosed his plans in an interview preceding a recital Friday night in a high school auditorium where his appearance was permitted by a State Supreme Court order rescinding a Board of Education ban.

Paul Robeson

"I have had 65 concerts and thank goodness this is the last," he said. "In the next two years I will be able to be in Albany or in any other city as a lecturer or singer, as I please."

Replying to a reporter's question: "Do you consider yourself a Communist?" Robeson said:

"I am an anti-fascist."

He first had prefaced the reply by saying he did not want to answer the question because however honest the reporter might be, his (Robeson's) answer would be misrepresented.

Robeson was greeted by a two-minute ovation from a near capacity audience of approximately 1,200 persons when he appeared on the stage.

Asked by reporters if he intended to return to Albany as a fighter of fascism, Robeson said: "I am not only willing—but I am anxious to come back if I am invited."

At another point, Robeson said: "I am afraid we are more interested in Communism in America today than we are in Fascism."

Referring to efforts by anti-Fascists against Fascists in France during the war Robeson said "they got along extremely well with Communism in France."

He went on to say that thr

"that effort (of anti-Fascists) we were able to do much that saved the lives of many Americans. The American Legions might be interested in that." 5-11-47

Robeson began his recital of Old English, French and German songs and Negro folk songs, immediately after appearing on the stage. There was no disturbance.

State Supreme Court Justice Isadore Bookstein last Tuesday restrained the Albany Board of Education from interfering with the recital in the Philip Livingston Junior High School provided Robeson presented a musical program only.

The board's action two weeks ago in withdrawing a permit given last September to the Carver Cultural Society, a church group sponsoring the recital, came after the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington had linked Robeson to an organization which the committee said usually followed the Communist Party line.

Change the World

Daily Worker

Sing On, Paul Robeson! Your Music Is Necessary in the Fight!

By Mike Gold

New York, N.Y.

(3)

DEAR PAUL ROBESON—I am one of your life-long admirers, since the first time I saw you. This was in the time of the old Provincetown Players, when you still weren't sure whether to follow the career of a lawyer or an actor.

You appeared then in a play by Eugene O'Neill, your first stage part. Nobody then had heard you sing or knew that you owned one of the three or four great voices of the century.

Today all America knows you for that divine music flowing from your throat of gold.

According to recent reports, you plan now to give up music and th devote yourself exclusively and directly to political struggle.

Sat. 2-8-47

It's easy to understand your impulse, Comrade Paul. Never was America on the verge of greater national disgrace or peril.

Our rulers are frantically busy, like a flock of buzzards whirling around a desert traveller seemingly about to perish.

They are plotting, organizing, agitating, putting all the parts in place for a Third World War—an Atom Bomb war.

To lead the nation into such an inferno, America's imperialist monsters must

ed Hitler. They must sub- the people.

ey must forestall internal ition to their world cam- must first make sure of American folk, from whom armies would have to come. must set up some sort of can fascism.

uch a framework, the Ne- e Jew, all national minori- l trade unions, all free sci- ree art and culture would have no place. The whole traditional democracy would have to be destroyed, as it was in Germany.

•

FEELING THIS PERIL in all the fibres of his being, the great artist Paul Robeson accepts the challenge, as many other Americans will, when the truth finally penetrates to every corner of the sleeping land.

Now is the time in America to work for world peace and world brotherhood. But Paul Robeson's singing has always been one of our mightiest weapons for peace and brotherhood.

Nobody who has heard one of his concerts but has felt his power. If there is one man in America upon whom the proudest title of People's Artist might truthfully be placed, it is Paul Robeson.

He has sung the people's songs, the Negro spirituals and work songs, as well as the songs of the struggling masses of China, Russia, Spain. He has sung at the annual conventions of trade unions, for the seamen, furriers, newspaper guildsmen and others. He has sung at great mass meetings all over the land, in such causes as Spanish democracy, aid to Jugoslavia, Poland and for the Jewish martyrs of Europe.

•

UNITY OF THE PEOPLE against facism is the greatest political necessity of all in America today. Paul Robeson, an outstanding ambassador of unity, ought not give up his finest credentials to that role—his music.

Brazil has just elected its greatest painter, Candido Portinaro, to the national Senate. This painter, a Communist, has never given up his life in art. He has combined politics and art, in such close intimacy that nobody knows where one or the other begins and ends.

This is also the way artists and scientists work in the Soviet Union. In France, where so many great intellectuals have become active in Communism, Madame Curie and her husband, or Paul Langevin, never forsook their work as physicists, anymore than Louis Aragon stopped his poetry. 2-8-47

Every man must bring his best to the people's struggle, and not his second best. Only thus can he be most effective, I believe.

Sing on, O Paul Robeson, as you once sang in those blood-stained Spanish trenches to the Lincoln Brigadiers! You helped them, you inspired them, as you can go on helping all of us in the days of the people's struggle now upon us in America!

2-8-47

37a 1947

Presidential (Harold E. Stassen)

THE Courier Salutes

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Last week, a former Minnesotan and an ex-lieutenant commander in the U. S. Navy courageously carried his fight for political democracy down into the prejudice-polluted State of Mississippi. ~~His name~~ is Harold E. Stassen. 37a

In Gulfport, in the heart of the Delta, Stassen fearlessly declared:

"I would not accept the support of any delegation if there were any exclusion of any citizen from the delegation on the basis of race, color or religion!"

In these words, he challenged the entire GOP in general and the Republican lily-white following in Mississippi in particular.

As a solution to the present prejudiced set-up, Mr. Stassen suggested a reorganization, to include both white and colored voters, along with a new group of young white World War II veterans based at the University of Missouri who are anxious to operate the party on democratic principles of equal participation for all. 12-6-47

Mr. Stassen's dynamic ultimatum was issued directly to George L. Sheldon, leader of the lily-white Independents, who have been attempting to unseat the Negro group, headed by Perry Howard, recognized GOP national committeeman from the Delta State.

For his fearless stand for a square deal for all American citizens—taken right in deepest Dixie's virtual cradle of bias—

1st

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

HAROLD E. STASSEN

. . . for his fight for right

The Courier proudly salutes Harold E. Stassen.

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in Ring 37a

Stassen Raps 'Lily-White' GOP in South

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 11-29-47

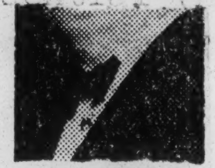
(By Special Correspondent)

GULFPORT, Miss.—A blazing challenge to the Republican party in the South to erase its "lily-white" lines and gain power in the "Solid South" through equal participation of all races, especially in this State, rang out as Harold Stassen swept into the South seeking support for himself as GOP Presidential nominee in 1948. Sat. 11-29-47

"I would not accept the support of any delegation if there were any exclusion of any citizen from the delegation on the basis of race, color or religion," Stassen told white independents here, inferring that opposing Mississippi GOP factions should consolidate their strength.

His forthright statement demanded the end of lily-white Republicanism in Mississippi.

This presaged a new move in the strategems heretofore used to gain control of GOP power in the State at previous national conventions, where warring factions have fought each other for more than fifteen years as white Independents sought to unseat the group headed by Perry W. Howard, recognized GOP national committeeman from the State.


Mr. Stassen

Stassen's ultimatum suggested a reorganization to include both groups, along with a new group of young white World War II veterans based at the University of Mississippi, who indicate a desire to operate the party on democratic principles of equal participation for all. 37a

Stassen issued his ultimatum to George L. Sheldon, head of the lily-white Independents, who carry more votes in the State than the Howard group, but cannot win recognition in GOP national conventions due to the strategy used by Mr. Howard and his associates

Posed with the question of unification of the two groups, plus alignment with the young veternas, Mr. Howard told The Courier Sunday morning that he had not had sufficient time to study the matter, and therefore would withhold comment until later in the week.

"It is a matter of national significance," he said, "and involves party reorganization. That requires more time for study." He added that Washington newsmen had not approached him on the Stassen suggestion.

Meanwhile, the dynamic young Minnesota Republican took his campaign for the GOP nomination still deeper into the South, striking again at party looseness in a statement to Florida Republicans. Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Following a trend of thought which was revealed to a Courier writer several months ago by Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, Mr. Stassen foresaw the building of a strong GOP party in the South to combat the one party domination by the Democrats. Sat. 11-29-47

But the Minnesotan made it emphatically clear that he stood for full integration of all races into the GOP fold as he wound up his whirlwind tour. And on that tour he gained for himself pledges of a goodly number of convention votes for his nomination effort when the GOP holds it national convention at Philadelphia next June.

Harold E. Stassen told Mississippi lily-white Republicans last week that he did not want their backing in his Presidential race unless they dropped color bias. Good effort. But anybody that naive will never get to the White House. Sat. 11-29-47

37a 1947

Presidential (Negro Vote

THE HORIZON

37a

Pittsburgh, Pa., Courier

By P. L. PRATTIS

Nice Big Fat Necessary Job Awaits Influence and Skill of Mr. White in Washington

WALTER WHITE, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has written a shrewd piece of truth, fact and directed propaganda, entitled, "Will The Negro Elect Our Next President?" for Collier's. The story which Mr. White has made his figures tell ought to result in a national rash of heebie jeebies among our white fellow citizens. Mr. White doesn't answer his own question directly, but he handles his statistics with sufficient acumen to convince almost anyone of what the Negro CAN do in a Presidential election if he has the WILL TO DO IT.

Mr. Prattis

This writer does not seriously disagree with anything Mr. White has written. In fact, all of it looks good and smart, very smart, to him at this writing. But he would like to pluck out from the article two statements which seem to have special, related significance at this time and urge you to think upon them.

First, Mr. White writes:

"The party that wins the Negro vote in 1948 will be the one that offers some concrete evidence that it intends at least to help him get a square deal."

If that statement means anything, it means that between now and the 1948 election, one of the parties must convince the Negro voter that it intends to act affirmatively in areas where the Negro is interested. The Negro is interested in anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation, in a national permanent FEPC, in a broadened social security base, in national aid to health and education, in legislation to protect civil rights Mr. White agrees on these issues and thus brings us to his second statement, writing:

"It is a gullible person indeed who believes that an anti-lynching bill, or any other measure of that character, will ever get by the Senate until the rules have been amended. Pious political pleas that 'we would have passed the bill if it hadn't been for the Southern filibusters' will be greeted with stony silence at best, and more probably with of derision."

In this statement, Mr. White hits Stalin in the eye. He is talking about the filibusters in the Senate. He refers to the manner in which the rules permitting unlimited debate are used to block a vote on any legislation that Negroes want. He is telling the truth when he says that no anti-lynching, anti-poll tax or FEPC bill can become law until the rules on cloture are changed.

Courier

THIS WRITER firmly and conscientiously believes that Mr. White is in a better position to see that those rules are changed than any other interested individual in the United States. We believe he missed his chance this year, and we are hoping he is going to grasp the opportunity in 1948.

The Committee on Rules and Administration considered several resolutions to change the rules. Two satisfactory resolutions were finally voted upon by the Committee—one by Senator Knowland of California, the other by Senator Saltonstal of Massachusetts, both Republicans. The Saltonstal resolution failed to be reported out favorably by a vote of six to five. Two Republicans, Bricker of Ohio, and Jenner of Indiana, combined with four Democrats to kill the resolution.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Here are some statistics for Mr. White:

There are eight Republicans on the Rules Committee. They are C. Wayland Brooks, Illinois., Kenneth S. Wherry, Nebraska; Rourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa; William F. Knowland, California; Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., Massachusetts; William E. Jenner, Indiana; John W. Bricker, Ohio; Irving M. Ives, New York.

There are five Democrats. They are Carl Hayden, Arizona; Theodore F. Green, Rhode Island Brien McMahon, Connecticut; Francis J. Myers, Pennsylvania; Spessard L. Holland, Florida.

It can be noted that if all the Republicans were in favor of such a resolution, it would be reported out of committee favorably, eight to five, even if all the Democrats opposed. But all the Democrats don't oppose the change in rules. Myers of Pennsylvania doesn't. That reduces Democratic opposition to a mathematical maximum of four votes. All the Republicans have to do is to overcome this total of a possible four and the opposition within THEIR OWN RANKS.

This writer believes that the NAACP is best situated, working with other Negro and liberal organizations, to take planned action which will force a resolution out of Committee early in 1948. That ought to be easy.

Sat. 11-29-47

THE SECOND and tougher job will be to beat the filibuster that will be staged on the floor of the Senate to kill the resolution designed to kill the filibuster. This, admittedly, will be difficult. But 1948 is a year of decision, not only for Negroes, but for the leadership of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The Republicans have the votes to do this job. They, and the liberal Northern Democrats can overwhelm the minority of reactionaries from the South. I would almost be willing to vote for Taft if he would use his leadership in the Senate to see that the cloture rule is changed. For then I'd be in a position to fight for my own freedom. I would have a chance. So would the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Without a change in the rules, this Report hasn't got a legislative chance.

Courier 11-29-47

I hope Walter and his gang will go to work on this matter. To perdition with those who make a hue and cry of the NAACP and politics. Here's a job to be done for the sake of life, and the NAACP is the best organization to do it.

37a(1) 1947

Georgia

Time

Hummon, 2; Thompson, 1

Gerogia's Governor Herman ("Hummon") Talmadge was the butt of a joke last **Week,** Hummon, the story went, called on a spiritualist to contact his pappy, the late Governor "Old Gene" Talmadge. "Pappy", cried Hummon, "how am I doing?"

Feb. 24 - 1947

"All right, son," replied old Gene. "But son, go easy on **that** White-primary bill. They got a nigger fireman down **here.**"

2 - 24 - 47

But Hummon had the last laugh. By week's end three Georgia judges had heard suits concerning his claim and the counter-claim of Lieutentant Governor M. E. Thompson to the governship. The judges chose Hummon in two cased out of three.

37a(1) 1947

Florida

Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union
March 16, 1947

Negro Seeks Council Post In 5th Ward

Total of 54 Qualified as Candidates; 4 Aspire to Commission.

Fla.
37a(1)

Fifty-four candidates for City Council, including one negro, and four aspirants for two City Commission posts are qualified to have their names placed on the April 15 City Democratic primary ballot.

The entry of Wilson Armstrong, negro who is seeking election to Council from the negro-dominated Fifth Ward, caught members of the City Democratic Committee by surprise. George B. Marshall, chairman of the committee, and other members of the group held a conference with William Madison, City Attorney, on the negro's eligibility to qualify and Madison ruled that the committee must accept the candidate's qualifying fee and notice.

Armstrong will have three white opponents. They are the incumbent, Claude F. Smith Jr., Sam Foor and Barney Cobb.

Records at the office of Fleming H. Bowden, county supervisor of registration, disclose that 1,178 white Democrats are registered and qualified to vote in the Fifth Ward and 2,214 negroes are registered as Democrats, including Armstrong.

Armstrong told newspapermen that he is a mortar mixer, a member of the General and Construction Laborer's Union and holds the post of executive board member. He is 34 years old, a native of Georgia, and has lived here "since I was nine months old." He gave his address as 1055 Jefferson Street. Armstrong was accompanied to the City Council chamber, where he paid his qualifying fee, by an unidentified white man.

Veteran political observers yesterday recalled that it was about 37 years since a negro held a municipal office in Jacksonville.

The Fifth Ward is bounded on the south by Bay Street, Main Street on the east, Hogan's Creek on the north and Cleveland Street on the west.

With less than four minutes to qualify, M. C. Moore, former City Councilman-at-large and theatre operator here, entered the race for City Commission, Group One, against Commissioner Guy L. Simmons, who is seeking re-election.

Five incumbent City Councilmen will have no opposition in the April primaries.

Thty are Clyde Cannon, James C. Merrill, Carl Oltrogge, John Love and Ralph N. Walter.

Here is the line-up for the first primary:

City Commission, Group One, Guy L. Simmons, incumbent, and M. C. Moore.

City Commission, Group Five, T. F. McCall Jr., incumbent, and R. D. (Dick) Sutton.

City Council:

First Ward: Walter Pilcher, incumbent, and Joe Doney.

Second Ward: Victor R. Rooney, incumbent; W. E. (Bill) Cole, L. O. Johnson and Napoleon B. Broward.

Third Ward: Clyde (Red) Cannon, incumbent and unopposed.

Fourth Ward: Lemuel Sharp, incumbent, and H. L. Pinkston.

Fifth Ward: Claude Smith Jr., incumbent; H. T. Parker, Sam Foor, Barney F. Cobb and Wilson Armstrong.

Sixth Ward: James M. Peeler, incumbent; W. O. (Slim) Henderson, Ben Jones Jr. and Walter Dorsey.

Seventh Ward: E. A. Koester, incumbent; Albert Williams, E. Peerson and J. M. Joyner.

Eighth Ward: J. Marvin Sweat, incumbent, and D. E. (Dan) Danson.

Ninth Ward: James C. Merrill, incumbent unopposed.

Tenth Ward: Carl Oltrogge, incumbent unopposed.

Eleventh Ward: John Love, incumbent unopposed.

Twelfth Ward: Harold W. Whitehead, incumbent; Julius Covington, D. M. Starling, James B. Morgan, Fred B. Wilds and D. D. Malone.

Thirteenth Ward: L. D. McMichael, incumbent; Oscar C. Edrington, Joseph G. Kennelly, George W. Gardner, N. M. Doomar, R. E. (Bob) Copeland and F. A. (Snib) Carson.

Fourteenth Ward: Frank C. Jackson, incumbent; J. D. (Jack) Drew, J. A. (Jimmy) Robertson and Cecil F. Lowe.

Fifteenth Ward: Joseph H. Ross, incumbent; Bob Stedeford and H. E. Belflower.

Sixteenth Ward: Ralph N. Walter, incumbent and unopposed.

Seventeenth Ward: W. H. (Bill) Miles, incumbent; R. R. Brown and H. W. (Red) Garrison.

Eighteenth Ward: Gerald R. Hart, A. V. Lopez Sr., and W. F. Wilkinson.

Miami, Fla., Herald
March 16, 1947

Negro Seeks Post

37a(1) Fla.

Up in Jacksonville, Wilson Armstrong, negro, qualified Saturday to run for city council from the negro-dominated Fifth ward against incumbent Claude Smith, jr., and two other candidates.

A majority of votes is sufficient to elect in the April 15 primary.

The Fifth ward has 2.214 negro voters registered in the Democratic party against 1,178 whites. The ward's population has 16,828 negroes and 4,677 whites.

Orlando, Fla., Morning Sentinel
March 16, 1947

Negro Qualifies For Jax Post

JACKSONVILLE [AP] Wilson Armstrong, a Jacksonville Negro, qualified yesterday to run for the City Council from the Negro-dominated 5th Ward against incumbent Claude Smith Jr., and two other candidates, Sam Foor and Barney Cobb. 37a(1) Fla.

A simple majority of votes is sufficient to elect in the race, April 15.

The 5th Ward is one of the heavily-populated Negro districts of the city with 2,214 Negro voters registered in the Democratic Party against 1,178 whites. According to 1945 State census, the ward's population was 16,828 Negroes and 4,677 whites.

George B. Marshall, chairman of the City Democratic Executive Committee, said he had been forced to have Armstrong wait an hour while he obtained a ruling from the City Attorney on the Negro's eligibility to qualify in the Democratic Primary and that he was told he must accept the candidate's qualification.

Armstrong was listed in the City Directory as an employe of the Railroad Express Co., but has not worked there recently. Armstrong had no telephone and efforts to contact him immediately were futile.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Times
March 27, 1947

Negroes Disavow Candidate

37a(1) Fla.

By STANMORE CAWTHON

Well aware that State Senator John E. Mathews is hunting ammunition to use in his campaign for a primary in Florida, Negro leaders in Jacksonville have formally condemned the candidacy of a member of their race for city council.

The candidate, Wilson Armstrong, is running in a ward in which white voters are heavily outnumbered. If the vote were along strictly racial lines Armstrong—a mortar mixer—would be elected. Since the councilmanic election occurs just as the legislature starts, Mathews could be expected to use the Armstrong case as a horrendous example of what could be anticipated in Florida unless Negroes were excluded from primaries.

With such an example before them it is possible that legislators who are now cool to the Mathews plan might be persuaded to support it.

This contingency apparently has occurred to many Jacksonville Negroes. The Rev. L. D. Watson, Baptist evangelist and secretary of the "Roosevelt Democratic clubs", disclosed that Armstrong had been investigated by "ministers, educators, professional and business men representing a cross-section of all the colored voters' leagues, religious denominations, educational, social and fraternal organizations."

"Wilson Armstrong was selected and put in the race for councilman from the fifth ward by a small group known to be affiliated with the Communist party headquarters in New York city," the Rev. Watson's statement said.

The evangelist added that in his opinion "this is no time for a Negro to be running for anything."

Meanwhile, there was no indication that the white primary plan was gaining any adherents. Most legislative leaders were inclined to belive it would be killed by a comfortable margin unless some unexpected development occurred.

Raleigh, N. C., News & Observer
April 6, 1947

Candidate

FRED J. CARNAGE.

Fred J. Carnage of 1117 E. Martin Street, attorney and veteran of World War I, yesterday announced his candidacy for the Raleigh City Council and became the 26th to enter the race. 37a(1) N.C.

A native of Georgia, Carnage has practiced law here for the past 14 years. He is a graduate of Howard University's law school, Washington, and of Morgan College, Baltimore; a director of the Raleigh Negro YMCA and the Tuttle Community Center; an elder in the Davie Street Presbyterian Church and Superintendent of its Sunday School.

Carnage is an Elk, a Mason, and a member of the American Legion. He recently received the endorsement of local Negro civic organizations, who urged him to offer in the coming primary and election.

37a(1) 1947 Illinois

DePriest In Aldermanic Race

37a(1) Ill.

Daily World Thurs.

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Despite repudiations of his candidacy by Illinois State Republican leaders, Oscar DePriest has filed his intention to seek reelection to the post of alderman for Chicago's Third Ward, it was disclosed here Saturday. Atlanta, Ga. 1-2-47

DePriest, who was elected to the city council in 1943 on a Republican ticket got in hot water with state GOP leaders when he publicly praised Mayor Kelley and the Democratic Party's Administration within the city and Cook County.

Chicago Machine Threatens Life of Negro Candidate

Daily Worker New York, N.Y

New York, N.Y. 37a(1) Ill.

By Ruby Cooper

CHICAGO, Feb. 3.—Legal trickery and threats of violence are being used to drive 127 independent candidates for aldermanic posts off the ballot, it was revealed at Election Board hearings. Highlight of the hearings was revelation of a threat against the life of Albert Janney, young Negro candidate in the 20th Ward. Wed. 2-5-47

Controlled by a corrupt gangland-tied machine, the ward has long been known as the "Bloody 20th." It has never been represented in the City Council by a Negro, although the majority of its inhabitants are Negroes.

During the roaring twenties a Negro, Octavius Granady, attempted to run for alderman in opposition to the machine. He was found murdered on the eve of the election.

THREAT

Visibly upset, a young Negro woman resident of the ward, told the Board of the threat against Janney.

She was visited in her home by a young man who accused her of working in behalf of Janney, she told the Board. Daily Worker

The visitor reminded her, Mrs. Manning declared, that the last time a Negro ran for alderman he was killed, and told her:

"The same thing could happen to the big boy," referring to Janney.

INTIMIDATION

Also disclosed were acts of intimidation in the 2nd Ward, where the Democratic machine is contesting the candidacy of Peter Brown, Negro leader of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union.

In a sworn statement, a Negro worker said an affidavit deposing he did not sign a Brown petition was secured from him under duress.

He was told his brother would be fired from the police force and $300 his mother had paid a Mr. Harvey to secure his brother the post would be lost. New York, N.Y.

Charges of forgery of signatures on the petitions of the independent candidates were disproved by attorneys and witnesses.

Answering the charge that his signature on the petition of Pearl Hart (44th Ward) was forged, the Rev. Paul Hunsinger dramatically told the crowded City Council chambers: Wed-2-5-47

"I would like to see the man who is charging me, a minister of the church, with forgery."

2,000 at Chicago Rally Back Negro Candidates for Judges

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

By Ruby Cooper

Thurs. 10-31-47

CHICAGO, Oct. 30. — Over 2000 Negro and white Chicagoans last night cheered appeals by Paul Robeson and Rex Tugwell, former Roosevelt Administration "braintruster" to end Jimcrow in the Superior Court and elect three Negro Progressive Party candidates next Tuesday. 10-31-47-Th.

The wind-up political rally on Chicago's great South Side also heard Oscar Depriest, Republican committeeman for the third ward, who announced his political organization was supporting the Negro progressives "whether my party bosses like it or not." New York, N.Y.

The three Negro progressives are Earl Dickerson, former 2nd ward alderman; Sidney A. Jones, former senior attorney for the U. S. Department of Labor here; and Richard E. Westbrooks, Republican and dean of Negro lawyers, Daily Worker

With the Cook County Bar Association spearheading their campaign, the Negro candidates have gathered support from leaders and members of the old parties, including large numbers of precinct captains who are refusing to "deliver" the vote for the machine's coalition Jimcrow slate.

De Priest told the rally that "Negroes will never get anywhere in America until they stand up and fight for their rights.

"Sometimes," he said, "they give you a job to stop you from being a man. But our people should learn that they have to stand by those who stand for them, and I don't care what party they belong to."

Robeson said, "Here in this campaign you have demonstrated that we can all get behind a common purpose."

"I gave up the law profession because I saw no hope or future in it 20 years ago," Robeson related. "But the nomination of Negroes for judges here will give faith and hope to every Negro boy and girl."

Tugwell declared that "it was the big city machines in 1940 that said Henry Wallace could not be vice president again, and everyone knows why. These machines live by service to special interests." Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 10-31-47

37a(1) 1947

Kansas

J. H. MCDOWELL IN RACE FOR MAYOR

Plaindealer

37a(1) Kans 3-7-47

Joseph H. McDowell, former Wyandotte County attorney and city court judge, Tuesday announced as a candidate for mayor of Kansas City, Kansas. He became the first to toss his hat into a race that is expected to be wide open in the scant time remaining before the primary March 18 and the runoff April 1.

McDowell has been active in community affairs since his graduation in 1931 from University of Kansas school of law. He is a member of the county bar association, of American Legion post No. 81, of the High Twelve club and of the Argentine Activities association. He is a director of the local chapter of the American Red Cross, the Community Chest association and the Children's bureau.

McDowell was one of the attorneys representing the Wyandotte County Bar association in incorporating the Wyandotte Hotel company. Kansas City, Ka

He is 39 years old, married and has one child. The home is at 1212 North Twenty-second.

McDowell's second term as county attorney was cut short when he enlisted in the United States marine corps early in 1943 and served with the corps for three years. He left the service with the rank of captain.

He will make the race for mayor strictly as an independent.

"I have not consulted the leaders of either side in the city manager fight," McDowell said. "I consider the manager issue as dead now and as I see it, it is now everybody's job to make our present form of government as affective as possible, serving all. Our city is big enough and strong enough to accomplish what it sets out to do." 3-7-47

McDowell said he would like to see new fases and younger ones in local public office and said he would chose an ex-service man as his campaign manager.

Ky. Minister Is Nominated

Pa.

37a (1)

Pittsburgh Courier

LEXINGTON, Ky. —Outstriding two other race candidates for nomination as a City Commissioner here, the Rev. H. H. Greene won a spot on the ticket for the November general elections when four Commissioners will be elected for four-year terms. He placed eighth in the field. The top eight candidates go into the November elections. 10-4-47

Negro Socialist nominated for Paducah office

Los Angeles Cal.

Tribune.

37a (1)

PADUCAH, Ky. — A Negro, who is state secretary of the Kentucky Socialist Party, as well as attorney for the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and for several labor unions, won nomination for city commissioner in the recent non-partisan primary here, running third in a field of 17 candidates. Sat. 10-11-47

A frequent Socialist candidate in Paducah, Joseph S. Freeland got the solid Negro vote, plus strong labor support, to poll 1,596 votes. The two candidates ahead of him received only 2,021 and 1,652, respectively, and a vice president of the State Federation of Labor was able to finish 16th only with 575 votes.

Since four city commissioners are to be elected out of the 8 candidates on Nov. 4, Freeland stands an excellent chance to become the first Negro commissioner, as well as the first Socialist official in Paducah history.

First Negro candidate in Paducah history, Freeland has previously run for Congress and for county judge. In the campaign just over, he made so strong an impression as to win the following comment from the Paducah daily Sun-Democrat:

"More than any of the other candidates, Joseph S. Freeland, who finished third, was responsible for the ousting of all present city commissioners, with the exception of Johnston. He did an effective job of writing clever advertising copy. He tagged the present commission members as the reversible five, charging them with reversing themselves so frequently during the last two years that neither they nor the people knew where they were going most of the time. He not only helped himself but also other candidates running against the present officials."

37a(1) 1947 New York

ALP Names Ada B. Jackson For City Council Race

Daily Worker New york, N.Y. Thur. 6-26-47

In a dramatic last minute move, the Kings County American Labor Party yesterday withdrew its first candidate for the City Council, Arthur E. Blyn, and named instead Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, Negro community leader. Thus, Mrs. Jackson becomes the only woman candidate for a primary nomination in the 1947 odd-year political campaign, and enters the tri-party contest in which the main party campaignees are Thomas J. Mirabile, Democrat, and A. J. Cincotta, Republican and a Marine Corps Reserve officer.

Yesterday was the deadline for filing petitions placing names on primary ballots. Thur. 6-26-47

The special election in November will fill the council seat formerly held by Magistrate Anthony J. DiGiovanna, Democrat, who resigned when he was named a judge by Mayor O'Dwyer. Mirabile, his temporary successor elected under city charter rules by the City Council, is serving until Dec. 31.

Blyn, Kings County ALP organizational director, announced his declination and the selection of Mrs. Jackson.

"In nominating Mrs. Jackson," Blyn declared, "the ALP underscores the fact that the Negro community of Brooklyn has thus far been denied representation in elective posts. Thur. 6-26-47

MRS. JACKSON
Named by ALP

"In view of this fact, as soon as the City Council vacancy occurred the ALP sought to insure the nomination by either of the major parties of a Negro candidate."

"The ALP made it plain at that time that such a nomination by either of the major parties would receive the support of the ALP. Nevertheless, both the Democratic and Republican parties saw fit to continue the policy of discriminating against the Negro people in the selection of candidates for public office. Thur. 6-26-47

"As a war veteran and a Jewish-American, I am confident that the voters of Brooklyn, regardless of formal party affiliation, will recognize in the candidacy of Mrs. Jackson a signal opportunity to elect a highly qualified individual for vital public service and to strike a blow at discrimination, whether it will be directed at Negroes, Catholics, Jews, Italians and other minority groups."

N. Y. Candidates Restricted To One-Party Run

37a(1)

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

Fri. 7-11-47

ALBANY N. Y.—(NNPA)— The Court of Appeals by a unanimous decision last Wednesday upheld the constitutionality of the Wilson-Pakula law which restricts candidates to seek nomination only in the party in which they are enrolled.

Constitutionality of the law, enacted by the State Legislature in 1947, was challenged by the American Labor party at which it was chiefly aimed. The Republican, Democrat and Liberal parties supported the new law in court.

Two members of Congress who will be affected by the new law are Representatives Vito Marcantonio, American Labor party, and Adam C. Powell, Democrat, who will be unable to seek nominations in other than their parties without approval of the party committees. If a party committee approves, a candidate enrolled in another party may run in its primary elections.

The decision will probably leave the contest for the Twenty-third State Senate District in Manhattan between Joseph Zaretski, the party designee, and Assemblyman, William T. Andrews. Fri. 7-11-47

Mr. Andrews, a veteran Assemblyman from the Twelfth Assembly District in Manhattan, also has filed in the American Labor primary for the State Senate nomination. He claims the support of the American Labor party in his district.

His fight for the Democratic nomination is not affected by the new law because he is a Democrat, but a legal fight may ensue from his efforts to get the American Labor nominations.

Asks Probe Of Bar to Negroes In Registration

37a(1) N.Y.

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

Mrs. Ada B. Jackson yesterday called upon the Department of Justice to investigate why Negro workers were barred from registering in Brooklyn last week. In numerous election districts thousands of Negroes were kept waiting on line so long that some were forced to leave thereby losing their vote.

Mrs. Jackson pointed out that city and state agencies have turned a cold shoulder on the matter.

The American Labor Party candidate for City Council, who received the only Citizens Union endorsement for office, has reported the "shocking negligence" in the predominantly Negro communities to Mayor O'Dwyer, Attorney General Nathaniel Goldstein and the New York City Board of Elections.

The Brooklyn leader said thousands were prevented from voting and that police "shoved voters and watchers around." Thur. 10-16-4

Mrs. Jackson and Molly Picon, Jewish actress, will protest high prices at a rally in the Parkway Theatre, Thursday, Oct. 23. The meeting is sponsored by the Brownsville Women's Independent Committee to Elect Ada B. Jackson to City Council.

Ada Jackson Endorsed by Citizens Union

37a(1)

Daily Worker New york.

Sat. 10-11-47

The Citizens Union yesterday announced its endorsement of Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, American Labor Party candidate for City Council from Brooklyn, lauding her "unusual ability and energy."

The Union, a non-partisan organization interested in good and efficient government, listed Mrs. Jackson as qualified and preferred. It gave no recommendation to her Republican, Liberal and Socialist opponents, and assailed the record of the Democratic candidate Thomas J. Mirabile. Said the Union of Mirabile:

DA JACKSON

"Neither in his past record nor in his brief service in the Council has Mr. Mirabile demonstrated any valid claim to the voters' preference in this contest." 10-11-47

Mrs. Jackson's long record of civic activities, the Union continued, has demonstrated **"an intelligent outlook on legislative problems."**

While the Union did not discuss the issue, it is believed that Mrs. Jackson's forthright defense of proportional representation (PR) as contrasted with the opposition of her GOP and Democratic opponents was a major factor in the endorsement. 10-11-47

For the one Brooklyn Assembly vacancy, in the 6th Assembly District, most of which lies in the eastern section of Williamsburgh, the Union recommended the election of John J. Ryan, Democratic and Liberal nominee. It also considered I. Philip Sipser, ALP candidate, to be well qualified.

In the 7th Queens Assembly District, which includes Forest Hills, the Union cited both Anthony P. Savarese, Jr., Republican, and George P. Stier, candidate of the Democratic, American Labor and Liberal Parties, both well qualified

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Sherbell Heads Group For Mrs. Jackson

Daily World N.Y.

State Sen. Kenneth Sherbell (Brooklyn ALP-10th Dist.) yesterday accepted chairmanship of the Ada B. Jackson Election Campaign Committee to fill a City Council vacancy. Wed. 10-8-47

Other members of the Committee include Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll; Mrs. Sarah Holland, president of Sarah Holland League of the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital; Dorothy Parker; Rev. John Howard Lathrop; Libby Holman; Stella Adler, and Saul Mills, chairman of the Trade Union Committee to Elect Ada B. Jackson.

NEGRO SEEKS PUBLIC OFFICE FOR FIRST TIME IN UTICA

Daily Worker

37a(1) N.Y.

Special to the Daily Worker

UTICA,, N. Y., Oct. 4.—For the first time in the history of Utica a Negro is a candidate for public office. Robert A. Miller, a Navy veteran of World War II and trade unionist, is running for Second Ward alderman. New York, N.Y.

Miller is running on a new ticket in Utica politics, the Better Utica Party, made up of dissatisfied Republican and Democratic forces. Miller has a real platform, based on the needs of the people of the Second Ward. He has attracted real and serious attention in the city with his program for additional housing, publicly or privately built; new traffic controls for children's safety; new playgrounds; tax assessment cuts for home-owners and small businesses; child care centers for working mothers; an end to discrimination in city government against any race, color and creed; opposition to anti-labor laws of every kind.

The Second Ward is a district of Negro and white workers, long dominated by the two machines. The incumbent alderman is Mrs. Lena Goldbas, nominated by both the Democratic and Republican parties, and who was written in on the American Labor Party line in the primaries. She has been alderman for 20 years and her late husband served before her.

Miller has opened headquarters and started a voter's school. Reflecting the interest in his campaign was the favorable coverage given him by the **Utica Daily Press**, a Gannett paper.

Miller charged that both major parties in Utica "have never kept their promises to our people. The most we have been able to wheedle out of these false friends is the questionable honor of being permitted to collect ashes and garbage." 10-6-47

Support and active help for his campaign has come from Negro and white trade unionists, religious and civic people. Monday

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PM Prefers Ada Jackson for City Council

P.M.

By John K. Weiss
and Amos Landman

New York, N.Y.

(Second of a series on the coming election). 37a(1) N.Y.

New York will elect only one City Councilman this year—in Brooklyn. The next regular Councilmanic election doesn't take place until 1949, but this year's by-election has been occasioned by the resignation five months ago of Anthony DiGiovanna Brooklyn Democrat, to accept a job as magistrate.

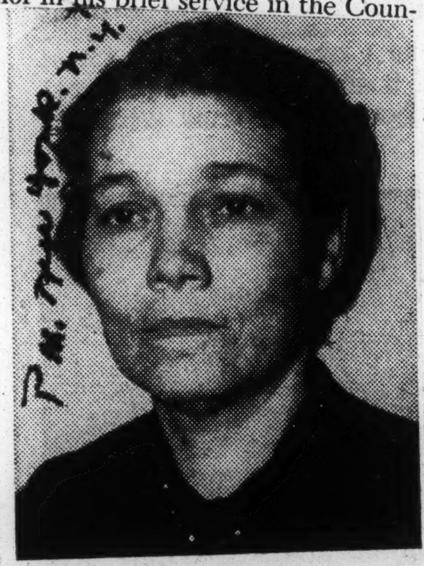
The election will be on a borough-wide basis, which gives the Democrats with their normal large majority in Brooklyn a wide advantage in the race.

Thur. 10-23-47

And from the looks of their candidate the Democrats will need all the party regulars they can get out. Their candidate is Thomas J. Mirabile, now serving in the Council by appointment to DiGiovanna's seat. He picked up this $5000-a-year job through the good offices of the Brooklyn Democratic machine after serving an apprenticeship on the Federal payroll as one of the party's Congressman. PM

Mirabile's five months in the Council have been distinguished chiefly by his unbroken silence. His record is one of complete subservience to the party leaders. When polled by PM on his stand on the all-important subway fare question, Mirabile blandly declined to commit himself, explaining he had to consult the party big-wigs.

The Citizens Union lets Mirabile down with the gentle observation that "Neither in his past service nor in his brief service in the Council has Mr. Mirabile demonstrated any valid claim to the voters' preference." PM. New York N.Y.


P.M. New York, N.Y.

Ada B. Jackson

Thur. 10-23-47

Republican candidate Angelo Cincotta is equally unexciting. Unknown to party workers, his strength, if any, lies in his long association with the American Legion. For many years he was chairman of the Kings County Americanization Committee. Cincotta is completely ignored by the Citizens Union Voters Directory.

In sharp contrast to Mirabile and Cincotta, the American Labor Party candidate, Ada B. Jackson has a long and distinguished record of civic service in Brooklyn.

Mrs. Jackson has been chairman of the Brooklyn Interracial Assembly, head of P. S. 35's PTA, head of the Bedford-Stuyvesant-Williamsburg School Council, vice president of the United Parents Association, and was a candidate for the State Assembly.

For years an enrolled Republican, she switched recently to the Labor Party when she found it increasingly difficult to work effectively within the GOP organization. In 1946, for her selfless battle to improve conditions within the Brooklyn school system, the Brooklyn *Eagle* honored her with its annual "Brooklyn Woman of the Year" trophy. She was cited as "Brooklyn's Fighting Lady."

The Citizens Union pulled no punches in its laudatory indorsement: "Mrs. Jackson has shown unusual ability and energy in constructive civic activities and has an intelligent outlook on legislative problems." Thu 10-23-47

There are two lesser candidates for the Council vacancy, the Liberal Party's John F. Kelly and Socialist Sam Marino. Kelly, defeated in the 1945 Councilmanic election, is secretary-treasurer of Local 70, Bartenders International League (AFL). He is also active in city-wide AFL activities as a member of the Central Trades and Labor Council.

In the rather unlikely event that Mirabile should be defeated, the Democrats would lose their slim one-vote majority on the Council. It is considered improbable that this would seriously jeopardize Mayor O'Dwyer's control over the Council; a solid front of five Republicans, three Laborites, two Liberals, and two Communists would have to stick together to outvote the remaining Democrats. There have been reports that a Democratic-Republican deal has developed to insure Mirabile's victory, with Republican workers stopping all work for their own candidate. PM. New York, N.Y.

PM's Indorsement: PM feels that Mrs. Jackson would be a most welcome addition to the Council and strongly indorses her candidacy.

Mrs. Jackson to End Campaign In Home Area

37a(1) N.Y.

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

Ada B. Jackson, ALP candidate for City Council, who, if elected, would become New York's first Negro woman to be elected to public office, will wind up her campaign in Bedford-Stuyvesant, her home district.

Mrs. Jackson has told her audiences repeal of proportional representation has as one of its aims barring Negroes from the City Council. She asserted that the Republican and Democratic machines have indicated they are opposed to running Negroes for the city's legislative body when there is a good chance of their election. 11-3-47

It is clear, Mrs. Jackson declared, that if the political machines are to have the only say in the naming of candidates, the Negro people and other minorities will not stand a chance of gaining real representation.

Mrs. Jackson has spoken at more than 200 meetings.

Mon, 11-3-47

ADA JACKSON

37a(1) 1947 North Carolina

Negro Wins Demo Nomination For Winston-Salem City Council

Daily Worker - Mon. 4-28-47

WINSTON SALEM, N. C., April 27.—A Negro has won the Democratic Party nomination for councilman, for the first time, in this southern industrial city, where Camel cigarets are made.

The Democratic nomination ensures the candidate's election.

A progressive white councilman was nominated at the same time by a powerful coalition of trade unionists, the Negro people and progressive forces.

Daily Worker

The Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, Negro veteran, minister and teacher, won the Democratic Party nomination with a vote of 2,169. It was the highest vote received by any of the 16 candidates from the city's four wards. Next highest vote, 1,286, went to the other coalition candidate, Fred C. Denny.

Mon 4-28-47

No candidate for mayor was endorsed by the United Labor Committee, formed late in the campaign However, this committee condemned the machine candidacies but refused to endorse independent Dewey A Herrin. Herrin came into the race late and made very little effort on his behalf. In spite of this, he polled 3,662 against Mayor Georga Lentz' 5,108.

A third candidate for council endorsed by the United Labor Committee lost in the first ward by 327 votes.

New York N.Y.

The committee has also entered George T. Matthews, UE-CIO local president, for councilman in the general election May 6.

Indication of tremendous interest was the voting of 10,077 out of 13,398 registered for the primary. Williams is pastor of the First Institutional Baptist Church and spent three years as chaplain in the Army. He held the rank of major at the time of his discharge. He is a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., and has a Master of Arts Degree from Boston University.

Denny, the other coalition candidate elected, is a small business man, a partner in the Wachovia Oil Company. He is active in church and fraternal circles.

Mon 4-28-47

NEGRO VET GETS LARGEST VOTE EVER CAST IN WINSTON-SALEM

The Worker New York, N.Y.

Sun. 5-4-47

By Sam Hall

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—For the first time since reconstruction a North Carolina city will have a Negro alderman on the city council. Only a complete political reversal in the general elections May 6 could prevent it—and no political observer sees any chance of that.

Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, Negro veteran and minister, was nominated in the Democratic Party April 22 by the largest vote ever cast for a candidate for city council in the history of Winston-Salem.

Running as a candidate from the Third Ward, Rev. Mr. Williams received 2,169 votes, while the other candidate nominated from that ward received 827.

It was an overwhelming coalition of united labor, the Negro people, and progressives that made this stunning victory possible.

A United Labor Committee, formed in Winston-Salem during the struggle against anti-labor bills, supported three candidates for the city council. In addition to Williams, Fred C. Denny, small business man, was nominated from the usually conservative Salem ward. He received the second highest vote in the aldermanic races—1,286.

Not content with this, the United Labor Committee, formed by AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, has put an independent in the field for the general election in the Salem Ward. He is George T. Matthews, combat veteran and president of the Bassicks-Sack local United Electrical, Radio and Machine Worekrs, CIO.

★

THE REV. MR. WILLIAMS is pastor of the First Institutional Baptist Church here. He was given a leave of absence to serve as an Army chaplain during the war and was discharged with the rank of major. He is a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., and has a Master of Arts degree from Boston University.

Daily Worker

When interviewed by this reporter following the election, Rev. Mr. Williams referred to his campaign radio talks as his program. In these talks he put forth a program for better school buildings, more recreational facilities, better housing and the paving of streets.

"My only interest," he told a radio audience, "is in building a greater Winston-Salem, a city in which all the citizens will share equally in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in times of war or peace."

N.Y.

★

THIS NEW people's political leader is a quiet, sincere man. He is completely convinced that only Negro and white unity can solve the problems that the people of the South face

5-4-47

The rising people's political forces in Winston-Salem in which the Communists are playing constructive role, developed great organizational strength during this campaign. Broad precinct clubs were very active For the general elections this work is being strengthened and extended.

A particular blow to the corporation-dominated political machine here was the clear evidence that white voters supported Rev. Mr. Williams. In one third ward precinct only a few Negro voters cast ballots. The final count showed many more votes than this number for the Negro candidate.

REV. KENNETH WILLIAMS

Sun. 5-4-47

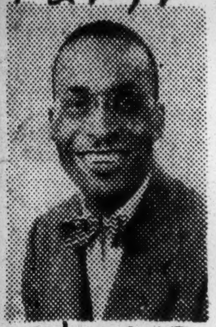
37a(1) 1947 Pennsylvania

37a(1)

Hill Ends Second In Aldermanic Race

Journal & Guide

9-27-47



Norfolk, Va.

MR. HILL

LANCASTER, Pa. — A. William Hill Jr., of Lancaster, entered the race for city alderman in the Seventh Ward here in the recent primary election on the Republican ticket and finished second in a three-way race. The other aspirants were white. This was the first time a Negro had run for alderman or any other corresponding office in Lancaster.

Mr. Hill is a funeral director and civic leader. He is chairman of the Lancaster FEPC, vice chairman, Interracial Council; president of Crispus Attucks Auxiliary of Pennsylvania; director of junior Elks; member of Masons, NAACP, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Ebenezer Baptist Church and County Funeral Directors Association.

Mr. Hill is also a graduate of Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C., and is married. Mrs Sarah O. Brown Hill, his wife, is also a funeral director, The couple has two children, A. William Hill, 3rd, 8, and Reginald N. Hill, 10 months.

W. E. B. DuBois

The Winds Of Time

37a(1)

Defender

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 12-27-47

Senator Robert A. Taft, of Ohio is an avowed ndidate for the Presidency in 1948. Negroes st watch him and interrogate him on two ints:the FEPC, and national aid to education. e stands committed to a fair employment practice program but has advocated a bill without teeth, a bill which amounts simply to advice and provides no compulsion or penalty. This is not sufficient, and we should not allow him to pose as a friend of colored people or of the working man unless he is willing to go further than this. On federal aid to education he is even more untrustworthy.

Like his father, the former president, he has been flirting with the South. We Negroes will not easily forget that speech which President Taft made in Birmingham, Alabama, where he promised to appoint no officials in the South who did not have the approval of the white South. He not only kept his word, but he set an example for all presidents who have succeeded him.

On Federal Aid to Education

Now Robert Taft comes forward in favor of national aid to education; but he says that he would oppose any federal plan to aid in providing opportunity for education which did not leave "complete control up to the state and local governments." He is apparently in favor of this because of "an alarming trend toward totalitarianism" and cites nazi Germany as an example.

It is to be presumed that Mr. Taft knows what would be done with federal funds by the educational authorities in the South. At best they would give the Negro some part of the proportion which his number in the community and his lack of education entitles him to, but he would not get his just proportion unless the whole present allocation of funds is taken away from present authorities and placed under a different set of persons. For this we have no reason in the world to hope the same men or the same sort of men are going to distribute federal funds in the south who are today distributing state funds. And what is the fact about that distribution of funds? Let us look at some figures for 1945 in the 17 states and the District of Columbia where separate schools are maintained by law:

In the value of school property per pupil enrolled whites received $224 and Negroes $52, or the whites were 430 per cent higher. For the amount spent per pupil in elementary schools, Negroes received $32.46 and whites $73.56, or nearly two and one-half times as much. The average white elementary school teacher was paid $1,307, while the Negro instructor received $959, or 40 per cent less.

What Senator Taft proposes then is to give the South a large sum of money which it can distribute in any way that it pleases among the educable people of that section. There will be no federal control, no way in which the government or the people can see to it that those children in the South who most need education get the benefit of this contribution from the United States government.

This is worse than no contribution at all, and Robert Taft ought to be made to realize this. If, and when, he does know and realize it, he still stands for federal aid to education without elimination of race discrimination, then he deserves no Negro votes and should get none.

(Copyright by The Chicago Defender)

Richmond Va. Times-Dispatch
March 8, 1947

Negro Lawyer Enters Race

37a(1)
Va.

Oliver W. Hill, partner in the Negro law firm of Hill, Martin & Robinson, paid his qualifying fee yesterday as a candidate for the House of Delegates from Richmond, subject to the August 5 Democratic primary.

The new candidate has been practicing law in Richmond since 1939, having lived previously in Washington and Roanoke. His law firm here represents the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in addition to handling private cases.

The Negro attorney is the third candidate to pay the $14.40 qualifying fee at the city comptroller's office for the House of Delegates' race. The others are Philip Whitfield, attorney, and Alvin V. Leake, contractor. One person, City Alderman Frank S. Richeson, has paid the fee to qualify as a candidate for the State Senate from Richmond.

Richmond has seven seats in the House and three in the Senate.

37a(2) 1947

Florida

Didn't Quite Make It, But He Blazed a Trail

37a(2)

The Worker

New York, N.Y.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — The people of Florida, Negro and white, have carried the battle for freedom of the franchise. The battle has been taking place on two fronts. One is the fight against the white primary bill, which was finally beaten in the State Senate. The other is the race run by Wilson Armstrong, Negro trade-unionist, for a seat in the city council of Jacksonville—the first such race in two generations. Wilson Armstrong didn't quite make it to the city council, but he has blazed a wide trail that will soon again be followed, and successfully, by others of his people.

PROGRESSIVE WHITES SUPPORT ARMSTRONG

Wilson Armstrong, mortar mixer, was born in Georgia and has lived in Jacksonville since he was a baby. He is an officer of the Jacksonville local of the Hod Carriers' and Common Laborers' Union and a delegate to the city Building Trades Council. He had to leave school after the fourth grade, but the union movement has been his high school and his university.

Armstrong's principal opponent in the Fifth Ward, which is predominantly Negro and includes, in addition to the city's downtown business section, some of the worst Negro slums in the South, was Claude Smith, Jr., incumbent councilman from the Fifth Ward and chairman of the legislative committee of the State Democratic Executive Committee. In the latter capacity he was one of the state's leading proponents of the white primary bill.

Armstrong's decision to run for city council had been first shared with the Jacksonville council of the National Negro Congress, of which he is a member. At the outset of his campaign a campaign committee consisting of members of this group and some CIO unions was set up. Soon, however, the committee was broadened by the very momen- the campaign, until it officers of several AFL unions, the pastor of Armstrong's church, several teachers in the city's one Negro high school, the editors of two local weekly Negro newspapers, and the president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Ed Koelman, a political henchman, and a committee of ministers visited Armstrong and tried to persuade him to withdraw from the race. First they tried to tell him that it was not a good time for a Negro to run for office, in view of the threat of the white primary bill. When he showed them that the fight must be carried on, they attacked him as "unrepresentative" of the Negro community on the score of his vocation, his low wages and his lack of formal education! Finally, when everything else failed, they began to red-bait.

ARMSTRONG BLAZES TRIAL

In the first city primaries on April 15, Armstrong polled 278 votes against Smith's 353. Two other candidates who were in the same race got 85 and 66 respectively. Since neither Armstrong nor Smith received a majority of the votes cast, they both went into the second primary on April 29 to run it off between them. This time Armstrong received 347 votes to Smith's 629.

The important thing about the race was the fact that it took place in the face of the worst threats of reaction, and that a Negro went all the way in the race without any extra-legal challenge. Campaigning on a platform of slum-clearance, extension of sewers and paving to the Negro areas, equality before the city courts, and improved recreational facilities for Jacksonville Negroes, he carried a message of hope and struggle to his people. The true results of his fight will be felt in the future. June 5-18-47

Time Chicago, Ill. Mon. 11-3-47

Associated Press

MISSISSIPPI'S STENNIS & FAMILY
"I want to plow a straight furrow."

ELECTIONS

Time

More than Magnolias

In & out of Mississippi, cheers went up. Cried the *Delta Democrat-Times*: "Mississippi has proved that she is not foredoomed to follow the mongers of ill will." Echoed the New York *Herald Tribune*: "Now the confirmation is at hand . . . that Mississippi [has] more to offer than Bilboism, magnolias and white supremacy." Chicago, Ill.

Mississippi voters had given ranting old Congressman John E. Rankin, last of their nationally notorious demagogues, the worst beating of his career. In a special election to fill the U.S. Senate seat left vacant by the death of Theodore G. Bilbo, John Rankin finished fifth among five.

The winner was spare and scholarly John Cornelius Stennis, 46, a circuit judge. In him, Mississippians hoped they had a man who would return to the hard-working senatorial traditions of Pat Harrison and John Sharp Williams. John Stennis, born on a farm in Kemper County, had made a bright record for himself at Mississippi Agricultural & Mechanical College and at the University of Virginia law school. He had made an equally bright record as legislator, district attorney and judge. He has never had a civil decision reversed.

Stennis staged an unspectacular campaign. But his earnest speeches drew good crowds. He spoke out in favor of "the Southern way of life"; otherwise, he did not mention the subject of white supremacy. Instead, he talked about improving agricultural methods and backing the U.N. Said John Stennis, a teetotaler, a staunch Presbyterian and a family man (two children): "As a Senator . . . I want to plow a straight furrow down to the end of my row."

Kentucky—No Straws

With 1948 firmly in mind, leaders of both major parties cocked a hopeful eye toward last week's elections. The Democrats, still smarting from their 1946 walloping, were quick to see the beginning of a Democratic boom in the election of Earle C. Clements as governor of Kentucky. The Republicans counter-shouted that throughout the nation they had held the line and consolidated last year's gains. The plain facts of local politics deflated the rodomontades of both sides.

The decisive vote for Clements, a liberal Southern Democrat, was tempered by current Kentucky political history. Traditionally Democratic Kentucky has elected only two Republican governors since 1923; the G.O.P. had won in 1943 against a Democratic opposition weakened by internal strife. 11-3-47

Had the Republicans won again this year in Kentucky, it would have been a horse of another political color. For the Democrats, the victory, while comforting, was nothing to get cocky about.

Elsewhere election results added up to no trends. Of three congressional seats, the G.O.P. filled vacancies in Ohio and Indiana which had been previously held by Republicans, and in New York the Democrats kept control of the 14th District. Thousands of state legislature and city elections seesawed to a near standoff, with a slight edge for the Democrats, who registered gains in Indiana, Pennsylvania and New York.

Two conclusions could fairly be drawn from last week's vote: 1) the race for 1948 is wide open, and neither Republicans nor Democrats are in a position to coast; 2) politicians who trumpet about national trends are only talking politics.

Time Chicago, Ill.

The Cities

In Detroit, Mayor Edward J. Jeffries sought a fifth term with new backers. During three previous campaigns he had been bitterly opposed by the U.A.W.-C.I.O.; this time the union gave him its support. Mon. 11-3-47

But Jeffries' opponent, Councilman Eugene I. van Antwerp, complained loud & long about the price Mayor Jeffries had paid for his U.A.W. blessing. Some two months ago, he charged, Mayor Jeffries had obligingly looked the other way when U.A.W. used roughhouse tactics in an organization drive. Police sent to halt the riots said they had been told privately not to make arrests.

Last week Detroit citizens voted Jeffries out and Van Antwerp in. The U.A.W. score: no runs, no hits, four errors.

In San Francisco, Elmer E. Robinson, 52, a much-married (four times) Superior Court judge, succeeded to the mayor's chair voluntarily vacated by peripatetic Roger D. Lapham, who had traveled widely in his unsuccessful efforts to bring the United Nations to his home town. Elected by a narrow margin over two opponents, Robinson had the varied support of civic leaders, liquor interests and the Hearst newspapers.

In Philadelphia, Mayor Bernard ("Barney") Samuel's pachydermatous machine was too much for crusading Dick Dilworth, the Democratic candidate (TIME, Oct. 27). The machine delivered the vote in the solid downtown wards and buried Dilworth* under a plurality of more than 90,000 votes. Republican control of Philadelphia, undisturbed for 63 years, was secure for another four. Mon

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MUST BE CRUSHED

Chicago Ill

Until the stubborn resistance of the white South to free elections is crushed, all of us in the North as well as in the South will suffer. The local victories of colored office seekers in North Carolina, Virginia, and other Southern states give new courage to colored citizens and inspire increased political activity among the grass roots. Further these local victories seem to encourage a wider acceptance among the whites of the inevitable, of the complete political emancipation of the colored population. Defender

Once truly free elections are won in the South, the door will be open for a house-cleaning in Washington where today the representatives of the South exert a tremendous influence upon national affairs and effectively block all legislation designed to give the Negro the "equality of opportunity." It is obvious, when we reflect upon these facts, the progress of the Negroes in the North are directly affected by the political struggles of their brothers in the Southland. We are greatly indebted to those brave citizens who are engaged in political action in an area where it really counts.

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7 Win Council Seats in Municipal Elections

37a(2) gen

Baltimore, Md.

Afro-American

Results in last week's municipal elections throughout the country show the election of Ohio's first colored councilwoman; the re-election of three council incumbents in Cleveland, councilmanic victories in New Haven, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and a Board of Supervisors win in Suffolk, Va. Sat

Colored candidates in other major cities failed to make the grade.

Although accurate returns in Canton, Ohio, are not known, Mrs. Esther Archer has become the first colored woman to be elected to a municipal council post in the history of her State. A Democrat, she won over Mose Powell. Sat 11-15-47

3 Re-elected in Cleveland

Councilman Charles C. Carr, Augustus Parker and Harold Gassoway won by comfortable margins in Cleveland.

Mrs. Jean M. Capers opposed Parker in Ward 11 for the second time, but did not fare as well on this occasion as previously. She polled 2,435 votes to his 3,007.

James H. Bell, who was eliminated in the primary, conducted a write-in campaign which netted him 50 votes. Sat 11-15-47

Foster in New Haven

The Rev. Cornell E. Talley of Pittsburgh, who polled nearly 80,000 votes in the aldermanic race, was defeated under the Democratic landslide in Allegheny County.

The Rev Richard A. G. Foster Republican, was re-elected to the Board of Alderman in New Haven to serve a third term. In Cincinnati, Jesse Locker was an easy victor in his re-election campaign to the council, but Theodore M. Berry lost out.

37a(2) gen.

Woodie Armstrong, a Registration Commission employee, was elected to the City Council from the Fourth District on the Republican ticket in Philadelphia, taking the seat of James H. Irvin, also colored, who did not run for re-election. Armstrong polled 74,516 votes.

Wlaker K. Jackson, running on the Democratic ticket in the Second District, was defeated for a council seat by Michael Foglietta, who received 30,079 votes to Walker's 9,674.

2 Vote Margin

By the narrow margin of two votes, in a recount last Thursday of votes cast in the Nov. 4 election for members of the Nansemond County Board of Supervisors, William A. Lawrence was declared elected by Henry E. Parker, research director of the Nansemond Independent Voters League.

In the original count, Lawrence, a public school teacher, polled 291 votes, the same number received by F. E. Farrell, white Democratic opponent.

Lawrence netted only 10 votes in the Cypress, a predominantly colored precinct.

But in Paul's Branch, Lawrence's home precinct, the count was 281 for him and 102 against. Lawrence was endorsed and supported by the Nansemond County Independent Voters League

On Sept. 15, a huge fiery cross was burned at the intersection of highways 642 and 675, near the spot where the voters had to go to cast their ballots.

Losers in Detroit

Two candidates nominated in the primaries for $10,000 a year Detroit council posts were defeated. They were the Rev. Charles A. Hill, pastor of Hartford Ave. Baptist Church and L. C. Blunt, secretary-general manager of the Great Lakes Mutual Insurance Company.

The Rev. Mr. Hil placed 16th in the race, polling 105,903 votes while Mr. Blount trailed in 18th position with 98,844 votes. Only nine councilmen were scheduled to be elected.

All three colored candidates for the Superior Court in Chicago were defeated in the election in which 21 coalition candidates were elected to the judical posts.

Progressive Support

Running on the new Progressive ticket, the three candidates were given strong support in the second, third, fourth and fifth wards in which more than 20% straight Progressive ballots were cast.

Earl Dickerson, attorney, polled 213,750 votes; Sidney A. Jones 182,357 and Richard E. Westbrooks 15[illegible],685. These candidates were denied approval by the Chicago Bar Association.

Clarence Suggs, Republican candidate, ran 12th in the race for the nine-man Indianapolis city council and Atty. Willard B. Ransom, United Labor candidate, ran 13th. Afro-American

The Rev. R. T. Andrews, and Charles S. Preston, white newspaperman, running on a non-segregated school platform ran behind the three white non-partisan candidates sponsored by the Citizens School committee. Baltimore, Md.

Ada Jackson Strong

Although she amassed 135,957 votes, Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, American Labor Party councilmanic candidate in Brooklyn, finished third. However, she received the largest number of votes ever given a colored candidate in the borough.

Dr. Allen F. Jackson of Hartford, Conn., missed a council seat by about 1100 votes. He received 1,271 in his own precinct and an 8,700 total. The first nine leaders were elected. Bat. 11-15-47

Small Parties Hit

Termed a blow to minority parties, Proportional Representation was defeated in New York City. Under this plan of vote counting two colored served in the city council, Congressman Adam Powell Jr. and Benjamin Davis, who is currently in office.

Davis will serve until Dec. 31, 1949. The present 23 councilmen will be succeeded by a council of 25 members, one from each of the city's 25 State senate districts.

Judgeship Poll

In Dayton, Ohio, Josef McLin, a city council candidate, was defeated.

Wendell S. Gregg is one of nine municipal court judges certified as being eligible for renomination to the bench in next April's primary, according to a majority of the 1542 lawyers polled by the Chicago Bar Association last week.

Green and 12 other judges will complete their current term of office in November, 1948.

The poll, in which lawyers also were asked to rate incumbents on judicial qualities, such as diligence, patience, courtesy, attentiveness, legal ability and integrity, placed Judge Green second to Chief Justice Edward S. Scheffler. Scheffler scored 93.03% on judicial qualities and 1188 votes for renomina-with 1,098 votes for and 115 against.

Negroes Elect Favored Men In Ocilla Election

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

37a(2) Sat 11-6-47

OCILLA, Ga.—(SNS) — The Negro vote in the aldermanic election here Tuesday, November 4, changed the whole completion of the outcome, final results indicated. Sat. 11-6-47

Some 140 Negroes out of the 175 registered total voted to sweep the favored candidates to victory. There are 650 registered voters in Irwin County where Ocilla is located.

Victors on the race for city aldermen were T. O. Paulk, C. H. "Bubber" Reid and J. Willis Tindall. Daily World

The white vote was almost evenly divided among the five candidates. The final results show that 119 colored voters added their ballots to the 223 white votes for Paulk; 116 colored voters sided with 232 whites to elect Reid and 109 colored votes went with 244 white votes to elect Tindall.

Atlanta, Ga.

In the losing column, C. Frank Crouch, who received the most white votes, 268, garnered only 17 colored ballots; E. J. Patten got only 20 Negro votes with the 251 white ballots cast for him and J. H. Whittle received only 79 Negro votes with the 244 white ballots in his favor.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

The constitution

37a(2)

Suggests Revival

Editor Constitution: As every other plan seems to be failing in the present political stew, I would suggest that all Georgia Governors, their aides and the Legislature meet together each day while the ministers of Atlanta conduct a real old-fashioned revival meeting for them. At the same time all Georgia Christians will pray for their salvation and for God to save our noble State. Let's all who know God try to bring his Love and Peace to those who seem to have forgotten it.

CHRISTINE PURYEAR.

Griffin.

By Force?

Editor Constitution: Do we accept the statement of Judge T. Hicks Fort today? He declared that the Talmadge forces will rule or put the State Capital city in ruins by force.

CARL FARCEMEL.

Atlanta. Atlanta Ga

No Recognition?

Editor Constitution: Herman must be a great disappointment to his father. The latter would never have failed to recognize and award outstanding service in the cause of law and order, and the Hon. Mr. Dykes would have been appointed maxima cum laude Custodian of the Trough, and the Hon. Mr. Nahara, Commissioner of Public Behavior.

J. N. WARE.

Rome.

Time Changes All?

Editor Constitution: If it were constitutional for the General Assembly to elect a Governor at 9 o'clock for what reason did it become unconstitutional at 12 o'clock? This was the case according to the word of Ex. Gov. Arnall who was burning the wires to get our good friend and fine young statesman, Jimmie Carmichael, to come to Atlanta and assert his constitutional rights. Of course Mr. Carmichael turned a cold shoulder to the proposition and then it has been illegal according to Mr. Arnall for the General Assembly to elect. Jan. 2. 2. 47

JOHN T. WALKER.

Atlanta.

Challenges Arnall

Editor Constitution: As a recent spectator at a local theater displaying "Bulldog Arnall's" dramatic newsreel statement that he "fears no man," I should like to challenge the ex-Governor's newly-acquired courage and valor.

I shall be glad to demonstrate the fundamental principles of Navy boot-camp technique on the Capitol lawn immediately, using Arnall as my guinea pig, and charging 10 cents admission to the general public. The Newnan Terror may appropriate one-half of the proceeds to defray expenses of his forthcoming lecture tour. I shall donate one-half of my share to my comrade-in-arms, Herman Talmadge, and the remainder to that great organization which preferred to go, and not to seek cover, the American Red Cros..

HUGH C. CARNEY.

Atlanta. The Constitution

Nothing Crooked

Editor Constitution: Why all this furor about the Legislature electing Governor Herman Talmadge? There is nothing irregular about the election, and it certainly was the logical thing to do. A campaign was waged for three weeks in advance of the election by all the factions involved, and everyone certainly knew what the plans for the election were. All were canvassing the Representatives for their support, and were claiming and publishing the number pledged to them, respectively. Governor Talmadge's pledge seems to have been on the level, for they delivered the goods when the time came. Pledges made to Governor Talmadge were by those members of the General Assembly who had contacted their supporters in their respective counties, most of which were nominally for Talmadge. The result of the Legislative election of Governor Herman Talmadge was the expression of the people through their representatives, and there is nothing crooked about it.

Preston. Jan. 2. 2-47 GEO. S. REES.

Speed by Resolution

Editor Constitution: Why doesn't the Legislature pass a resolution asking the Supreme Court to act at once on the muddle?

Royston. J. FRANK LEE.

Highly Irregular

Editor Constitution: The way Herman Talmadge so easily "slipped into the shoes" of his late father smacks of trickery, certainly of anything but democracy. Whether or not I am for or against him personally is not the question this time—but it is a point of law. If we are to preserve a democratic form of government in the United States, each State has to take care that it is doing its part, and back of that, each individual. We have to look out for the "little foxes."

Certainly something seemed highly irregular—according to democratic law—about the whole proceeding. In the first place, if Herman Talmadge was a legal candidate from the outset, why did his name not appear on the ballot? The ability to use the "write-in" vote in the case of Helen Douglas Mankin was made public—not so with Herman Talmadge. It certainly seems as though somebody was trying to put something over on somebody. After all, who's doing the electing—a particular political group or the people?

MADELINE SAYWARD.

Decatur.

Chronic Sad Sack

Editor Constitution: This star-spangled cry-baby, Ellis Arnall! Going around shedding tears as big as a goose egg, blubbering on every shoulder that will remain stationary, "We wuz robbed."

Out-voted, out-maneuvered, outsmarted at every turn, why can't he be a dignified loser. What is more contemptible than a chronic sad sack? Politics is a cruel, hard game. The elements of statesmanship seldom transcend it, and he does not possess what it takes to cure it. And the game is getting tougher—nationally and internationally. Let this be the proving ground. There may be a time coming when we will need a winning team.

When better Governors are made, Georgia will make them. And name them Talmadge.

LINDSEY D. FEW.

Apalachee

Talmadge Wins Round

PM

By United Press

New York, N.Y.

ATLANTA, Jan. 15.—Supporters of the son of the late Eugene Talmadge won a preliminary victory last night as the State Legislature met in joint session to determine who will become the next governor of Georgia. Wed. 1-15-47

Split into two unyielding camps, the lawmakers had convened at 2 p. m., after their morning session ended in wild confusion because throngs of spectators who had come miles to "see teh show" refused to leave the chamber.

The tactical victory for Herman Talmadge, son of the late governor-elect, came in a 128-126 passage of a resolution requiring a complete canvassing of the votes in the November election and a legislative vote on election of a Governor before Talmadge's opponent, M. E. Thompson, is officially declared lieutenant governor. PM

That was a definite setback for Thompson. For, had he been officially declared lieutenant governor, he automatically would have stepped up to the Governorship.

After passage of the resolution, a special canvasing committee was named to go through the returns of the general election. The counting was expected to run into today.

M. E. Thompson

First setback

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

37a(2) (PM)

Georgians Taking A Lot of Kidding

WASHINGTON — Georgia's fight over the Governorship has been a subject of almost as much interest in Washington as it has been in Georgia. It has been a top-line front-page story here for more than a week.

Georgians at the national capital are besieged for information on the developments everywhere they go. Everyone wants to know what will happen next. Three claimants to the Governorship within a week has given the whole proceedings the air of a comic opera strip.

Temporarily, at least, the bitter controversy has taken the spotlight off the opening of the new Congress and focused it on the Capitol dome in Atlanta.

Not since the premiere of Margaret Mitchell's fabulous "Gone With the Wind" has Atlanta been treated to so much publicity. It has not all been favorable publicity. The State has come in for a lot of ridicule on the way things have gone.

The censure has been aimed not so much at what has happened as the way it was done. It was the display of force in routing Gov. Arnall out of the executive offices and the executive mansion that brought down the criticism of the rest of the country.

In this Herman Talmadge, the Governor elected by the Legislature, seems to have been poorly advised by some of his more intemperate followers bent upon revenge. It smacks too much of the iron-hand methods of European dictators.

He would have been in better position with the country had he stood aside after the action of the Legislature and announced that any questions as to the legality of his election were for the courts to decide. That would have tended to make the issue an academic one, devoid of all the more sensational blood-and-thunder elements.

Amusing

But if the situation has been tense in Atlanta it has been not without an amusing side to Georgians outside of the State. An example of some of the taunts Georgians are being subjected to came at a farewell party given the other day by Mrs. Harold Walker, herself a native Georgian, to the newly appointed American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, former Undersecretary of the Treasury and former Governor of North Carolina, O. Max Gardner.

The party brought a turn-out of official and social Washington—Cabinet officers, diplomats, senators and justices of the Supreme Court.

Georgians were in ample attendance. Every time one of them made an appearance, he was set upon to explain the strange goings-on in the State. Chip Robert, of the Atlanta engineering firm that bears his name, had a special way of avoiding too much explanation of everything.

Having just returned from the State, he was a target for a lot of questions. Before answering he would maneuver to bring either Chief Justice Vinson or Associate Justice Stanley Reed, both from Kentucky, into the group.

"I don't know about everything that has happened," Robert would say, "but to better understand the Georgia situation I suggest as background that the Chief Justice or Mr. Justice Reed tell us what happened in Kentucky in the Goebels case."

(The Goebels case is the one concerning the death from an assassin's bullet of a Governor of Kentucky who had engaged in a similar brawl over the Governorship.)

Robert found this a means of escaping too much questioning on what has been taking place in Georgia.

Chief Justice

At the same party this correspondent approached the Chief Justice on the subject of the Georgia wrangle.

"Mr. Chief Justice," he was addressed, "at the risk of being cited for contempt, may I ask that you give me curbstone opinion on the legality of the issues raised in the Georgia controversy?"

"What case is that?" the Chief Justice asked in mocked innocence.

"The case involving the several claimants to the Governorship in Georgia," he was informed.

"Georgia Governorship controversy," he repeated; "why, I never heard of it."

That is the attitude of most Federal officials when efforts are made to have them comment. Atty. Gen. Tom Clark, who was also present, was as evasive as the Chief Justice. The only remarks anyone was able to get out of him was: "I am a States' rights man."

When told the story of how Vinson had reacted to the inquiry on the Georgia situation, the Attorney General said: "That explains why he is Chief Justice."

And so it goes everywhere. Georgians are being kidded a lot, and in turn are doing a lot of kidding about the fracas.

Courts To Rule

The Constitution

On Office Right

Atlanta Ga.

37a(2)

By ALBERT RILEY

This may well become known as "the week of decision" in Georgia's two-Governor ailment.

After nearly three weeks of argument in the press and on the air waves, of excitement in the halls of the Capitol and wrangling in the legislative chambers, of citizens' mass meetings, Georgia's bitter gubernatorial dispute is heading during the week into its final phase in the dignified atmosphere of the courts.

The people had their say in the Summer when they elected colorful Eugene Talmadge as their Governor for the fourth time, only to have death rob them of their choice. Sun. 2-2-47

Elevating Talmadge's son to take his place in the State's highest office, the people's representatives in the General Assembly elected Herman Talmadge as Governor and thereby touched off the explosive controversy that ripped the State asunder and reverberated throughout the nation.

The executive and legislative branches of the government have been embroiled, and now under the processes of democratic law the argument goes to the third branch of government—the judiciary, which will render a decision that will be final.

General Assembly's Power To Be Determined

The decision will determine whether the General Assembly, under the Constitution of Georgia, had the right to elect a Governor, and whether Herman Talmadge or Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson is rightful claimant to the helm of State for the next two years at least.

Each of the rival contenders has announced he will abide by the ruling of the judiciary.

Seven lawsuits have been filed, some on each side and one by a neutral bank, to determine directly or through their rival appointments to State offices whether Talmadge or Thompson is the legal Governor. Eventually one or all of these suits will reach the Supreme Court.

Three of these suits will begin their progress through the courts this week—one in Fulton County Superior Court in Atlanta and two in Henry County Superior Court in the town of McDonough, 40 miles south of Atlanta.

The great, drab pile of gray stone that is Fulton County's Courthouse in Atlanta will be the scene of the first legal joust at 10 a. m. Thursday involving the legality of a Talmadge appointee.

No. 1

The case is docketed as Charles D. Redwine vs. George B. Hamilton. It is an application for mandamus absolute to compel State Treasurer Hamilton to "accept" and cash checks already in custody and control of the Treasurer, representing collections of various taxes by the State Revenue Department headed by Redwine, Talmadge-appointed Commissioner. Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook has not recognized Redwine's appointment because Cook, ruling the Legislature has no power to elect a Governor, has not recognized Talmadge as Chief Executive.

Millions of State Funds Are Involved

Several million dollars of State funds are involved in this dispute, and Hamilton has taken the position that under Cook's ruling he does not recognize either Redwine or Thompson's appointee, Stonewall Dyer, as Revenue Commissioner until courts settle the issue. Sun. 2-2-47

Judge Bond Almand, of Fulton Superior Court, ordered Hamilton to show cause why he should not accept the funds from Redwine, who is in active control of the Revenue Department. Dyer has made no attempt to function as head of that Department, although appointed by Thompson as Commissioner.

At McDonough the 50-year-old Henry County Courthouse is being scrubbed clean for the most momentous trial in its history Friday, Feb. 7, for it is on that date that two of the most important of all the gubernatorial cases will come up before Judge Walter C. Hendrix, of the Fulton Judicial Circuit.

Thompson's Suit Aimed at Gov. Talmadge

The first of these cases, aimed directly at Herman Talmadge, has been filed by M. E. Thompson, substituting as plaintiff for former Gov. Arnall, who originally filed the suit. Directed at the

No. 2

very heart of the issue, it is a petition for declaratory judgment to "declare the rights and legal regulations of parties as to the election of Herman Talmadge by the General Assembly, and the position of M. E. Thompson as Acting Governor; to restrain Herman Talmadge from exercising control of the executive offices and performing the functions of Chief Executive."

Judge Hendrix will preside over this hearing because Judge G. Ogden Persons, of the Flint Judicial Circuit, has disqualified himself.

No less important and up for hearing at the same hour on the same day in the same spot is a suit the Fulton National Bank has

No. 3

filed against Talmadge, Thompson and Phil Landrum, Thompson's Executive Secretary. Designed to clarify the status of $95,682.25 of funds in the State Executive Department, it is, in legal terminology, a petition for an interpleader, for injunction to restrain anyone from drawing on the fund, and for declaratory judgment.

Again in this case Judge Hendrix will be the presiding jurist because of Judge Persons' disqualifying himself.

These three are the major suits involving test of gubernatorial claims and are the ones to be heard this week.

There are others. One is a suit filed by Thompson against Grover C. Byars and Mrs. Helen Williams Coxon, as members of the

No. 4

Pardon and Parole Board. Set for hearing Feb. 12 before Judge Claude H. Porter in Floyd Superior Court (Rome is the capital city of Floyd County), it is an application for mandamus to show cause why the defendants should not recognize the petitioner as Acting Governor of Georgia and comply with an official request for budgetary information.

A fifth suit, for declaratory judgment, is to be heard in Thomas County Superior Court Feb. 26 at Thomasville to determine whether

No. 5

J. B. Edwards, Arnall appointee, or A. J. Whitehurst, Talmadge appointee, is Solicitor General of the Southern Judicial Circuit. Judge George Lilly, who is slated to hear the case, is the man whose vacated Solicitorship is the prize.

The sixth suit, also up before Judge Lilly but in Lowndes County Superior Court at Valdosta, is set for Feb. 27. It is a suit

No. 6

brought by 50 Lowndes County taxpayers against the County Tax Collector and involves transfer of tax payments to the State until the entire gubernatorial issue can be settled.

A seventh suit was automatically eliminated last week when Cook approved Revenue Commissioner Redwine's $70,000 bond as to form and sufficiency. Redwine had brought mandamus suit in Laurens County Superior Court to compel such action. Cook, in approving the bond as to form and sufficiency, said, however, his approval did not constitute recognition of Redwine as legal Commissioner or Talmadge as legal Governor.

Ruling Anxiously Awaited by Georgians

The court decisions are awaited anxiously by thousands of Georgians, not only the Talmadge and Thompson partisans, but the many others who hope the laundry of the Supreme Court will put an end to the politicians' washing of Georgia's dirty linen before the nation at large.

Thompson partisans, particularly, have professed their eagerness to get the issue before the courts and have claimed the Talmadgeites have been seeking to avoid a court showdown and trying to make Thompson grab the bait of a Talmadge proposal to take the dispute before the people in a special election.

An imposing array of legal talent is poised for the battle of the courts. Talmadge, a lawyer himself, has employed B. D. Murphy, Samuel D. Hewlett, W. S. Mann, William G. Grant, of Atlanta, and Baxter Jones, of Macon. as counsel to represent him.

Thompson, one-time school man and erstwhile Revenue Commissioner, is represented by Cook and five associates, Roy McGraw, Claude Shaw, L. C. Groves, C. M. Dobbs, Victor Davidson and R. Beverly Irwin.

Representing the Arnall-Thompson faction, Cook has been the target of several moves by the Talmadge forces to curb his powers through legislation that Cook has declared is unconstitutional.

Thompson, Up From the Farm

PM, New York N.Y., Mon 1-20-47

37a(2)

Melvyn Ernest Thompson, 43, one of the claimants to the governorship of Georgia, is a farm boy who struggled for an education in the best American tradition. His father died when the boy was two, leaving his mother with six children to rear. Thompson worked after school hours through high school and Emory College, at such jobs as waiting on tables, selling brushes, and running a college store. He got his B.A. and M.A. degrees, and lacks only completion of his thesis for his Ph.D. In 1935, he was taken from his teaching job and appointed State School Supervisor. He lobbied for free textbooks and was fired by Eugene Talmadge, then governor, but was quickly reinstated and elevated to Assistant State School Superintendent. He helped Ellis Arnall defeat Talmadge four years ago and was made Arnall's executive secretary, then State Revenue Commissioner. He won the race for lieutenant governor last Summer. He has one son, now in the Navy, and lives with his wife in Valdosta, where he operates an electrical appliance store. Mon 1-20-47

Talmadgeites Lose Battle To Force Seal on Orders

The Constitution
Atlanta Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

After approximately four and one-half hours of debate on the controversial governorship, the House Tuesday defeated a resolution ordering Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson, Jr., to affix the Great Seal of the State on all orders signed by Gov. Herman Talmadge.

Vote on the measure was 90 against and 89 for, until Speaker Fred Hand cast a vote for it and tied the count. On a tie vote, however, the resolution failed. Wed. 3.5.47

Talmadge Floor Leader Robert Elliott, of Muscogee, immediately served notice he would ask the House to reconsider its action.

Supporters of Lt.-Gov. M. E. Thompson labeled the resolution as a political move intended to intimidate the Secretary of State into recognizing Talmadge as Governor. Fortson, as yet, has not affixed the seal to orders either by Thompson or Talmadge.

The Talmadge forces said the General Assembly had a right to instruct the Secretary of State on fixing the seal. They said the seal is necessary for the orderly carrying out of State business.

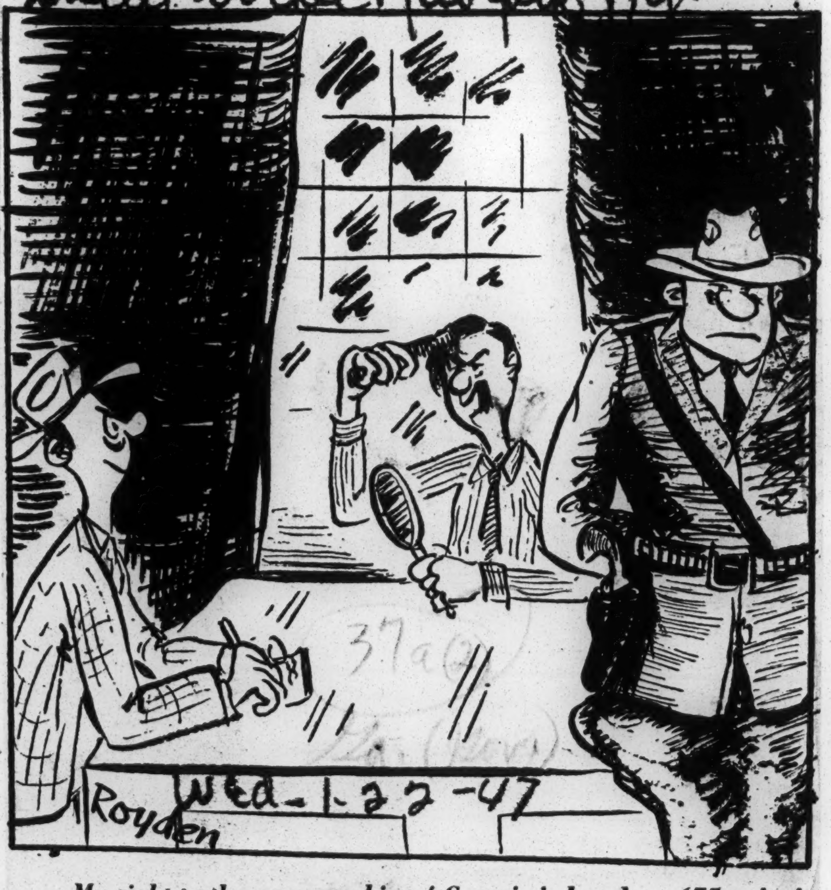
The Thompson forces declared the Legislature had no right to order an elective official to recognize a person as Governor until the courts decide whether or not this person is Governor.

Prior to the vote on the resolution, the House defeated, 90 to 80, a motion by Rep. Bernard Nightingale, of Glynn County, to give the Secretary of State instructions on each particular paper on which the House wanted the seal, instead of giving the blanket order for Fortson to stamp the seal on anything and everything Talmadge wanted. Wed. 3.5-47

In committee meetings during the afternoon, the Hygiene and Sanitation Committee recommended passage of a bill banning the sale of fireworks without permission of local authorities, and permitting hospital authorities to invest funds (set aside for matching federal money) in legal securities until they are ready to obtain the federal money. The latter bill would permit the authorities to earn on their invested funds, instead of letting the money remain idle in a deposit.

PESTBROOK WIGLER, ROVING REPORTER

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.



My right to the governorship of Georgia is based on 675 write-in votes and some fightin' followers.

F.B.I. Cold Feet Put Talmadge In

Courier Journal
Louisville Ky.

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

By Drew Pearson

Washington.

IT WAS carefully hushed up at the time, but the political mess in Georgia might have been avoided if the Justice Department had gone ahead with a secret probe it conducted of the Talmadge election. Wed. 1-22-47

Last fall, the Justice Department had F.B.I. men making a thorough check of Talmadge intimidation and racial discrimination at the polls. This, under recent Supreme Court rulings, now is the direct concern of the Federal Government and can be prosecuted as a criminal offense.

The F.B.I. investigation showed that Talmadge had sent instructions to the Georgia primary polls aimed at preventing Negroes from voting. Although the evidence was conclusive, the Justice Department finally got cold feet. The case was dropped.

One obstacle the Justice Department ran up against was the fact that Eugene Talmadge was sick and they couldn't get to him for interrogation. Also son Herman Talmadge outbluffed the Justice boys and refused to answer questions unless a stenographer was present.

Final factor, however, was the fear that federal Government intervention in Georgia would boomerang, hurting the very same liberal forces the Justice Department wanted to help.

Talmadge Ready to Use Force To 'Defend' Hold on Office

P.M. New York, N.Y. Mon. 1-20-47

Will Accept Verdict of Court, But Will Not 'Yield to Threat'

Herman Talmadge threatened to use force today, if necessary, to "defend" his hotly disputed claim to the Georgia Governorship.

Talmadge issued his ultimatum last night shortly after "Acting Governor" M. E. Thompson announced he would appear at the State Capitol building at 9 a.m. today and demand possession of the Executive office and mansion.

Thompson, sworn in Saturday as Lieutenant Governor, proclaimed himself acting Governor by virtue of Ellis Arnall's resignation. Arnall, when stepping aside in Thompson's favor, again emphasized that the death of Gov.-elect Eugene Talmadge prior to inauguration made Thompson Georgia's rightful Executive. Mon. 1-20-47

Young Talmadge stood pat, however, despite the mounting scope of anti-Talmadge meetings held throughout the State. He insisted the Georgia Assembly was within its right in designating him "Governor" because he won the most write-in votes (697), flatly declared: P.M.

"It is my purpose to hold the Governor's office . . . I will not yield to any threat, or bow to force. We are amply able to defend the Governor's office and will do so if necessary." New York, N.Y.

Talmadge, who last week took over Arnall's office and official home through the help of State troopers, argued that Thompson had declared his intention to "recruit an army and atempt to take the Governorship by force."

Forty-three-year old Thompson, a former teacher, derided the report, said:

"I have always said that I would not use force and I am perfectly willing, as always, to trust my case entirely to the courts."

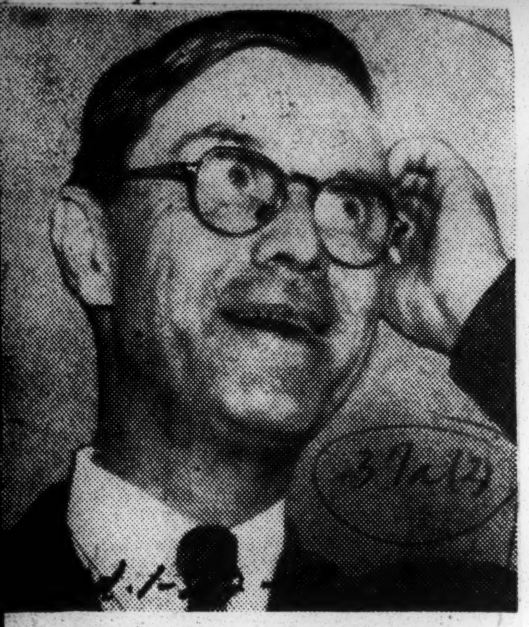
Reversing his previous position young Talmadge said that he, too would abide by the suit started by Arnall to have Georgia's Supreme Court decide the issue. He confidently predicted ,however, that the court would declare it had no jurisdiction to question the Assembly's action. Preliminary hearing on Arnall's suit—now to be pressed in Thompson's name—is not due until Feb. 7.

Thompson announced last night that he has also instructed Attorney General Eugene Cook to institute prosecution against use of State funds by "illegal officials."

If refused permission to take over the Governor's office—and that is practically certain—Thompson said he intends to establish offices as "Acting Governor" in the chambers of the Senate President.

Chances are that Talmadge himself may not show up, since he has set the day aside in commemoration of Robert E. Lee's birthday, which actually was yesterday. However, his state police will be on hand.

The Legislature will be in session, however, and the House is



Georgia's Gene Talmadge

By Stetson Kennedy:

Anti-Talmadge Tribe Increases

New York, N.Y.
Jan. 1-21-47

(Stetson Kennedy, author of Southern Exposure, *has observed the Georgia governorship fight first hand, both as a liberal writer and as a member, under an assumed name, of the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians.)*

"I will assert in every way I know how that I am Governor of Georgia," M. E. Thompson has declared. "Talking isn't the important thing now. It is time for action."

The action he has already taken indicates that he means what he says. Already he has:

¶ Confronted the Pretender in his den and exacted from him a promise to abide by the decision of the courts.

¶ Announced to the Pretender his intention to set up offices as acting governor in the chambers of the Senate President, and obtained assurance of non-interference.

¶ Appointed a successor to his office as State Revenue Commissioner.

¶ Appointed a chairman of the State Highway Board and twelve members thereof.

¶ "I am not a military man," Thompson had said previously. He went on to say, however, that should Herman Talmadge defy the courts, he would not hesitate to employ the police powers of the Executive to re-establish constitutional government and law.

He has instructed Eugene Cook, Attorney General of the State, to continue to prosecute the legal proceedings against Talmadge which were instituted by Arnall. The first decision will come on Feb. 7 in Superior Court. From there it will undoubtedly have to go to the State Supreme Court, which could hardly come to a decision before March 31.

The most hopeful sign on Georgia's red hill horizon—and there are many of them (hopeful signs, that is)—are the mass meetings of indignation which are cropping up all over the state in protest against the tactics of the Talmadgites. Former Gov. Arnall is to address such a meeting in Atlanta tonight. It is likely that both Talmadge and the Klan will send out a call to all faithful Klanspeople and their fellow travelers to heckle Arnall.

That which complicates matters is the fact that the Talmadgites and the decent people of Georgia are equally aroused—pro and con. But the decent ones, as the primary election showed, are in majority, and their tribe has increased fabulously since Talmadge and his legislature adopted their high-handed methods. Democracy's first line of defense in Georgia now is in the courtroom; but her second line of defense, which now appears invulnerable, lies in the democratic instincts of a majority of her people. Georgia has a minority problem sho nuff now—the wool hat boys.

Thompson, when Talmadge won the nomination last Summer, said, "I can get along with Gene." But the fact remains that he was Arnall's secretary, and he did call Ol' Gene a "fascist." Current events in Georgia bid fair to make Thompson a thoroughgoing anti-Talmadgite and a fair to middlin liberal—as Georgia liberals go—but hardly of the stature of Georgia's great liberal, Ellis Arnall.

The reason Georgia's Senators had to stand all last Tuesday morning when the House and Senate met in joint session to "elect" Herman to office is that the Klan had issued a call to its members to pack the legislative hall to root for Herman. They were on the floor as well as in the gallery. I saw the Klan's fishtale wiggle recognition handshake all over the House floor. One legislator near me, in greeting another, whispered, "John B. Gordon Klavern." (Gordon was a Confederate general.)

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

The People Limit Themselves

Atlanta Ga.
1-24-47 Fri

In their gubernatorial dilemma the people obviously want two things.

First, they would like an election.

Second, an election denied, they want a quick court decision.

They probably will get neither.

The reason they won't is that the people themselves have denied both to themselves.

I have not been sulking in my tent, but I do admit a certain cynicism about furious and excited windmilling when it is meaningless.

The people can't have an election and they may be denied a quick court decision because they have denied it to themselves.

State Constitution The people went to the polls and voted to adopt a new State Constitution. It was, actually, an amendment which wiped out the old Constitution and substituted a new one. Actually, it was not very new, consisting largely of chunks lifted from the old one. No one seems to have noted the contradictions in it . . . that is, until the Talmadge political organization noted them and moved boldly to take advantage of them.

But, the point is the people, of a State or nation, define their own rights and powers by their Constitutions.

The Georgia State Constitution forbids an election for Governor except in the years when the Legislature is being elected. That is every two years. There was another highly technical possibility, that advanced by de facto Gov. Herman Talmadge, namely, that both the Governor and Lieutenant Governor resign, thus forcing the Speaker of the House to call an election. The Thompson forces refused it, saying they believed the many conditions imposed "stacked" it against them.

But, there cannot be, under ordinary circumstances, an election, because the people have willed it so.

Friday 1-24-47

Wisconsin A great deal has been made of a somewhat similar case in Wisconsin where the Supreme Court quickly rendered a decision.

That was possible because the people of Wisconsin had so determined.

They had, in the writing of their Constitution, made it possible for the Wisconsin Supreme Court to define the law, a decision initiated by the court.

The people of Georgia, in their State Constitution, make it impossible for their court to do so.

The Georgia Supreme Court is restrained by the State Constitution. It is merely a court of review. That is all it can be. It must wait until matters pass through regular, fixed channels and finally is placed before it.

Constitution

Only then may it act.

So, all discussion of the quick action by the Wisconsin court is so much verbal exercise. The people of Wisconsin modernized their procedure. Georgia has kept in force the methods of the early days. When the new Constitution was written, the writers simply lifted, verbatim, the old Constitutional provisions.

So, the Georgia Supreme Court is bound—by the people who vote on reform or who fail to vote on it.

The Court can't act quickly because the people won't permit it. Or haven't permitted it.

Atlanta Ga.

The Superior Court is to hear argument on Feb. 7. If the Talmadge forces lose the case they will have 20 days, from the day of the decision, to file a bill of exceptions. Their strategy likely would be, and certainly can be, to wait until the 20th day.

If this happens, it would mean the case would miss the docket for that term of the Supreme Court and approximately 90 days would elapse before it could get on the docket.

Most States have abolished the old "docket" system as outmoded and not in keeping with procedures of today, involving 50 cases where the courts of generations ago had one.

Georgia has not.

Primary It is a fact, too, that literally thousands of Georgians do not understand about the primary and general election.

Most of those arguing today, about the write-in votes, think in terms of the Summer primary and do not even know we had a general election in November. It was in this election the Talmadge forces legally wrote in their candidate, Herman Talmadge.

In the heat of an anti-Negro campaign, the State seems about to adopt a "white primary" law, which many of those who will vote for it in the Legislature believe unnecessary and dangerous. A qualification law would protect the ballot more legally and as well. It may be the means of bringing about a two-party system which many desire. It almost certainly will create an independent party which will remain out of the primary and run in the general election.

The bill has as many pages as a large city telephone-directory. Few Legislators will read it.

Without doubt there will be, in a few years, great public indignation over some phase of it, because it leaves the State at the mercy of any group which can get political control. But now there is little, if any, opinion and only two persons have risen to say they wanted to read it before voting on it.

The people define their own powers—or lack of them.

37a(2) 1947 Georgia (Governorship)

37a(2) Ga.

By Mary Southard and Rob F. Hall

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y. Wed. 1-22-47

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 21.—Twenty-five hundred students from six Atlanta colleges and a high school jammed the Capitol grounds today, demanding that Herman Talmadge "resign the alleged Governorship" and protesting the forcible means by which he occupied the executive offices. Students called out loudly for Herman to appear at their demonstration and hear their demands. But Herman sent word that he declined to come out.

Obviously smarting under sharp criticism he is receiving throughout the state, however, Herman Talmadge executed a major retreat today when he offered to resign the Governorship and run for the office of Governor "in a Democratic white primary."

His offer was conditional on the simultaneous resignation of M. E. Thompson as Lieutenant-Governor and Acting Governor and the enactment of stringent election laws barring Negroes from the primaries and limiting their participation in the general election.

Student delegations from Georgia's major colleges began massing in front of the Municipal Auditorium at 2 p. m. Leaders were enthusiastically cheered as they raised placards bearing the slogans, "We Want Constitutional Government," "Down With Dictatorship," "The Will of the People Must Be Heard," "Heil, Herman, It Can't, But It Did Happen Here."

James Clark and Margaret Lily, Emory University students, chosen to lead the delegation, took the mike to tell the gathering that the eyes of the nation were on Georgia's students and that their demonstration must be orderly and disciplined to convey their message of protest. Wed. 1-22-47

Facing an icy wind, students marched through downtown Atlanta with placards raised high, singing the Battle Hymn of the Republic. They massed around the statue of Tom Watson in front of the State Capitol.

An effigy was hung from the statue's arm and a tattered Nazi swastika, contributed by student veterans, was displayed, as the student meeting, swelled by groups of citizens, went into session on the Capitol steps.

Students demanded and kept demanding Herman Talmadge. They wanted an accounting and they were determined that he should know how they felt. Talmadge sent word that if a student delegation asked him to appear, he would come out. Daily Worker

A delegation was elected on the spot, but Talmadge apparently decided that student sentiment was too hot to face and finally sent word that he would not appear. Loud and emphatic boos greeted his message.

The meeting then unanimously passed a resolution protesting the use of force employed by Talmadge to occupy the Governor's office and demanding that he resign the Governorship until the Courts render a proper decision.

The students issued a public appeal to all the citizens of Georgia to "boldly make known your feelings in this most serious crisis."

37a(2)

Herman Talmadge's offer to resign had strings aplenty attached to it, most of them designed to guarantee that Negroes would not vote in the special election to name a Governor. Daily Worker

He proposed that both he and M. E. Thompson, the other claimant to the Governorship, should resign simultaneously and Fred Hand, Talmadgeite speaker of the House, assume executive authority. Hand would then call a special election within 60 days.

But prior to this, Talmadge insisted, "we should enact laws to provide for a Democratic white primary. Second, the election laws should be changed to strengthen the qualification of voters."

In addition, the legislature must provide for increased revenues to boost salaries of school teachers, for public roads, health and old age assistance, he said. Following this the General Assembly would adjourn and the speaker would call for the special election.

New York, N.Y.

"I will meet any candidate for the Governorship in a Democratic white primary to let the white people determine who is their choice for Governor," he said.

Thompson, when informed of Herman's offer, declined comment until later today, but it was considered certain he would reject it. Thompson holds his office of lieutenant-governor by virtue of victory in the primaries and general election and is confident the courts will uphold his right to occupy the Governor's office. Wed. 1-22-47

Herman's offer came at the conclusion of his message to the general assembly. It received much louder applause than any other section of his speech.

Talmadge charged his opponents were "calling on the people of Georgia to stage an uprising" and advocating "anarchy." The majority of the white people of Georgia support him, he said. If his opponents persist, he warned, "I shall call for this majority to come to Atlanta and show them a real demonstration."

Students Hang Talmadge In Effigy

Courier Journal

Louisville Ky

37a(2) Ga.

By the United Press.

Atlanta, Jan. 21.—Angry college students hanged Herman Talmadge in effigy on the Statehouse lawn today while Talmadge was offering to resign as Governor if Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson would resign, too.

Thompson, who claims he is acting Governor, immediately rejected this challenge to submit the dispute on who is the legal Governor to the people in a special all-white Democratic primary.

In a statement noting Talmadge's "receding" position, Thompson said that if he made a "trade" with Talmadge it "would be insulting to the people of Georgia." Wed. 1-22-4

'Would Create More Confusion.'

"My agreeing not to contest Herman Talmadge's claim would not render his acts as Governor legal," Thompson said. "To delay the legal adjudication of the case (seeking Talmadge's ouster) now before the courts would only create more confusion and damage to the state because the legality of every act performed by Talmadge as Governor would be questioned."

(Earlier in the day, Thompson had challenged Talmadge to "contest with me before the voters of this state for the Governorship," the Associated Press said. His statement was not clarified, but friends said his proposal was that both run at the 1948 general election.)

Drew Pearson discusses the Talmadge situation on Page 12, Section 2.

Courier Journal

Talmadge made his surprise offer to resign in a speech to the Legislature. He made it contingent on Thompson's simultaneous resignation and the passage of legislation to insure all-white Democratic state primaries.

Says Court Action Feared.

Thompson replied:

"Talmadge and his supporters first tried to buy the courts, then tried to intimidate the courts and, in response to the pressure of an aroused people, promised to obey the courts.

"They now are seeking to avoid the courts. The one thing they fear most is a court adjudication . . .

"There is nothing so powerful as the aroused sentiment of a righteous people."

The retreat of Talmadge and his supporters, he hoped, means "that they will now abandon their attempt to take over the Government of Georgia."

Students Hold Parade.

When informed of his opponent's decision, Talmadge said: "Thompson says in effect that he is afraid of the white people of Georgia and refuses to meet me in a white primary."

Talmadge made his offer to an applauding joint session of the Legislature. It was a hastily appended addition to a prepared speech. While he spoke students of seven Georgia colleges and one high school were marching down Peachtree and Whitehall Streets on the Capitol.

They marched six abreast and carried a stuffed, life-sized effigy of Eugene Talmadge's 33-year-old son and political heir. More than 2,000 were in the march and Atlanta citizens fell in by the hundreds behind them.

Arriving at the Capitol lawn, they strung up their effigy from the arm of statesman Tom Watson's statue just outside the window of Talmadge's executive office.

The dummy swung grotesquely in the cold, high wind. The students had daubed it with red swastika markings, and it wore the Talmadge political badge, red suspenders.

37a(2)

At the same spot, University of Georgia students hanged Talmadge's father in effigy five years ago after he fired two State educators.

The students set up thunderous jeers as the effigy was hauled up and waved hundreds of placards with such slogans as "We want constitutional Government—who stole my vote?—Heil, Herman." Soon they were chanting: "We want Herman, we want Herman."

Supporters Shouted Down.

Talmadge supporters in the throng, by this time swelled to more than 7,000, tried to spread the news that Talmadge had offered to resign, but were shouted down. Students climbed the steps at the base of Watson's statue and made impassioned speeches condemning Talmadge's "theft of democracy." Wed. 1-22-47

The tumult subsided while two resolutions were read, then exploded again in a wild chorus of cheers. One resolution said the people had been denied the right to select their Governor, condemned the use of force in Talmadge's occupation of the office, and resolved "that we believe the party involved should resign the alleged Governorship until such time as the courts render a proper decision."

Talmadge Quotes Voltaire.

The other resolution appealed "to all of you in this state boldly to make known your feelings in this most serious crisis."

At 3 p.m., a delegation of students went in to see Talmadge and he told them: "I will resign simultaneously with Thompson."

Talmadge refused to go out and address the crowd.

Horace Davis of Georgia Tech, spokesman for the student group, told Talmadge the students "do not feel that the Legislature had a right to elect you, but we admit there are two sides to every question."

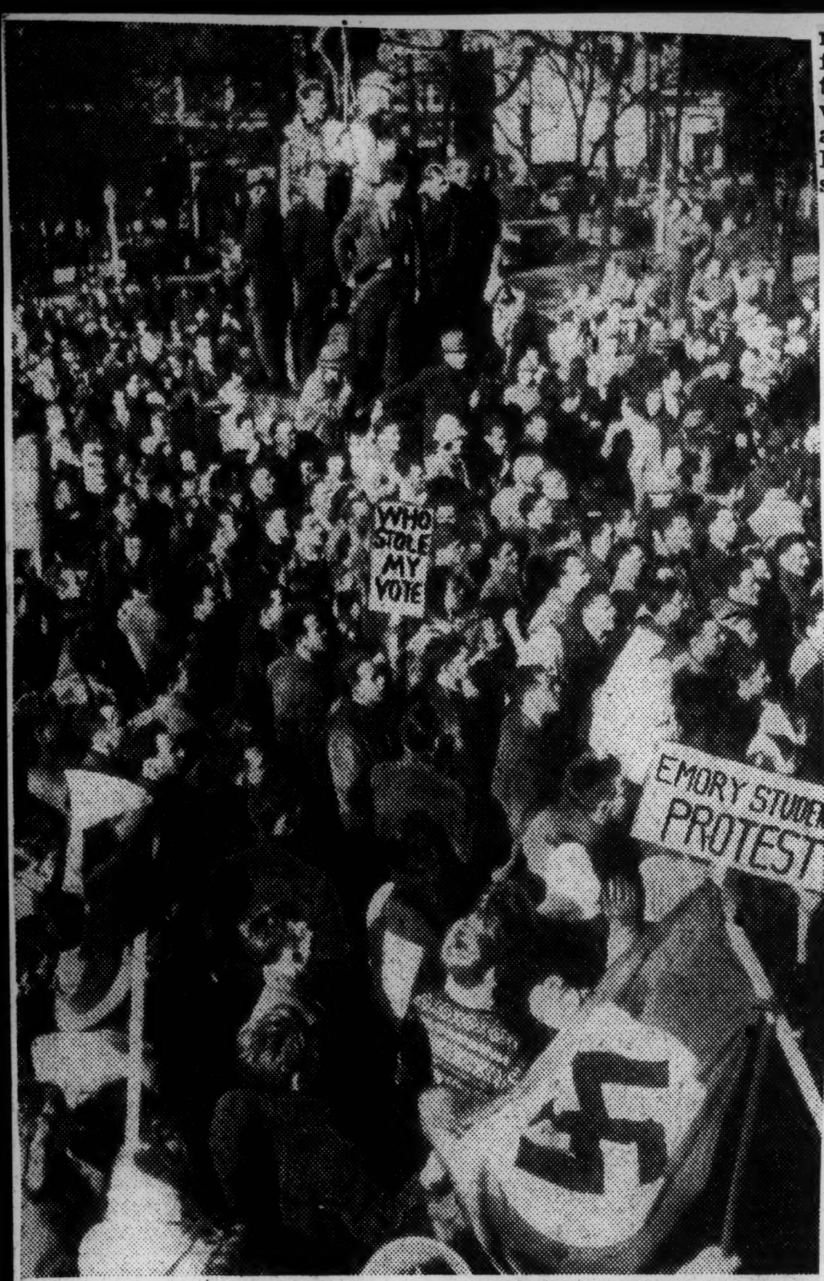
"I do not agree with the words you say," Talmadge replied, "but like Voltaire I will die for your right to say it."

Many Are Coeds.

The students staged one of the biggest mass demonstrations ever held in Atlanta. At least one third of the marchers were coeds. Their placards proclaimed, "We do not want a Nazi Government" and one, carrying the picture of a lock, key, pistol, and swastika, read, "These must go." One ex-G.I. student carried a captured Nazi flag with a placard reading "We want to rid ourselves of this."

After the crowd began to disperse, a second student delegation visited Talmadge. Bob Knight of Georgia Tech, who is from Sylvester in south Georgia,

Louisville Ky



Associated Press Wirephoto.

A CROWD of 1,200 college students marches on the Capitol at Atlanta in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain Herman Talmadge's immediate resignation as Governor. Many of the students gave the Nazi salute and some bore Nazi swastika emblems. In background, standing on statue of Tom Watson, several students hang Talmadge in effigy.

told him: "We want you to know the other delegation did not by any means represent the feeling of all the students."

Courier Journal

Makes 30-Minute Talk.

Talmadge made his offer to resign at the end of a 30-minute speech in the House chamber. He was emphatic in making it contingent on the simultaneous resignation of Thompson as Lieutenant governor so the latter couldn't take over when he moved out and also on the passage by the Legislature of a bill to restore the all-white primary.

Speedy passage of the bill was certain. It already has received second reading in the House and both Thompson and Talmadge have indorsed it. It was the foremost plank in the platform of the elder Talmadge who died 23 days before he was to take office as Governor.

Talmadge's proposal was:

"I therefore propose as follows: that the Legislature complete its duties in accordance with the Democratic Party platform (passage of a white-primary law). After completion of this duty, if the lieutenant governor will resign, your Governor will resign."

House Roars Approval.

The House broke into an uproar of approval.

Talmadge proposed that pending a special election to elect a new Governor, House Speaker Fred Hand, a Talmadge supporter, take charge of the state.

Roy V. Harris, director of Talmadge's campaign and of his father's before him, rushed over to congratulate Herman with a whack on the back. He shouted above the din: "It's now time for M. E. Thompson to put up or shut up."

$100,000 Is Bid By Talmadge Foe

Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Fri 1-3-47

GRIFFIN, Ga., Jau. 23—(AP)—Rep. Jack Flynt, of Spalding County, says he and another Legislator were offered $100,000 to vote in the State Legislature against the election of Herman Talmadge as Governor.

Flynt's statement was made at a mass meeting of Spalding County citizens here Tuesday night. He said the $100,000 was offered to him and Rep. Pierre Howard, of DeKalb, "to cast our vote other than we did."

"It was offered in such a way that either Pierre Howard or myself could take it as a retainer fee over a period of a few years from four or five large corporations."

Both Flynt and Howard voted for Talmadge's election, and at one time their votes would have blocked Talmadge's election. On the first vote on whether to canvass the gubernatorial vote, the count was 128 to 126 in Talmadge's favor.

Flynt did not say who offered him the money, though he was asked to do so by Henry Williams, a former sheriff of Spalding County. Later Flynt told the Griffin News that he did not want to infer that the money was offered by M. E. Thompson, who at the time was Lieutenant Governor-Elect and would have succeeded to the Governorship without a controversy had Talmadge's election been blocked.

Fri 1-2-47

Flynt's statement about the offer was made when some 400 citizens who gathered at the Spalding County Courthouse to protest Talmadge's election by the Legislature called on him to explain why he voted for Talmadge.

Flynt said he was following the dictates of his own conscience in voting, and said "quite a bit of pressure was put on a number of the members of the General Assembly to vote one way or another. But there is not enough money on earth to buy me and not a man on earth who can scare me."

In Atlanta, Rep. Howard said "a lot of extravagant offers were made from supporters of both sides to all the legislators. I did not entertain such a proposition nor did I keep count of such offers."

Flynt Withholds

Amount of Offer

When contacted in Dalton, where he was visiting, for a comment on the Associated Press story, Rep. Flynt said:

"The statement ascribed to me by the Associated Press is an incorrect quotation. A more correct one would be that very large and attractive offers were made subtlely."

In Atlanta, Howard said he did not know personally of any offers made to Flynt, and that "no offers were made to me that I either considered or took seriously." Howard said one man telephoned him an extravagant offer, but he believed the man to be are now attempting to thwart the will of the people, to ridicule the General Assembly of this State and to ridicule the Chief Executive of this State."

The young Governor's second statement was a blast at Radio Station WSB, affiliated with the Journal, and called upon the Federal Communications Commission and the Georgia delegation in Congress to demand that WSB "be fair with the distribution of radio time on this subject."

Constitution

Talmadge particularly assailed Edwin Camp, Journal associate editor, for what he termed "coloring" the news in a 15-minute speech over WSB, and said the radio station had refused to give him time to state his views. He demanded the station "at least sell me time to defend the General Assembly of Georgia and myself."

The station has "given unlimited time to Ellis Arnall and all opposition to the General Assembly and me as Governor," Talmadge charged, and "on Jan. 23 this radio station specifically refused to give me time to answer not only Edwin Camp but numerous others . . . and specifically refused to sell me any time."

Atlanta Ga.

Answering Talmadge's attack on the newspaper, Wright Bryan, Journal editor, dismissed the accusations with the statement, "The Journal's only connection with mass meetings has been to report them."

Fri 1-3-47

In still another statement released late Thursday, Talmadge repeated his willingness to settle the Governorship before the people in a special election, quoted an editorial in his paper, "The Statesman," and charged M. E. Thompson is "afraid to rest his case with the people of Georgia."

Talmadge concluded with, "I repeat my challenge to him."

Talmadge declined comment on reports of State Treasurer George Hamilton's move to tie up highway and revenue funds, saying he had no official communication about it.

He announced the first social function at the Executive Mansion in his residence as Governor will be a buffet supper next Tuesday night to which "members of the General Assembly and their ladies" are invited.

Commenting on apparent Talmadge reverses in the General Assembly Wednesday, Thompson observed it was a "bad day for the Speakers of the House." He added, "It is very encouraging to note in the House the tendency to show independence of dictation."

Asked if he planned to send any appointments to the Senate soon for confirmation, he replied, cryptically, "If the weather keeps clearing up I will do it right soon."

Constitution

Thompson told the press he had found the appointment of a new Public Safety Director to succeed Maj. Bill Spence, who resigned Wednesday, would have to be made by a board including himself, the Attorney General, Adjutant General, Comptroller General and two Sheriffs—Lamar Potts, of Newnan, and Lynn Morris, of Thomson. Maj. Paul Smith has been appointed to the post by Talmadge, and Troopers operating under Smith's command are on guard in Talmadge's offices.

Of a bill introduced Wednesday to fire State Welfare Director A. J. Hartley, Thompson said, "It suits me all right. Hartley ought to resign. He was an issue in the campaign and general election and ought not to hold on."

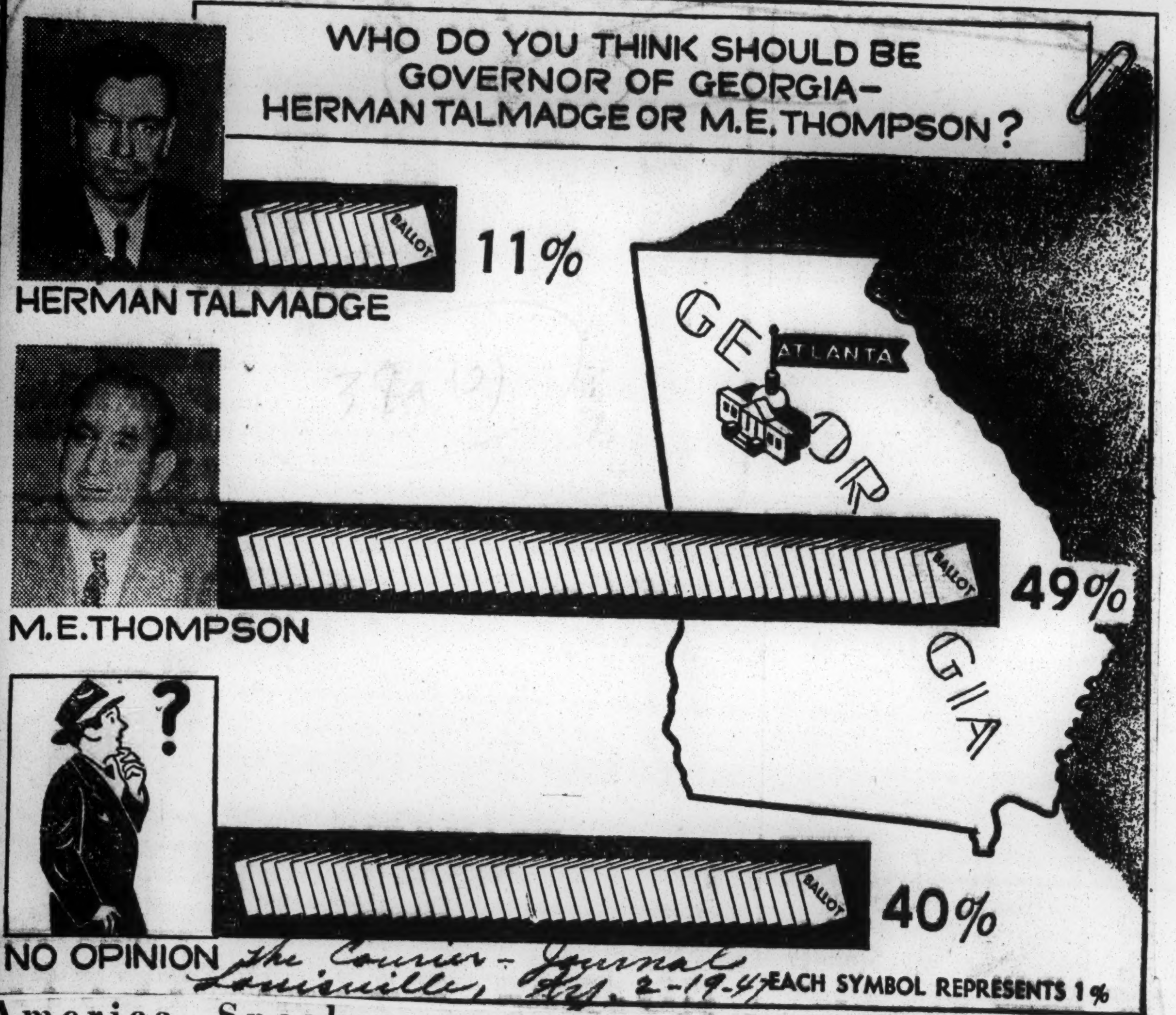
1-2-47

He said he was drafting letters to newspapers in home towns of many legislators who voted last week not to elect a Governor in the General Assembly but later voted for Talmadge when they were overruled and given a choice to vote either for Talmadge or answer present.

These legislators are still on his side, he said, and a number of them were in his office Thursday. These included, he said, Reps. Miles Walker Lewis, of Greene County, and Robert E. Cheshire, of Colquitt County, both of whom said their constituents had criticized them for apparently joining the Talmadge forces, which they said they had not done.

Talmadge's morning news conference was non-productive save for his release of his budget message to the House and his written statement denouncing the Atlanta Journal.

Friday 1-2-47



The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. 2-19-47

America Speaks:

Talmadge Hasn't Done So Well In Brush With Public Opinion—4 to 1 Favor Rival

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

Georgia Fanfare Watched By Many

Wed. 2-19-47

By GEORGE GALLUP,

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

Princeton, N. J., Feb. 18.—No matter how the Georgia battle for the Governorship may finally turn out, Herman Talmadge has not done so well in his first brush with public opinion throughout the nation.

That goes for opinion in the South, as well as throughout the entire nation.

But the show he has staged in Georgia in recent weeks has certainly drawn a phenomenally large audience: 84 out of every 100 persons questioned by the institute across the nation in recent days say they have heard or read about the affair.

Reactions Often Strong.

When voters who have followed the Georgia battle are asked what they think about it, the majority of them express disapproval, many of them in strong terms—"shameful . . . a disgrace . . . a farce."

When the same voters are asked which man they think should serve instead of the late Eugene Talmadge as Governor of Georgia, opinion throughout the U. S. among those with opinions is, rightly or wrongly, 4 to 1 in favor of M. E. Thompson. Opinion in the South is 2½ to 1 in favor of Thompson. This is among those with opinions. Four out of 10—a high proportion—have no opinion to offer to the question.

Was Potential Successor.

Thompson, elected lieutenant governor when Eugene Talmadge was elected Governor, would have been successor to "Gene" had the elder Talmadge lived long enough to be sworn into office.

Here are the questions and replies asked by the institute of voters across the nation in connection with the Talmadge affair: Wed. 2-19-47

1. "Have you heard or read about the fight in Georgia over who is to be Governor?"

	Entire Nation
Yes	84%
No	16

2. "What is your opinion about this fight?"

Bad, Shameful, Disgraceful, etc.	38%
Talmadge is Wrong	11
Calls for Another Election	4
Laws Should be Passed to Take Care of Succession	4
Undemocratic	3
Talmadge Should Wait for Court Decision	2
Talmadge is Right	2
Miscellaneous Replies	8
No Opinion or Paid No Attention	28

3. "Who do you think should be Governor of Georgia—Herman Talmadge or M. E. Thompson?"

Louisville, Ky.

Favor Talmadge	11%
Favor Thompson	49
No Opinion	40

The breakdown of the vote by education is also enlightening:

The Courier-Journal

	College	High School	Grammar Or Less
Favor Talmadge	8%	10%	13%
Favor Thompson	61	52	43
No Opinion	31	38	44

LET'S SEE NOW . . .

The Constitution

Governor Squabble 'Preserved' for History

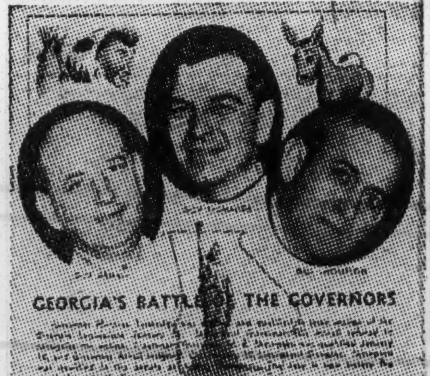
Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 2-22-47

By DORIS LOCKERMAN

Stamp collectors are being offered an ironic commentary on Georgia politics in a humorous envelope "cover" printed here by Carl Bailey, 1391 Allene Ave., S. W., an active member of the American Philatelic Society.

The cover shows the heads of Arnall, Talmadge and Thompson tilted together in a little three-leaf clover shape which looks disarmingly friendly, but the caption under the cachet tells the embarrassing story of Georgia's Battle of the Governors. To give it background, Bailey has stood the Lady of Liberty against the profile of the State of Georgia at the base of the pictures, and at the upper left, Lo, the poor Indian looks on askance. Sat. 2-22-47


GEORGIA'S BATTLE OF THE GOVERNORS

At the right a coltish Democratic donkey cocks his eye in consternation. "Other governors' mix-ups have not been preserved for history," says Bailey, intent on the long view. "We need something to commemorate this one."

This Morning

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Wed. 2-12-47

"In ranks and squadrons and
right forms of war
Which drizzled blood upon the
capitol . . ."

Jacksonville Fla.

ATLANTA—There is no blood on the Capitol steps here where once Drew Pearson (totally unarmed) with Ellis Arnall and the State police beside him defied the Klan over a national hook-up. No crumpled bodies strew the executive offices where, some say, they nearly lynched Ellis and where his assistant was actually hit in the eye that night the legislature voted Herman governor. No storm troopers patrol Peachtree. You can walk blocks without seeing a "putsch." The Klan is more invisible than ever. The Columbians are all in court or the newspapers or the custody of their papas. The "wool hat boys" are biding their time, or something. Great reports and reporters notwithstanding, life goes on in Georgia.

It must be that all the Fascists enemies of Ellis Arnall have followed him to Los Angeles where, according to Great Reporter Walter Winchell, a plot to assassinate the masterfully out-going Governor was scotched Sunday but not killed. But with Walter (perhaps totally unarmed, too) joining Drew, totally unarmed, in the great defense, Ellis may lecture in peace, no matter what goes on in far Georgia.

Florida Times

And much will go on in Georgia. It has been going on a long time and will continue. The very people favored by this mooted county unit system here, who sometimes let themselves be provoked to lynch or join Klans or elect Talmadges, are going through a process with which politicians and great reporters have nothing to do and scientists everything. These are the farmers of Georgia. Thanks to great science and response to science, Georgia is advancing now in agriculture faster than any other Southern State. The face of the land, the nature of the man are being made over through top-notch agriculture, through crop diversification, soil conservation, fertilizer, year-round operation, and, most of all, machinery. There's revolution here, but it is not red, either with hammer and sickle or burning cross. It is white revolution—the white of great science coming greatly to use on the farms of this State. And in the factories, too. Industry is pouring into Georgia and the South through this Atlanta gate, and it promises to be instructed, enlightened, post-mode industry.

Wed. 2-12-47

Come Talmadge or Thompson, the wrong done Georgia in the dispute which an act of God and a flaw in the Constitution brought is the impression given outsiders of a lawlessness, violence, and anarchy that simply have not existed. Everywhere you hear of "the disgrace of Georgia," "the shameless state of affairs in a Southern State." And the pity is that Georgia's own publicists and politicians are most responsible.

Not all outsiders accept the sensationalism of the Pearson-Arnall line, fortunately. One who does not is Publisher John S. Knight, of The Chicago Daily News, The Detroit Free Press and other national papers. Just as he has managed in Chicago to take a sanely American point of view as against the Fascisms of The Tribune and the (now forsaken) Communisms of The Sun, he sees this Georgia dispute in true proportion. "The situation is not without precedent in other States," he writes in The Daily News, "and somehow they managed to survive. Like everyone elese I have read dozens of newspaper editorials on 'Georgia's Disgrace' and listened to Drew Pearson's vivid descriptions of Talmadge's 'putsch,' the courage of . . . Ellis Arnall in risking his life while facing the Talmadge mob, and realms of other dramatic, breast-beating blah. . . ."

Jacksonville, Fla

"The foundations of the Republic are still standing, Drew", says John Knight, "and the Georgia Crackers feel they are quite capable of settling their own squabbles."

The foundations of the republic are standing and so are Georgia's. There are eternal things here. They shine behind the dark and bright of temporal ones. Scarlett O'Hara may be gone with the wind and some of her descendants may be Little Foxes; peach crops may fail and peanuts prevail; commerce may pour branch houses in blitzkrieg through Atlanta; sin may rival glory here and sometimes win; Talmadgism may make Arnallism, and then Arnallism make Talmadge again—but forever and ever, from Lookout to St. Mary, the nine climes of Georgia inspirit the generations that breathe them and the most animated people in the South will be pushing through darkness towards a light.

Meanwhile, let "Nation-minded" politicians and sensation-minded publicists do their stuff about the fantastic realm they imagine to be Georgia but which is better described, as The Charleston News and Courier did last week in captioning this column as "Ellis in Arnal-land."

Wed 2-12-47

'Every Knock . . .'

Editor, Constitution: Herman Talmadge, our present Governor, is not a criminal. He is not a robber. Who wouldn't fight to be Governor of a Grand State like Georgia. How many of you knockers and defilers wouldn't right now like to be in Herman Talmadge's shoes. "A barking dog seldom bites," so keep up the bark and see if you dont tuck your tails ilke the dog did. And remember also "every knock is a [illegible]t."

Constitution
Sat 2-8-47
Atlanta Ga

MRS. CORA EVERROAD.
Atlanta

Eliminate Primaries

Editor Constitution: My proposal is to eliminate any and all primaries in Georgia. Let's henceforth have two conventions, each convention to be held no more than 60 days before the general election. A general election to be called at once, have one convention to be known as a Talmadge Party, the other convention be known as the Jeffersonian Party. There is no Democratic Party in Georgia. Let there be only a check and an oath that a voter votes only once. Let the Talmadgeites vote for the Talmadgeite. Let the best whites and best Negroes vote Jeffersonian.

IRVIN BURDETTE.
Valdosta.

Constitution
Sat 2-8-47
Atlanta Ga

Legal and Proper?

Editor Constitution: I notice that Mr. Herman Talmadge is quoted in the newspapers as saying that employees of the Executive Department will be paid "if I have to pay them out of contributions from the people."

This statement indicates that he has no intention of respecting the spirit of the court order which denies him funds for operating the Executive Department until the legality of his claim to the Governorship can be determined.

If it is legal and proper for him to operate the Executive Department with funds contributed by private interests, then it will be legal and property for several big interests to take over the Executive Department and operate it as they see fit, provided they supply the funds to pay its employees.

W. C. BURNS.
Atlanta.

Constitution
Sat 2-8-47
Atlanta Ga

History Lesson

Editor Constitution: While we are studying the "White Primary" Bill let's have a little review lesson on history.

We know from study of the Bible, that God, through Moses, led the children of Israel from the bondage of the Egyptians. How do we know it was not that same power that led the people of the North to free the Negro race from slavery of the South, and led the world against the would-be dictators of Germany and Japan?

Maybe we had better bow in thanks to the North for saving us from that sin instead of accusing them of trying to stir up trouble in the South again.

God promised to care for His children. He made them black and it seems to me He is taking care of them along with we whites. If not, tell me why they have made more progress under the yoke they have had to bear, the yoke of our "Southern traditions," than we have made with all our opportunities.

Constitution
Sat 2-8-47

I am a native-born Georgian, have lived in the Northern and Southern part of the State, have been over most of it, have seen its progress and neglect. I do not believe in social equality between the races as some try to think the North does, but they don't. Neither do I believe the Negro wants it, but I do believe they want to be able to breathe above the dust of the white man's heel, and I am Christ-like enough to want justice for all.

LULA WOOD DELLINGER.
Thomaston.

Atlanta, Ga

Statesman Born

Editor Constitution: . . . There appears an omen of good fortune however, evidenced by the fact that Ellis Arnall has proved himself a statesman.

MARY K. HUNT.
Atlanta.

Constitution
Sat 2-8-47
Atlanta Ga

Court May Rule for Talmadge in Georgia

The Worker
Sun. 3-16-47
New York, N.Y.

By Mary Southard

ATLANTA, Ga.—At this writing there is serious danger that the first fascist seizure of power in the United States will get the legal blessing of the courts.

The last legal barrier to Herman Talmadge's usurpation of the governorship of Georgia now rests with the Georgia Supreme Court. On March 6, the seven justices received briefs and arguments from attorneys for Talmadge and for M. E. Thompson, legally elected Lieutenant-Governor. They indicated they would render a decision within 10 days on the question of whether the General Assembly of Georgia has the constitutional right to elect a governor

There is no doubt that the seven justices are under heavy pressure from Talmadge and his corporation backers. Two lower court decisions favor Talmadge against one for Thompson. Talmadge has moved ahead ruthlessly to consolidate his seizure of the state since his fascist coup in January. He controls the state military and has the General Assembly under his thumb. He has come out recently with more brazen statements that he will defy any ruling of the courts against him.

Within a week or so, the Georgia Supreme Court is expected to hand down a decision on whether Talmadge or Thompson is the legal Governor.

Since Talmadge is acting virtually as de facto Governor, there is grave danger Talmadge, an open proponent of KKK-fascism, will be confirmed as legal Governor.

Telegrams and letters should be sent to:
Chief Justice,
Supreme Court of Georgia.

The Worker

★

ACCORDING to sober observers here, those anti-Talmadge progressives who place great faith in the Georgia court are in for a rough awakening. The very nature of the question before the court—whether the General Assembly has the right to elect a governor—evades the real issue: whether a man who never appeared as a candidate before the people, who got only 675 votes (many of these have been recently challenged in an election expose in the Atlanta Journal) can be upheld as the legally elected representative of more than three million people.

Those who fondly believe Talmadge will yield to a decision against him have not observed how desperately he has worked to entrench his control through acts of the General Assembly. The white primary bill has passed, a vote "Ja" bill, which aimed ostensibly at the million Negro citizens of Georgia, strikes at the right to vote of the majority of citizens, white and Negro.

Two vicious anti-labor bills, outlawing the closed shop and check-off and restricting pickets to two, have passed both houses, and are now on Talmadge's desk (they become law with or without his signature in five days).

★

THE PEOPLE of Georgia have been fighting back—through the student demonstration, the Aroused Citizens movement, the grass roots testimony at the white primary hearings, the recent organization of the Georgia Southern Negro Youth Congress, the legal fight of the Georgia NAACP, the protests of churches and their leaders, the 31 newspapers supporting the Atlanta Journal's exposure of fraudulent election returns from Talmadge county. But Talmadge has been able to take advantage of the division and lack of organization in the opposition, mainly of the weak part played by the labor movement, hamstrung by Social Democratic and Trotzkyite influences. . . . .

Sun. 3-16-47

There are many aroused citizens in Georgia. The question is, as put to this reporter by several people active in the labor, student and Negro movement in Atlanta, why aren't there more aroused citizens in the United States? They feel that fascism in Georgia is a threat to every trade union, every liberal organization and individual in the nation

The Worker
New York, N.Y.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governership)

The South Turns On the Mob

37a(2)

~~[illegible]~~ Black Dispatch

"As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." When more than 1,200 Georgia students recently hanged Herman Talmadge in effigy, those students came as near breaking God's first commandment as they could come without offending the majesty of the law. They expressed the view that Nazism must die in Dixie, and Herman Talmadge, with his storm troopers and coup de etat, must be blotted out.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Measured in other terms these youthful Georgians may be characterized as, at long last, taking a stand against the mob, which Herman Talmadge and his late unlamented father represent. Since reconstruction days the unwritten law of the mob has prevailed in Georgia, but those 1,200 students on the capitol grounds in Atlanta, following a march with banners through the downtown district, swung their dummy "Herman" to the breeze, while one of the signs in the throng read, "Georgia Does Not Want a Nazi Governor."

And these Georgia students took their stand by the side of organized government despite the fact that Herman, the pretender, had issued a public statement in which he agreed to resign his position with his violently seized government, provided the legislature passed a white primary act which barred Negroes from voting. The white students in Georgia were parading against the mob despite the fact that Herman had presented a straight white and black issue to them. It has not always been that way down among the red clay, erroded hills of Georgia. In the past when the word "nigger" was shouted, the native population became a unit in opposition to black citizens. The growth of liberalism down in Dixie was instantly exposed when Georgia's sham chief executive sought to arouse the old flames of race prejudice behind which to hide. Sat. 2-1-47

Herman Talmadge, in his public statement to Georgians, just before the students marched on the capitol, took another position that was an open challenge to traditional Georgia sanctions. He asked his fellow Georgians to ignore and violate the recent supreme court decision placing the ballot in the hands of Negroes. On this question the mob has always superseded the stated law, but aroused white youth failed utterly to be influenced by this age-old hypocrisy and disloyalty to democratic forms. They had the pretender to understand in no uncertain terms that they stand for constitutional government, even if it does place the ballot in the hands of the blacks.

Surely the leopard can change its spots, when we observe political revolution of this sort extant in the South, and it is surprising when we stop to remember that Georgia is a state where through some absurd kink in the law the man who receives the fewest votes wins the election. The unit system was installed for the purpose of giving rural minorities control of urban majorities. It was fashioned on the same principle by which Negro participation in government is outlawed.

It is easily understood how people who stupidly assume in a democracy the man receiving the fewest votes should be sworn into office, could likewise visualize the governorship as a family inheritance. Nothing else logically explains the almost insane belief of Herman Talmadge and his followers that upon the death of "Old Gene," son Herman is the prince regent.

One is offered a glance right through the front door of Georgian life when we find white youths of that state repudiating minority rule, and unaffected by the Frankenstein of Negro domination. "Who Stole My Vote?" one of the signs read. The conscience of white people down around Atlanta has not hitherto been very much disturbed about stolen votes. Reconstruction government stole all of the suffrage of black voters and no one cared, but in 1947 we find Georgia's white students on the steps of the state capitol asking the outlaw son of Gene Talmadge, "who stole my vote?"

This means that the white voter, as well as the white worker, is beginning to learn his lesson. Education that has come through the Communist party and labor unions down South has finally disclosed to the poor whites that no white man is secure on his job so long as a destitute black worker stands outside the door of the South's industrial establishment. The Communist party first started preaching this gospel fifteen years ago down at Gastonia, N. C., and this viewpoint has been in recent years expressed by other liberal groups. Former Governor Ellis Arnall was an outstanding exponent of this view. Sat. 2-1-47

But the horizon of thinking and understanding is broadening. The recent Georgia demonstration emphasizes that youthful Georgians realize that after having stolen black suffrage, Nazism has also pilfered the ballot of white citizens. That's why there is an awakening and a shout among these white youths, "who stole my vote?" The answer is that the same follow who stole the black man's ballot through shotgun terrorism has his vicious goons in the capitol building at Atlanta today ignoring the will of the white majority. Ku Klux government in all of its grotesque hidiousness stands naked and bare in Georgia today.

We are not surprised when observing this changing scene. Two years ago when we spoke in the Atlanta Biltmore before the Southern Editors and Writers Conference, **there was obvious evidence of this trend of thinking stemming from young white men from all over Dixie. The rottenness in the belly of politics below the Ohio river was openly discussed. In Georgia men like Ellis Arnall decided to do something about it, and the demonstration last week is the fruit of the Arnall action program.**

37a(2)

We want to repeat what we have oft said in this column. The sweep of liberalism down in Dixie must find the black man riding that wave. Hitherto, fear of the mob has developed conservative defense techniques among a large segment of Negro leaders, which found expression in suggesting that Negroes ignore their suffrage rights, and in other instances warning the masses against every white man who talked about equality of opportunity. Reactionary whites immediately classified such whites as radicals and reds, and conservative Negroes, if not publicly, privately warned Negroes not to have anything to do with whites who talked about labor unions and collective bargaining. All of this sort of discussion has been classified as communistic down South, and danger lurks behind this false cloak of reaction.

The fact that Negroes recently helped elect a liberal white woman to Congress in the Atlanta district, and the further fact that they registered in large numbers all over Georgia last fall, qualifying for the ballot, indicates that they have passed through the trying period of change with their eyes glued on proper goals. The future of the working class whites and blacks down in the southern section of the United States is going to be made secure through vision and understanding as expressed on the capitol campus at Atlanta last week.

GEORGIA

Fly Time

Time [illegible]

It was an extremely trying week for Georgia's pretender—Governor Herman ("Hummon") Talmadge. Mon. 2-17-47

Ever since he grabbed office four weeks ago, he had been talking up the good points of his white-primary bill. He had pointed out that the bill was not undemocratic; it simply kept the Negro from hurting his own cause by voting. But when the State Senate held a public hearing on the measure, Hummon heard from all sorts of people he'd never suspected were against him. Time

Chicago, Ill.

Associated Press

Mrs. Helen Dortch Longstreet

Invoked a peak of fire.

White-haired Mrs. Helen Dortch Longstreet, widow of famed Confederate General James Longstreet, cried: "Bury it [the bill] too deep for resurrection. Thus you can announce to all the world and to millions yet unborn that the old Georgia, the great Georgia of Hill and Stephens and Toombs, when Kennesaw Mountain was a peak of fire and Chickamauga a field of blood, still lives to claim an honorable place in the sisterhood of 48, constituting one nation, one people, America indivisible and unconquerable. . . ."

Chicago, Ill.

Things also went wrong with Hummon's hopes for settlement of his feud with Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson over their respective claims to the governorship. In Rome, one Judge Claude Porter, hearing a suit brought by Thompson to get records from the state parole board, ruled that Hummon had no right to office. Chicago, Ill.

Hummon hollered like a bull in fly time. "The Rome case was brought as a ruse by agreement between all parties to it," he said. "I am informed that as soon as the case was presented to him the judge reached into his pocket and pulled out an opinion he had already written."

But even this backfired. Judge Porter said Hummon's protests reminded him of a story: "An Irishman was kicked by a jackass and someone asked what he was going to do about it. 'Nothing,' the Irishman replied, 'I just consider the source.'" Mon. 2-17-47

M. L. ST. JOHN

This Campaign Easier on Reporters

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Sun. 1-12-47

Last Summer I took off in a car following former Governor Rivers in the opening of his gubernatorial campaign and I covered approximately 1,000 miles in three days. Rivers spoke near Savannah one day, whipped across South Georgia and spoke near Blakely the next day, and breezed into Carrollton in Northwest Georgia the third day. At another time last Summer, I set up camp at Americus and worked out from there to cover the late Eugene Talmadge as he hit the towns of Southwest Georgia. For many days last Summer I drove along the Georgia-Florida border and sweltered as the heat melted the tar on the highways. I was riding behind Jimmy Carmichael as he spoke to South Georgia voters.

I have no idea how many miles I traveled in the campaign, or how many nights I spent on the road, or how many meals I passed up in order to run to the nearest telegraph station to make the newspaper deadline in Atlanta. Whatever I did, however, could be multiplied by three. Because when I was covering one candidate, John Couric and Albert Riley or Bill Boring were following another. It costs a lot for a candidate to run for Governor. It isn't so cheap for a newspaper to staff these campaigns in order to serve its readers the latest news from the political fronts along with their morning coffee.

Different Now It's different this time. Lieutenant Governor-Elect M. E. Thompson, Herman Talmadge and Talmadge Bowers are vying for the Governorship vacancy caused by the death of Eugene Talmadge. Three Constitution reporters don't have to ride thousands of miles to cover political rallies in crossroad towns. Today I can walk from one headquarters to another and, with luck, interview personally all three candidates within less than a half-hour. The paper isn't put to the expense of U-Drive-Its, nor hotel rooms over the State—not even to carrying out a suggestion that it establish a comfortable press room in the hotel where a reporter could relax between strenuous walks from one hotel room headquarters to another. Sun. 1-12-47

The candidates, themselves, aren't put to the expense of sending cars over the State, hiring loudspeakers, and staging rallies. Where the usual gubernatorial campaign today costs—some estimate—nearly $250,000, the present campaign is being conducted for about $5,000—some say.

It's a Campaign, Though The fact that the candidates are not riding over the State doesn't mean that a full-fledged political battle isn't under way. Thompson and Talmadge each have several rooms in the hotel. Each has a large staff of campaign workers, including press agents and stenographers sending out campaign literature, and experienced political leaders shaking hands of visitors and telephoning friends over the State. Telephoning is the major means of campaigning, along with newspaper statements and radio talks. The candidates and their workers are continually on the phones talking with Legislators and others. Talmadge confidently announces that 178 Legislators are supporting his claims—but he and his office stay on the phones talking with Legislators. Thompson confidently announces that 158 Legislators are backing his position—but he and his office stay on the phones talking with Legislators. Only 129 votes are necessary, if the General Assembly can elect. I know of several Legislators whom both camps are claiming, and I have bumped into the same solons visiting both headquarters. The fact that the claimed pledges total 336, and there are only 257 members of the Senate and House doesn't necessarily mean that there are 79 liars in the General Assembly. One political veteran says he has never seen more than five percent of the pledges in the past go back on their word. It is more probable that the two campaign headquarters were too eager to interpret the friendly smiles and noncommittal words of the solons as meaning support.

Political Hotel The Henry Grady Hotel has long since replaced the old Kimball House as Georgia's political headquarters, but never before has it monopolized political activities as it does today. On the fourteenth floor—so close that visitors bump into each other as they leave the two headquarters—are the offices of Talmadge and Thompson. On the fourth floor is the office of retiring House Speaker Roy Harris, who is spearheading Talmadge's campaign; and on the tenth floor are more offices of Thompson campaigners. On the fifth floor is the headquarters of Talmadge Bowers, simple headquarters with no staff of workers and few visitors. Besides the Governorship, the House Speaker's race is being waged here. Both Rep. Charles Gowen, of Brunswick, and Rep. Fred Hand, of Pelham, have headquarters in this hotel. Sun. 1-12-47

RALPH McGILL

Politics Is Not An Exact Science

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Georgia's State Legislature opens its 1947 sessions tomorrow.

Too many of us forget all legislative bodies are composed of persons. That is true whether it be the Parliament of Great Britain, the Congress of the United States, the State Legislatures or City Councils. Sun. 1-12-47

All legislative bodies, therefore, include the usual human qualities. They reveal character, rascality, ability, moronity, statesmanship, demagoguery, men whose honesty has the quality of finely tempered steel, men who are easily corrupted, open-minded men, fanatics, eccentrics, an occasional genius, realistic men, naive men, men who have no principles but who will invent some to sell, drunkards, men whose unreasoning opposition to drink is worse than drink, political radicals, middle-of-the-roaders, men who believe in the people, men who are owned by corporations—all these qualities, and more, are to be found in any large legislative group.

This will be true of Georgia's Legislature.

Compromise Politicians are necessary to our form of government. They govern, and we are governed, by a series of compromises. It is easy to see that if one faction proposes a piece of legislation and another introduces a bill directly opposing the other, we would never get legislation if the two factions were anywhere near even strength.

There must be compromise. And it is there the able politician comes into the picture. He knows how to effect a compromise. He may promise a job or a road there or a bridge here. The man who accepts has not necessarily been bought off.

If, of course, there is for any length of time a dominant party which does not have opposition forcing compromise, it quite inevitably becomes a corrupt party and at last becomes tyrannical and productive of great evil and literal ownership of its Legislators.

It is very well to sigh for perfection in government, but we have never had it and never will. We are men and women governed by our own kind, and—never forget—our own choices.

Mirrors The various State Legislatures are mirrors held up to the people. The people are mirrored in them. The same is true of the Congress. It is a mirror held up before America.

If you were to melt all Georgians and squeeze out one, and then melt all the Legislature and press out just one, you would have, when they had cooled, a set of twins—the average Georgian and his average Legislator. Sun. 1-12-47

If you were to do the same with the Congress, melt and squeeze out the Bilbos, the Rankins, the Tafts, Vandenbergs, Whites, Russells, Georges, Brickers, Marcantonios, McKellars—and then repeat with all Americans, you again would have twins.

The average Georgia Legislator accurately mirrors the average Georgian.

So in the event you should not like it too well, stop and consider. It is you. And if you like it too well, consider again. Self vanity is an evil.

Contest Our States, like our national Government, have the three divisions—the executive, legislative and judicial. They each have, too, an approximating array of checks and balances between the three.

All this is important in considering the contest in the executive branch, which the legislative branch will determine with a possible reversal or affirmation by the judicial branch.

Each is a powerful branch, with definite rights and powers. But, because it is an initiating and legislating body, creating the actual skeleton of government about which the other branches put flesh and skin, the Legislature has perhaps the most actual power. It has certain functions. The courts have defined them and set each branch apart from the other. The Legislature must obey its own law.

The unusual contest, brought about by the death of the Governor-Elect before his inauguration, and the contradicting paragraphs of the State Constitution, has not been especially bitter, as some of the more excited commentators would have us believe.

The fact that the Lieutenant Governor-Elect, M. E. Thompson, said that he, too, subscribes even more firmly, and without reservation, to the same program and beliefs of Candidate Herman Talmadge has given the campaign an unusual quality.

It is true, I think, that the average citizen believes the intent of the writers of the Constitution was to have the Lieutenant Governor serve in such a situation.

But the Constitution does not say so. It contradicts itself. The courts might easily say that while that is what the writers of the Constitution might have had in mind, it is not what they said.

It also is possible the court may say it is entirely a legislative matter.

No one knows the mind of a woman or a judge.

As to the actual voting, which should come off late Tuesday or, at the latest, Wednesday, one may but guess. Toting no man's skillet, but basing my guess entirely on the fact that in the forest of political maneuvering Mr. Roy Harris is not a Boy Scout on his first camping trip, I would guess that his man, Herman Talmadge, would have the best chance. What the courts will then do, if anything, is for the future. Sun. 1-12-47

Politics is not an exact science. Always remember that.

Conscience Comes To Georgia

The Call

Georgia A. A. (After Arnall) could oust Talmadge, a thing which Georgia B. A. (Before Arnall) could never have seen the need of doing. Custom used to dictate its conduct. Now conscience is getting a turn in Georgia.

What has happened in Georgia shows the possibilities inherent in the democratic system. Citizens of all other states, trained in their own practices, had no idea that a few hundred votes could put a man in the governor's chair anywhere in the United States. But they did, and it took months of time, a rallying of opinion, and the action of courts to take away this power from an evil minority. It is very much like life—a man is free to climb to high heaven or sink down into the depths.

Kansas City, Mo.

Fri. 3-28-4

Georgia is the better for having seen the lengths to which race hate led it. Governor Thompson is little likely to forget the source of his trouble. We look to see him build strong on the foundation Arnall laid.

Warning For Americans

The News

The tactics which Herman Talmadge and his followers have used in trying to establish him as governor of Georgia are so extreme and so dangerous, so plain an example of coercion, threat and force, rather than legal procedure, that most Americans, in their shock and horror, doubtless would like to regard it as a freak and transient exception to lawful American procedure. And let it be hoped that it will turn out to be only that. But the full facts in this preposterous and yet very serious situation should be seen as clearly as possible and faced squarely. They should not be taken lightly. They should be seen for what they are—as another warning of the depths to which American procedure can descend under certain conditions. Birmingham Ala

* * *

Talmadge the elder was elected according to the processes of Georgia. Though not obtaining a popular majority, he was chosen by lawful means. That he could have been reelected again at all was deeply disquieting in itself. That he had a large popular following was beyond question, and it now appears that this same following has pretty largely fallen in behind his son, Herman Talmadge. Sat. 1-18-47

The methods by which the son's claim to power was set up are in themselves a sharp warning of the danger in such a political movement.

Herman Talmadge's name was evidently written-in as a choice for governor so that in the event of the elder Talmadge's death there would be a technical basis for his claim to the governorship. The law provides that if no candidate for governor receives a majority in the electoral procedure, the Legislature shall choose from the two candidates receiving the highest totals. But obviously, this was not intended to apply in a situation such as was brought about by Eugene Talmadge's death. It was intended to provide for a situation in which no one candidate did receive a majority. Gene Talmadge did receive a majority. But Herman claimed that death eliminated that majority and left himself and the Republican candidate as the two highest men. This was an obviously arbitrary method of interpreting the law to suit the purposes of the Talmadge people. At least there was a question as to just what was legal procedure. At least it was clear that the governor in office is directed to hold office until his successor is elected and qualified. That is common sense. That is the provision upon which Ellis Arnall stands in undertaking to continue to function as governor. Surely, in view of the doubt and confusion, the way of procedure in keeping with the spirit of law and orderly action would be to recognize the governor in office until his successor was clearly and legally determined.

* * *

We think the spirit and intent of the law were met by Gov. Arnall's recognition of the elected lieutenant governor as the man to succeed him and by Arnall's resignation effective upon the qualifications of the lieutenant governor. But the Talmadge crowd, in seeking power, was not deterred at all by such considerations of common sense and orderly procedure and lawful spirit. They used the means of technicality, of compulsion and of threat. Those are means that profoundly threaten democracy and free government. They are means that have evidently been employed in Georgia with widespread approval, though we do not believe, with majority approval. This is another grave warning for all Americans.

Adult Delinquency --- Political

The Constitution

Pious adults, who devote so much time to forums and discussions about "youth problems" and juvenile delinquency, usually forget that youth learns from its adults.

W. Reed Porter, editor of the Lavonia High School newspaper, "The Blue and White," reminds them of it in an editorial in the current issue, as follows:

Sat. 2-15-47

Leading politicians and many writers are always harping on juvenile delinquency. The present gubernatorial muddle is a clear-cut case of adult delinquency. What can people expect of the "younger generation"? The "younger generation" usually follows the examples set for them by adults in responsible positions. Even though we do have some LOUSY examples set for us in this State's political world, I believe the next generation of office-holders will do much better than the present gang (most of them). After all, we couldn't do much worse!

Georgians, already black and blue in their political anatomy, will be no more comfortable after reading The Blue and White's pertinent remarks.

GEORGIA'S SHADOW ON THE FUTURE

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Reader C. M. Tolman, of Uniontown, asks us in a letter today to "enlighten" him concerning the significance of Herman Talmadge's armed overthrow of legal government in Georgia, but obviously Mr. Tolman needs no clarification from us. His letter points up the situation sharply.

The entire Georgia show might be called "comic-opera" were it not so gloomy in its implications for American democracy. It is a scene taken right out of Hitler Germany, even to the name of the top villain—HERMAN. 1-9-47 Sun.

The son is taking the father's abuses a step further. While Eugene Talmadge used ugly political appeals, he won or lost by the ballot. But the whelp scorns the democratic process and takes over whether or not the voters have spoken. By screaming epithets at Georgia's chief minority group—exactly as Hitler screamed at the minority Jews in Germany—Georgia's young would-be dictator diverts attention of the little people of his state from his basic loyalty to selfish interests and the Big Boys while he eases into the driver's seat.

A good many men in Georgia, and perhaps a few in Alabama, look on with complacency and satisfaction today as this overthrow of law and decency takes place in Georgia. They think success for Talmadge, with his anti-Negro crusade and his allegiance to vested interest, is good for their private gain.

You are guilty of criminal myopia, gentlemen. When you countenance this overthrow of the statute books, this return to the law of the jungle, you invite not only the early end of democracy but the early end of your world. 1-9-47-Sun.

The rule of pistol and blackjack may favor you for a day, but remember that it is a method that can work two ways. It can bring you the police state of a Germany, but it can also bring you the police state of a Russia. Is that what you want? Well, you are asking for it!

And worst of all, you are inviting an end to the kind of civilized governments that MAY be able to achieve a lasting peace. When you return us to the law of brute force, you write the death sentence of peace.

It is only men and governments dominated by reason and a sense of careful justice which have any chance of achieving survival on the globe. Can you imagine Herman Talmadge and his kind ever leading us to mutual respect among the races and the nations?

Oh yes, Herman swaggers only in Georgia, but if he is successful the new disrespect for constituted law will have its effect in every state in the union. It will even give ideas to men who would like to take over the Washington Government in the same fashion—some of them men who would take over in the name of labor, some who would take over in the name of capital. Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Smile if you like, you Southerners who think the Talmadge banner of reaction and hatred is your banner, but your mistake is one which can cost us all an impossible price.

TELL IT TO OLD GRANDMA advertiser

NEAT HITLER TRICK

Montgomery, Ala.

Editor, The Advertiser:

To historians and to every one interested in good government are not the present events in our sister state of Georgia of importance? Sun. 1-9-47

By last accounts a young man named Talmadge has taken possession, secretly, of the Governor's office in the Atlanta Capitol Building, has had the locks changed to fit keys in his own hand; and has announced, "I am Governor."

Could Hitler have turned the trick more neatle? However it can be said in the case of "Der Fuehrer" that by birth, training and experience he knew no more about emocratic methods than a pig knows about astronomy. While concerning young Mr. Talmadge, since his family first arrived in America it has enjoyed the idea that our government is one of law. Does this last statement mean anything to the young man? Is not the entire question one for the courts of Georgia Please enlighten me!

C. M. TOLMAN
Uniontown, Ala.

GEORGIA'S SHAME—AND HOPE

Advertiser

Thur 1-16-47

Montgomery Ala.

37a(2)

The Talmadge spirit of violence and abuse lives on in Georgia to the continued shame of that great commonwealth.

Against the disgrace of a howling mob seeking to do him bodily injury, Governor Ellis Arnall was a credit to his state and to the South Tuesday night when in the face of the rowdies he stood his ground and acted as a Governor and a gentleman should act.

The mob may win today in Georgia, but the day will come when the clear, decent, steady vision of Ellis Arnall will again bring pride and credit to Georgia and the South.

A Talmadge Putsch

Birmingham News

Fri 1-17-47

Birmingham Ala.

Herman the Pretender, as he is called by Gov. Ellis Arnall, scored heavily yesterday in the battle to obtain physical control of the offices and appurtenances of the governorship. While news dispatches laconically report that "Talmadge had not called on his forces for aid," those forces were being used with all the skill of a shrewd revolutionist. It should not be surprising to anyone to learn that Roy Harris, of Augusta, Ga., politician superb in the Georgia manner, is near Talmadge at all times. *The Atlanta Journal* reported that during the first exchange, vis-a-vis, between Herman and Ellis Arnall, as the former claimed the office, Harris repeatedly whispered into Herman's ear what next should be said.

37a(2) Ala.

Talmadge yesterday captured the executive offices in the capital and also the governor's mansion. He obviously intends to go ahead in his efforts to produce a *fait accompli*. Herman in a statement yesterday said flatly that the action of the General Assembly in electing him is not subject to review by the courts. Any effort of the judicial branch to intervene for a ruling would be an "encroachment" upon the legislative branch of the government, he asserted. This would seem to make it clear that Talmadge will try his best to force the situation on through. It may even suggest that, should the Georgia Supreme Court rule on the situation, he might attempt to ignore an adverse order. But would a Georgia court so rule in the face of Talmadge holding all the strings of the governorship and pulling them all with vigor?

Gov. Arnall seems determined to fight on. But what can he do now? He has had a suit instituted to bring about a declaratory judgment. But he has lost the governor's office —this when Talmadge forces changed the locks on all doors. He has lost the governor's mansion—from which he had moved his family. When he tried to enter the mansion he was stopped by four state patrolmen—whom Herman had not "called." One of these told Ellis Arnall that he hated "to think what would happen" if he tried to force his way in. Arnall left peaceably, declaring his fear of no man. But clearly he was baffled. His warning to the patrolmen that a time would come when he would "persist" and they would learn "to respect law and order and the constitution" doubtless will not shake a single Talmadgeite.

Birmingham News

Fri 1-17-47

Birmingham Ala.

There is no sign of federal action in any way except with respect to the matter of National Guard membership for Arnall's newly-appointed adjutant general. If the secretary of war should give such recognition to the State Guard officer appointed by Arnall, then Arnall would have a legal military weapon. But obviously this situation will not be settled by force on Arnall's part. He is hewing close to a line of legality. Talmadge has claimed legality—but he has used force right and left.

People, it is said, have the kind of government they deserve. But are the Georgia people alarmed? Newspapers in Georgia call for order and legality—but one suspects that the majority of voters who elected Gene Talmadge are not worried by this demonstration of his son's palace strategy. That rotten core of too many who like the whoop and the holler sends up a high odor in Georgia; it reaches a great many outside Georgia; but the faithful unto Herman, unto the name Talmadge with its heritage of bigotry, seem to find it sweet.

Righteously indignant Ellis Arnall and many other law-abiding citizens of Georgia may be. But, as Arnall certainly knows well, such an emotion may produce little or nothing in this situation. Adherence to the law must dictate his every move. But one shudders and wonders if, in the end, this will gain the upper hand for what seems to be the right. Georgia—who could forget it?—is Georgia, where there are more things than may be dreamt of in a scholar's political philosophy.

Woe In Georgia

The News

Birmingham Ala.

What commentaries may not be made on the sad spectacle of vying contingents camping in the capitol of Georgia while they dispute who shall be governor? Ellis Arnall has done what many expected him to do: a gauntlet was flung with graciousness as well as vigor into the face of Herman Talmadge, "elected" governor by the General Assembly of Georgia. What appears from reports to have been a howling mob has given young Talmadge additional stomach for the task of trying to bluff his way forward.

37a(2)

Unfortunately it is true that at least superficially Eugene Talmadge's son has a technical leg to try to stand on. The Georgia constitution is not clear on the question of what to do in a case in which the governor-elect dies shortly before taking office. But to most observers outside Georgia, at least, it seems clear enough what was intended: the lieutenant governor should step into the deceased nominee's place. Son Herman is having his technical leg propped up by what apparently is a sizable portion of the people of Georgia. Thur. 1-16-47

* * *

Ellis Arnall is in the middle of a fight he doubtless would prefer to have avoided. If Northerners now give him added acclaim for his valiant fight for what he considers legal government, it may be accepted that he appreciates the handicap that gives him in the South. And Arnall never yet has indicated he is anything other than a faithful Southerner. But what else could he do? Primarily he seems convinced that the constitution would be aborted in spirit if not in fact by acceptance of Herman Talmadge's contention. Thur. 1-16-47

Arnall's earlier resignation specifically stated that he was resigning only upon the qualification of the elected lieutenant governor, Mr. Thompson; Gov. Arnall specifically named the name, making it clear that in the event the Assembly chose to flout the spirit of the constitution he was not packing his grip. Telephone calls have been made—Arnall calling Secretary of War Patterson for recognition of his designation of a new adjutant general, Talmadge having called Sen. Russell in Washington, for what purpose has not been said.

* * *

The nation doubtless looks with concern mingled with amazement at this 20th century battle beyond the polls. The South's good name is blackened once more. One thing, mainly, is supporting young Herman in his effort—and that is his possession of the name Talmadge and its bitter heritage. We therefore see a man who receives some 700 write-in votes, perhaps deliberately engineered just for this purpose, thrusting himself forward. The people of Georgia surely can produce citizens in committee extraordinary who could provide sanity for this snake pit situation. In a sense, it is a kind of anarchy which Georgia now has.

SETTLE IT QUICKLY

37a(2)

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Fri. 2-14-47

The Georgia governorship row grows more confused with each legal development. Two Superior Court judges have given directly opposite opinions in the case, and each decision makes a strong brief for the two contesting governors. The final arbiter is now the Georgia Supreme Court.

But the opposing ideas of Judge Porter and Judge Hendrix complicate the case considerably. Legality of the legislature's shotgun election of Herman Talmadge cannot be merely an open and shut matter of law in view of the two judicial opinions. In other words, there are incalculable factors of personal viewpoint, social outlook, and political texture of the judges, which will decide the issue.

In any event, thousands of Georgians will accept the verdict of the State Supreme Court with ill-grace if they accept it at all. If Talmadge is upheld, the prestige and honor of robed justice will sustain an ugly blow in the minds of many Southerners whether they be of Georgia or not. If Talmadge's election is held illegal, Talmadgeites almost to a man will be quick to denounce the decision as an evasion of justice and the will of the people. What might happen in such circumstances, with a little encouragement from the proper source, is something no one can anticipate with pleasure. Fri. 2-14-47

37a(2)

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

But however the final decision goes, a quick conclusion is to be desired. Every additional day of delay only complicates further a situation which reflects upon the dignity of Georgia and the honor of American justice. Fri. 2-14-47

Careful Prayer

Constitution

Editor Constitution: There are things going on down in Georgia that prove that we folks should be careful what we pray for. The

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Israelites ran into trouble on several occasions when they thought they could run things better than the Master.

Wed 2-12-47

If the people had left poor Gene Talmadge off last fall and concentrated on Jim Dykes, Roy Harris and Jim Peters, Georgia probably would not be in such a mess today.

A. T. STRICKLAND.

Nashville, Tenn.

Atlanta Ga.

"New Low, Ellis!"

Editor Constitution: You have hit a new low, Ellis. It is ludicrous for you to give vent to your animosity and for you to play for national publicity under the guise of "protecting the people of Georgia in refusing to yield the office

to Gov. Herman Talmadge! I believe you would love a really legitimate excuse to hold the Governor's office for another four years!

AUBIN B. FOKES.
LaGrange.

37a(2)

Gov. Herman Talmadge (right), with his mother, widow of Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, being greeted by Gov. Ellis Arnall (left) as the incumbent refused to vacate his post following Mr. Talmadge's election by the State's General Assembly.

The Times New York, N.Y.

Thurs. 1-16-47

Associated Press Wirephotos

Talmadge Offers Poll Test If Legislature Names Him

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Wed. 1-8-47

Herman Talmadge has offered to submit himself to a special election before the people immediately if the Legislature names him Governor next week.

His offer was announced last night, after a group of new solons urged a special election to let the people choose a Governor.

Thompson supporters said they would have no objection to letting the people elect a Governor, if it were legally possible, but that they regard the new legislators' request purely as a Talmadge ruse engineered by Roy Harris.

Thompson yesterday claimed support from 153 Legislators, and Talmadge claimed 178. If the Legislature can elect a Governor, only 129 votes will be required.

The Associated Press poll of the Legislature, with returns nearing 70 percent of the entire memberships, showed 76 favoring Thompson, 45 for election of Talmadge, 43 undecided or non-committal, and 12 for a special election.

Neither the headquarters of Talmadge nor Thompson thinks it is legally possible to hold a special election such as the new solons suggested.

Talmadge's offer was for a "straw vote" to be made after he is serving as Governor, and he pledged himself to abide by the decision of the people in this election. He observed that if the Legislature fails to name a Governor, Gov. Arnall can hold over for four more years, since there is no law to force him to resign and turn over the office to Lt. Gov.-Elect Thompson.

"The only way an election can be held," commented Talmadge in reporting that he repeatedly has said he favored an election by the people if it were legally possible, "is for the Legislature to elect me Governor. If I am elected Governor, and if the Legislature then passes a bill calling a special election, as Governor of your State I will sign that bill and will be a candidate for Governor before the people and will abide by the results of that election. If I should be defeated in that election, I will immediately tender my resignation."

In event the Legislature should call an election after naming him Governor, he would recommend that the General Assembly adjourn immediately to meet one week after the election. Then it would proceed under the leadership of whomever may be elected Governor in that special election.

The Associated Press, in an interpretative story, said it was "significant that most of the new Legislators sponsoring the special election drive were Talmadge people, and that the proposal came as a last-minute compromise at a time when Thompson is the top-heavy preference among the Legislators." The AP also noted that the new solons were in conference with Roy Harris shortly after they issued their statement for publication. And, the AP reported Talmadge headquarters telephoned many Legislators Sunday and Monday asking what they thought of a special election.

Rep. Pierce Howard, of DeKalb, one of the new solons asking for a special election, branded as absolutely false charges that the move was a Talmadge ruse. He declared that two of the original six members signing the resolution calling for a special election were pledged to Thompson, two to Talmadge and two were non-committal.

The Constitution

While Howard said it would be preferable not to name either Talmadge or Thompson Governor until the special election is held, it looks as though this will be impossible. The General assembly either will have to take action electing Talmadge or else permit Thompson to become acting Governor by taking no action, Howard said. While Arnall might hold over until after the special election, Howard said many solons opposed this, saying he would not be bound, himself, to abide by the special election and resign.

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 1-8-47

Howard said he hoped both Thompson and Talmadge would support a special election. He added that he would vote against the claims of the person who failed to support the special election plans.

Wed. 1-8-47

Thompson, in a radio broadcast last night, pointed out that the Lieutenant-Governor merely performs the duties of Governor for two years, after which the people elect a Governor. If the Legislature were to attempt to name Talmadge on the "basis of his few write-in votes" against the Democratic candidate in the general election, they will be trying themselves to elect a Governor for four years, denying the people the right to elect a Governor to serve the balance of the late Eugene Talmadge's term, Thompson said.

"I maintain that the people's right to elect their Governor by direct vote should be safeguarded and I am confident the Legislature will uphold that position," Thompson continued. "The real point at issue is whether the Legislature will recognize the people's claim to elect the Governor, instead of the Legislature attempting to elect the Governor, and whether the Legislature will permit the Constitution to prevail and thus give the people the opportunity to avail themselves of their Constitutional right to elect a Governor to fill the term of the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge."

Judge Willim R. Smith, of Nashville, member of the Constitution Redrafting Commission, and Sol. Gen. Ralph Dawson, of Ludowici, supporter of the late Eugene Talmadge, will support Thompson's claim in talks at 6:45 p. m. today over WSB.

The Constitution

Rep. Myer Goldberg, of Coweta County, said he concurred with Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook's ruling that the General Assembly is without authority to elect a Governor.

From another gubernatorial campaign headquarters in the Henry Grady Hotel yesterday came charges of "propaganda" by D. Talmadge Bowers, of Elberton, who campaigned as a "write-in" candidate in the general election. Bowers laughed at the legislative claims of both Talmadge and Thompson, and said their claims were purely erroneous propaganda. Bowers wouldn't make a claim at present himself, but predicted he would win the Governorship when the Legislature meets.

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 1-8-47

THOMPSON OATH AS GOVERNOR VOTED ON GEORGIA RECORD

The Times New York N.Y.

37a(2)

State Senate by Tie Ballot at Turbulent Session Keeps Proceedings in Journal

Thurs. 1-23-47

SETBACK FOR TALMADGE

His Forces Also Lose in House, Where Action on His White Primary Bill Is Delayed

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Jan. 22—The Georgia Senate, which a week ago joined the House in electing and inaugurating Herman Talmadge as Governor, today confirmed its journal of proceedings showing that, in an open session Monday, M. E. Thompson, rival claimant to the Governorship, took the official oaths both as Lieutenant Governor and Acting Governor.

The vote on a motion to approve the journal without changes was 27-27, with Senate President Pro Tempore William T. Dean, supporter of Mr. Thompson, voting to leave both oaths on record. A tie vote sustains a motion, under rules of the Assembly.

The action came after stormy debate, during which a Talmadge leader charged "it makes us look foolish to agree for an oath to be administered to another person for Governor."

Thur. 1-23-47

Legislative forces of Mr. Talmadge received two other setbacks when the Senate, in executive session, postponed action on a sealed message from "His Excellency, Herman Talmadge" and some supporters of Mr. Talmadge revolted in the House and joined the Thompson bloc to delay action on a measure to establish a democratic white primary.

Thompson Would Delay Action

The sealed message from Mr. Talmadge to the Senate was believed to have contained appointments.

Yesterday, in an address before a joint session of the Assembly, Mr. Talmadke urged immediate action on the white primary proposal.

Mr. Thompson, elected Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, is committed to support the party platform, which has the white primary plan as its number one plank, but he is opposed to any Assembly action at this time. He has urged the Legislature to adjourn until courts determine whether he or Mr. Talmadge is entitled to the Governorship.

Mr. Talmadge insisted the Assembly actions today bore no significance but Mr. Thompson and his supporters boasted that they indicated "further recession" on the part of the Talmadge forces, resulting from the upsurge of anti-Talmadge sentiment throughout the State.

37a(2)

Three more "indignation" community mass meetings were held tonight—in Thomaston, Newnan and Helen—to protest Mr. Talmadge's election by the Legislature. Similar gatherings occurred last night in Atlanta, Clevaland, Griffin, Homerville, Covington and

The Times New York, N.Y.

Talmadge Group Surprised

Talmadge supporters, in debate over the motion to confirm the Senate journal, revealed that they had been completely surprised when Mr. Thompson took a double oath. Mr. Thompson was sworn in last Saturday and chose to repeat the ceremony before the Senate Monday.

Senator Grady Coker of Canton said:

"Nobody knew what was going on except the red-headed judge. It was an insult to the intelligence and integrity of the Senate not to be advised ahead of time what was being planned."

Senator Coker's reference was to Judge J. M. C. Townsend of the Cherokee Circuit Court, who administered the two oaths to Mr. Thompson.

Senator A. H. S. Weaver of Macon said he realized what was taking place but added that "newsreels were making pictures and I did not want to object and have the press and radio make any more capital of the monkey business going on around the State Capitol right now."

"I did not want to give the people outside of Georgia anything else to laugh about," he added.

Senator Spence Grayson of Savannah, argued that the second oath administered to Mr. Thompson should have been expunged from the record "since nobody knew that the second oath was being given until it was all over."

Talmadge leaders challenged the right of Mr. Dean to vote on the issue, contending that he was still the president of the Senate. The Lieutenant Governor is charged with the responsibility of presiding over the Senate but since Mr. Thompson considers himself the Acting Governor, Mr. Dean frankly admitted he wasn't sure of his status. But he said that the Talmadge forces themselves had decided he was "Senate President Pro Tempore. Thur. 1-23-47

Legislators Voice Resentment

Explaining his vote, Mr. Dean in a sarcastic mood, said:

"I found out in the joint session yesterday that I am not President of the Senate but just President Prom Tem when House Speaker Fred Hand refused to yield the gavel to me."

Mr. Hand, elected Speaker by the Talmadge wing, presided at the session at which Mr. Talmadge said he would resign if Mr. Thompson would also step out. He also stipulated that the Legislature should pass a measure necessary for the holding of a white primary for the Governorship. Mr. Thompson immediately rejected the proposal.

No details were forthcoming on the Senate's delayed action on the sealed Talmadge message except an announcement that another executive session would be held on Monday.

House action on the white primary measure also was moved up until Monday over the vigorous opposition of at Talmadge bloc headed by Representative J. Robert Elliott, of Muscogee County.

Representative Walter Harrison, of Jenkins County, of the Thompson forces, declared:

"I want to know if this measure is a cracker party bill or the Huey Long kind. I won't want this thing crammed down any throat without a public hearing and complete understanding. This measure is even more important than any man we elect as governor. I don't think any of us fully understands the language of this bill."

When several other Assemblymen who had voted for Mr. Talmadge for Governor expressed support of this view, Representative Elliott yielded.

Struggle for Control Goes On

Meanwhile Mr. Talmadge, in the Governor's suite, and Mr. Thompson, in the office of the president of the Senate, continued their struggle for control of State affairs. Mr. Thompson stated he had obtained replicas of the Executive Seal and the official oath book after Mr. Talmadge had refused to turn over to him the seal and book in the executive offices.

Mr. Thompson disclosed that admission to Capitol offices had been denied to his appointees as Revenue Commissioner and Highway Director. Thur. 1-23-47

He notified the Fulton National Bank he intended to draw upon Executive Department funds and said he planned court action if the funds were refused.

Commenting upon the Talmadge rebuffs in the Assembly, Mr. Thompson said:

"Our lines are beginning to strengthen and are holding and it looks like recession is the order of the day for the Talmadge forces."

Mr. Talmadge indicated that he regarded as "meaningless" the Senate tie vote which retained Mr. Thompson's oath as Acting Governor in the journal of proceedings.

He had nothing newsworthy to offer at two press conferences during the day. Asked if he planned to continue the State charter revocation suits against the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians, he replied:

"I won't cross any bridges until I come to them."

Attorney General Eugene Cook, who has ruled that former Gov. Ellis Arnall was holdover Governor of the State until he resigned Saturday in favor of Mr. Thompson, and who also has held that Mr. Thompson is Mr. Arnall's legal successor, said today the Governorship issue could be placed before the Georgia Supreme Court within twenty days if Mr. Talmadge wanted to do so.

Mr. Cook added that Mr. Talmadge's appointment of Andrew J. Whitenhurst, of Thomas County, as Solicitor General, offered a chance to obtain an early verdict. Mr. Cook said that if Mr. Talmadge would institute quo warranto proceedings against J. B. Edwards, an Arnall appointee, to the same post, the case could be heard in the lower courts within ten days and appealed to the Supreme Court within another ten days. Mr. Talmadge declined to comment on the proposal.

Mr. Cook said the petition he filed last week in the Fulton County Superior Court seeking a declaratory judgment and an injunction against Mr. Talmadge, cannot be heard by a lower court in less than twenty days unless both sides agree. Hearing has been set in the Henry County Superior Court at McDonough on Feb. 7 and Mr. Talmadge has not indicated he would agree to an earlier date, according to Mr. Cook. Thur. 1-23-47

HUGHES SPALDING'S COW HAS TWINS; STRONGER ONE 'HERMAN,' OTHER 'M. E.

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 3-22-47

Hughes Spalding, Atlanta lawyer, has made a contribution to Georgia's muddled gubernatorial situation. It comes about this way.

At his farm in Cobb County, one of the cows recently gave birth to twin bulls. So, Spalding named one of them Herman and the other "M. E."

"One of them was much bigger and stronger than the other," explained Spalding. "So I named the strong one Herman and the other 'M. E.' Then I wrote a joint letter to both our Governors telling them what I'd done."

Did he get any answer?

Well, Herman called up and expressed his appreciation for the honor, but "M. E." has not replied.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

On the Supreme Court Decision

(THOMASVILLE TIMES-ENTERPRISE)

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. 3-25-47

The Supreme Court has probably rendered the most perfect verdict that any Solomon himself could have made. The fact that it was not unanimous is indicative of an independence and honesty on the part of all participants that stands out above, far above if we may so say, the selfish or political considerations and confusion that may have been sensed behind the scenes or in the minds of the people of the State. The decision, in our humble opinion, represents about the same degree of decisiveness that was felt by the people generally.

(BRUNSWICK NEWS)

Perhaps the finest interpretation of all is found in an observation from Mr. Thompson himself. He has declared that "my experience within recent weeks . . . has convinced me beyond a shadow of a doubt that after all the mind of the people of Georgia is sound, and the heart of the people is true. No finer people are to be found in the entire world . . . They want to do what is right and they are glad when justice prevails." And, as he adds, the time has come to fill the gaps that have been caused and to "march forward toward a greater and brighter future for our great State."

(AUGUSTA CHRONICLE)

The Constitution 3-25-47

Thus constitutional government won a double victory in a single day. Americans may now feel assured that though the storms of Fascism and Communism blowing from the right and from the left, might beat furiously around them, their traditional form of democratic government, based on the will of the many, is still supreme and stands safe as long as the people insist that those among us who have issues to settle submit them to the courts and then abide by their decisions. Atlanta, Ga.

(LOWNDES COUNTY NEWS)

The ruling of the Georgia Supreme Court on the governorship has restored in the minds of the people belief in and respect for the processes of democratic government. The high court has upheld one of the basic tenets on which the government of these United and individual States were founded—that it is the dictates of the majority and not of the individual which shall be carried out.

(VALDOSTA TIMES)

Herman Talmadge and his supporters have taken the only course that was open to them. Talmadge has vacated the Governor's office and his family has moved out of the mansion. To have done anything else would have been to flaunt the courts and the law.

Georgia has suffered some very unfavorable publicity as a result of Herman Talmadge's election. It is going to take a long time to overcome this. Gov. Thompson faces a difficult situation. We believe he is fully capable of meeting the problems that confront him. The Constitution

(LAGRANGE NEWS)

Atlanta, Ga.

What Mr. Thompson does with OUR government will be watched closely, because of the controversy that has raged from one end of the State to the other. He is a marked man. We are going to see if he carries out the constructive program we expect of any Governor. Herman Talmadge is also a marked man. The political wrangle of the past two months has put a mark on both men. Georgia would like to see both of them prove that they are great men.

(THOMASTON TIMES)

Thus the cause of justice, righteousness and law has been vindicated in Georgia and the dignity of the courts upheld.

It has been the opinion and the contention all along of the Thomaston Times that the Legislature erred in attempting to make Herman Talmadge Governor. M. E. Thompson was elected lieutenant-governor and since this office was created for the contingency which arose by the death of a Governor there could be no other rightful action than to make Thompson Governor. Tues. 3-25-47

(EASTMAN TIMES-JOURNAL)

Herman Talmadge's withdrawal from the Capitol and the Mansion following the court's decision can be nothing but commendable, and therein once again lies common sense and sound reasoning. However, we do wish he had the power to control the statements of his mouthpiece, Roy Harris, who not only shows himself to be a bad loser, but places Mr. Talmadge in the light of being unable to speak for himself without first consulting with "the boss man."

"We'll be back," Mr. Harris has stated. That is all right, and if they win by receipt of a majority of the real votes cast, not by write-in votes, there are few in this State who will offer the first word of criticism. However, it is our sincere hope that the people of Georgia will remember the humiliation and disgrace heaped upon us by those who forgot there were laws in this State which must be respected.

(GAINESVILLE EAGLE)

Tues. 3-25-47

Georgia now has seen the contrast between the quiet dignity of its Supreme Court handing down a decision on a constitutional question and the surging crowd which swept Herman Talmadge through the halls of the Capitol to break down the doors of the executive offices and install him as Governor. The Constitution

It is to the credit of Herman Talmadge that he accepted the court decision in its finality, and that he immediately turned over the office and the title to the one to whom the court assigned it. It has been stated in his behalf that he will seek the Governorship in 1948. If he is a candidate, he will face the electorate for a decision which will be as much a constitutional process as was the action of the court. Atlanta, Ga.

Galluping Through Georgia

The News and Courier
Charleston, S.C.
Sat. 3-22-47

The Gallup poll shows 49 per cent of the people of the United States in favor of Mr. Thompson for governor of Georgia and only 11 per cent for Gene Talmadge's son Herman. To our way of thinking, a more interesting feature of the poll is the high ratio (44 per cent) of persons who either had not heard about the controversy or had no opinion.

The 16 per cent who had not "heard or read about the fight in Georgia over who is to be governor" are a part of the mentally submerged element of the population. (Hundreds of thousands of them are qualified to vote in real elections, though they are not plainly labeled ignoramuses as in the Gallup poll.). The 28 per cent who had "no opinion or paid no attention" may represent a fairly high ratio of intelligent persons as well as those too dull to make up their minds on a public question. It is encouraging to find a saving remnant of non-committal individuals in these know-it-all times.

Might not some of them even favor leaving Georgia government to the Georgians?

M. E. Thompson (right) gets a handshake, but nothing more, when he calls on Herman Talmadge (left) at the Georgia Capital to demand that Talmadge surrender the Governor's office and official home. Thompson, who claims title because he was duly elected to serve as Lieut. Governor under the late Gov.-elect Eugene Talmadge, later denounced young Herman's use of State troopers to guard his hold in office. The man in the middle here is George Wilson, former State Patrol officer and one-time aide to Eugene Talmadge.

Associated Press Wirephoto

P.M. New York, N.Y. 1-31-49

Students March, Protest Talmadge

A strained semi-truce prevails today between Georgia's two "governors," but fireworks are expected when students from seven colleges march on the capitol to protest Herman Talmadge's seizure of power "by force and violence."

Almost 300 are expected to arrive at Atlanta this morning from the University of Georgia, at Athens, 70 miles away. They will be joined in a march down Peachtree St. by groups from six schools in this State Capital.

In a dramatic face-to-face meeting yesterday, Talmadge flatly refused ..Acting Governor" M. E. Thompson's demand that he clear out of the Executive Office and Governor's Mansion. Both agreed to abide by eventual decision of the State Supreme Court.

Thompson, named lieutenant governor in last year's election, advised Talmadge he intended to set up office in the chambers of the Senate President was told: "There will be no objection from me." They wound up shaking hands. .

Talmadge, though blasted from the floor as a "squatter," won a test of strength when the Georgia Assembly invited him to address a joint session at noon today. Thompson, however, slipped one over on the Senate while repeating his oath. They thought he was being sworn in as lieutenant governor. Instead he tailed his oath off with the words: "I will faithfully exercise the executive power of the State of Georgia." The Talmadge machine will tr yto wipe that off the record.

The Times

FOES OF TALMADGE WIN POINT ON SEAL

37a(2)

Georgia House Denies Its Use to Claimant in Fight for the Governorship

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Feb. 4 — Amid charges that efforts were being made to put pressure on the courts in Georgia's Governorship dispute by repeated moves in the Legislature to back up its election of Herman Talmadge as the chief executive, the anti-Talmadge faction won its first roll call victory today in the House of Representatives.

Wed. 2-5-47

A resolution to compel the Secretary of State to affix the great seal of Georgia to documents sent to him by Mr. Talmadge was defeated by one vote, 90—89. Speaker Fred Hand then voted for the proposal, making it a tie, but under the rules a majority was required to pass the measure.

Although a number of Talmadge supporters were absent and this probably accounted for the defeat of the resolution, it was the largest total of anti-Talmadge votes that has been counted on House roll calls since the all-night session at which Mr. Talmadge was elected.

Pressure is Alleged

In debate on the resolution, Representative Myer Goldberg of Coweta County accused the Talmadge forces of "trying to bring pressure on the court by repeatedly asking the General Assembly to back its election of Herman Talmadge as Governor."

Six suits are pending in the Governorship dispute, resulting from the rival claims of Mr. Talmadge and Melvin E. Thompson. Mr. Thompson was elected Lieutenant Governor at the same time the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge was chosen Governor and claims the office by right of succession. He has challenged the constitutionality of the Assembly election of Mr. Talmadge.

House consideration of another Talmadge-sponsored resolution, which would require recognition of Mr. Talmadge's Senate-confirmed appointees, was deferred until tomorrow.

Meanwhile, the Senate Judiciary Committee, conducting public hearings on the Talmadge-sponsored White primary bill, heard it denounced as a measure "which puts every Georgian's right to vote in jeopardy" and as a step toward political dictatorship in the State.

One-Party Status in Bill

The bill would repeal all State primary laws and leave the Democratic party in control of all primaries. It is designed to bar Negroes from voting and, proponents argue, the Democratic party operating as a political or social club would be outside the jurisdiction of the Federal courts.

Two Negroes, who stated they represented the CIO National Maritime Union, were not permitted to enter the Senate chamber for the hearings. The committee voted unanimously yesterday to exclude Negroes except by letter, petition or brief. N.Y.

Mrs. Leonard Haas, representing the Georgia League of Women Voters, led the opposition forces at today's hearings. Times

"This white primary bill puts every Georgian's right to vote in jeopardy," Mrs. Haas asserted. "This bill opens the door for a dictatorship. This bill reaches down and repeals local laws and ordinances, charter amendments, etc.

"There is no law or rule that would prevent the party leaders from charging a registration fee or poll tax and it is known that such a plan is being considered by proponents of this bill. By such a method a campaign fund could be raised to perpetuate one crowd in office." Wed. 2-5-47

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Comeback for Herman

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: The people who say Herman Talmadge is out of the State Capitol once and for all had better not be too sure they may have to eat those words.

Just because the Supreme Court said Arnall Thompson was Governor does not mean this is always. Now and forever the people will hear more about this fine young man. He will make a comeback greater than ever.

It makes no difference if the Supreme Court did rule against Herman Talmadge, it doesn't make his friends think less of him. He is still a great young man, one whom Georgia ought to be proud to own. He did not steal the Governor's office; he is a law-abiding citizen as everyone should be.

MRS. JOHN LANIER.
Winder.

The Constitution

"Only a Stooge"

Editor Constitution: M. E. Thompson as Governor is supposed to carry out the outlined program of the Georgia Democratic Convention, adopted in Macon last year. From his present actions he is far from it.

How about expanded State services? We need them. What about new roads? Georgia has the poorest roads of 20 States in which I have traveled. What about health facilities? We need them desperately. In my opinion Georgia is really going to the dogs. We don't have a Governor, only a stooge for Ellis Arnall and a bunch of Yankee imbeciles.

TOMMIE BREWER.
Lumber City.

Tues 4-1-47 Atlanta, Ga.

Another Ditty

Editor Constitution: After reading M. F. Smith's ditty that he says he sings to the tune of "Tipperary," I decided to submit my two cents' worth, to the tune of "She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain."

Yes, Herman's out and Melvin's in—
"In a hole," he says, as he sits in his den.
Come one, come all, and lend a hand,
To pull Melvin from the sinking sand.
Wait! Listen! I hear in the distance,
Herman a-comin' to give his assistance.
Of course it'll be two more long years!
But I hope Melvin won't sink to his ears.

FREIDA BUSH.
Atlanta.

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution 4-1-47 Tues.

(Editor's note: The Constitution does not ordinarily publish rhymes in these columns. The first got by through error and we felt it only fair to give the other side a chance. But no more, please.)

'Adios'

Editor Constitution: MET vetoed the so-called "white primary bill." Hoped he would, and quite some water will run o'er the dam before next General Election Day, and MET will, by that time, have shown enough of his stuff, that it will be "adios" to the wool hat boys.

JOHN D. WEBB.
Atlanta.

Constitution

A Free Country?

37a(2)

Editor Constitution: I'm writing this to satisfy my conscience. I am a Georgian and I am proud that I am. I must say I AM NOT proud of the way in which, not the Governor, but Herman Talmadge was inaugurated into office. Why didn't the people of Georgia have the right to have another election to choose their Governor? Is this not a free country?

SERVICE MAN.
Cherry Point, N. C.

Atlanta Ga.

Unethical

Editor Constitution: When a political faction deteriorates to the point of stirring up racial hatreds by unethically hoisting a "supremacy" banner, you can't blame the rest of the U. S. A. for deriding our State.

I sincerely hope, for the benefit of our children, we're not in for another period of criminal pardons, etc. F. X. FEWLER.

Metter, Rt. 2.

Disgrace

Fri. 1-24-47

Editor Constitution: We elected a Lieutenant Governor who paid his entrance fee to get in the race as the law required. The people of Georgia voted with the understanding that said Lieutenant Governor would take the place of the Governor in case of a vacancy in the Governor's office. But it looks like now if a man wants an office all he has to do is to go to the State Capitol and demand any office he wants.

A. J. SISK.

Toccoa.

Cheap Trickery

Editor Constitution (letter to Herman Talmadge): You have not tricked the people of the State of Georgia; you just caught us off guard. We did not think that there was a person in the State who thought little enough of the will of the people to use cheap trickery to assume the highest office in the State. Now that we know you are here you will be taken care of in due time in a dignified manner under the laws and customs of a people that have democracy born and bred in them. We can handle you through the courts and the ballot.

J. PAUL ALEXANDER.

Covington.

Talmadge King

Editor Constitution: If Herman Talmadge can be made Governor of Georgia when he was not a candidate in the primary or the general election, then Harry Truman is not legally President.

F. D. Roosevelt's son Elliott should have been named President by Congress, instead of Mr. Truman.

EDMUND E. GEORGE.

East Point.

Blood Boils

Editor Constitution: May my Governor and my President never know the indignity of office without public support. I sacrificed five years of good living and good health to rid myself of a threat of self-appointed and violently forced leadership. Many of those whom I have met and with whom I became friendly and my closest ties before the war paid a higher price of death and disability.

I accepted E. Talmadge's victory—I am democratic enough for that and proud of it.

I would not accept Arnall's decision to remain indefinitely in office any more than I will H.

Talmadge's coup d'etat. I must do something or something must happen for my feelings will likely overpower my self-control.

Why do not the conscientious young veterans or the long-holier-than-thou-eared leaders of civic groups already in politics, yet uncommitted to positive sides in this case, lead such a worthy cause.

SERVICEMAN.
(Name withheld).

Savannah.

Mickey Mouse?

Editor Constitution: I thought, I could be wrong, that the Governor was elected by the majority of the people, even under the county unit system the majority rules. For purely information's sake, would you call 600-odd write-in votes a majority? If so, Kilroy also ran, Mickey Mouse also ran. It is time the whites of Georgia woke up and do something about things, other than what the Negro is thinking and doing.

J. B. FANNIN.

Atlanta.

Now Is the Time . . .

Editor Constitution: Now is the time for every person in Georgia who believes in law and order to rally to the support of Gov. Arnall, who needs your support now as never before!

HARRY W. HARTZOG.

Buchanan.

Straw in Wind?

Editor Constitution: Your recent editorial, "By What Authority, We Wonder?" is indicative of what we may expect in State governmental affairs in the future. Talmadge vehemently denies the use of force or military tactics in the antics of setting up his office. Is this concrete evidence of it?

CHARLES L. BIRD.

Atlanta.

Utter Imposter

Editor Constitution: It is a discouraging matter when one must regularly be ashamed of one's native State. I had supposed when the late Mr. Talmadge was carried off the people of Georgia would have a token at last of the extent to which Providence had become surfeited with hate as a political philosophy.

Instead, I note the citizens seem ready to yield to an utter imposter who, according to the dispatches published here, was "elected" by a process equivalent to sending in the tops of cereal boxes for a Tom Mix badge, and who sustained his imposture and continues to sustain it by methods identical to those employed by the presumably "late" Adolf Hitler

EDWIN A. PEEPLES

Phoenixville, Pa.

Obnoxious

Editor Constitution: The 60 members of this club join in condemnation of the undemocratic election of Herman Talmadge to the high post of Governor of our State. We do not subscribe to the principle of divine right to rule here in Georgia and we deprecate both the puerility of the candidate and the specious legal fiction employed to secure his election. The entire procedure smacks of corruption and is extremely obnoxious to the plain, straight-thinking women voters of this group. We urge immediate legislative action to redeem such shreds of virtue as may be left.

Fri. 1-24-47

SPARTA WOMAN'S CLUB.

Sparta.

Constitution

Give People a Chance

Editor Constitution: Daily I come in contact with staunch followers of the late Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge. They do not believe in the present setup in our State. They have expressed their point of view in two ways: Either M. E. Thompson, Lieutenant Governor-Elect, should receive the Governorship or a special election should be called in which the people of the State can again voice their opinions and probably elect Herman Talmadge as Governor honestly.

MRS. W. A. HAWKINS

Atlanta.

Atlanta, Ga.

'Dictator Business'

Editor Constitution: I hope this dictator business is stopped.

If you happen to see fit to publish this I hope you won't print my name, for I am just a poor, defenseless woman.

O. R.

Brookhaven.

Sickening Feeling

Editor Constitution: The rest of the nation looks on with a sickening feeling of disgust as the forces of evil and corruption seem to have gained the balance of power in our State.

J. B. FINLEY.

MOVE TO LEGISLATE TALMADGE POWER

37a(2)

New York, N.Y.

His Men in Georgia House Try Thus to Force Recognition—Clergy Hit White Primary

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 3—The Talmadge forces in the State House of Representatives today sought passage of two resolutions which would compel public officials, banks and taxpayers to recognize Herman Talmadge as Governor and give him authority of the Great Seal of Georgia.

In the Senate the judiciary committee opened public hearings on the Talmadge-sponsored white primary bill after voting unanimously to exclude Negroes except by letter, petition or brief.

While public sentiment throughout the State appeared strong both for and against the white primary proposal, two church ministers' groups, meeting at Macon and Columbus, added their voices to those of the opposition.

The Macon Ministerial Association approved a resolution denouncing the White primary plan as "opposed to the teaching, principals and ideals of Christ," the Columbus (Ga.)-Phenix City (Ala.) Ministerial Alliance took a similar stand.

New York, N.Y.

The Talmadge leaders' moves in the House, seeking to force recognition of Mr. Talmadge as Governor, were mildly surprising in view of pending court cases to settle the Governorship dispute.

The House, by unanimous consent, deferred consideration of the two resolutions until tomorrow, and another session of bitter debate between the Talmadge followers and the supporters of Melvin E. Thompson, rival claimant for the Governorship, seemed likely.

One of the resolutions seeks to declare Mr. Talmadge's Senate-confirmed appointees legal officers and require recognition of them by other officials, banks and the public. State Treasurer George B. Hamilton and Attorney General Eugene Cook have refused to recognize officials named by Mr. Talmadge.

Tues. 2-4-47

The other proposal would direct Secretary of State Ben Fortson Jr. to affix the "Great Seal of Georgia" to "all orders, documents and commissions, as directed by His Excellency, Governor Talmadge."

Today's hearing of the Senate Committee on the white primary measure was given over exclusively to advocates of the bill. Roy Harris, former House Speaker, Mr. Talmadge's top political aide and author of the bill to repeal all State primary laws and place primaries under party control, spoke for almost two hours.

He ridiculed statements that he sought to become "political dictator of Georgia," explaining he was merely trying to help fulfill the "white supremacy" platform pledge of the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge.

Let the Courts Decide

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

The Constitution has been of the opinion, inasmuch as the organic law is contradictory on the subject, that the current gubernatorial wrangle can be settled only by a decision of the State Supreme Court.

Wed. 1-22-47

Legal minds undeniably are divided on the interpretation of the constitutional provisions applicable to the regrettable situation in which the State finds itself.

Both sides have previously agreed to await the court decision and to abide by it in good faith once it is rendered.

Ga.

Gov. Herman Talmadge yesterday offered—contingent upon Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson agreeing to the same course—to resign his office at the end of the present legislative session.

37a(2)

This would temporarily turn the executive office over to Speaker Fred Hand, who would be required by law to call a special election within 60 days to fill the vacancy.

Wed. 1-22-47

Lt. Gov. Thompson has refused the proposition.

This leaves the issue exactly where it has been . . . a matter for the courts to decide.

We can only hope the decision will be forthcoming at the earliest possible date.

Meanwhile, let both sides resolve there shall be no further manifestations of violence or barbarism to bring discredit and notoriety to the State.

Too much already has Georgia's good name suffered in the name-calling and histrionics which have not contributed one iota to the legal determination of the dispute.

Talmadge Emotion

Constitution

Editor Constitution: In reading the letters to the editors that are reprinted in your paper and the quoted remarks in other columns, I can't help but nctice that the pro-Talmadge attitude and emotional disposition is nearly always the same. For want of an adequate vocabulary with which to propound their already weakened theories, most of these Talmadgeites resort to the use of ungentlemanly language to express their views. Mudslinging has never been a satisfactory means to an end. These "Heil Talmadge" homespun epistles are no exception.

Wed. 2-12-47

The use of such terms as ". . . a liar, . . ." ". . . nigger-loving, goody-goodies" and ". . . stinking mess . . .," plus other discolored phrases does not alter anyone's feelings regarding Georgia's great leaders . . . rather, it strengthens them and justifies our opinion of such Georgia degraders as Herman Talmadge. These letter writers and speechmakers show their frustration when they use such wording and brand themselves as nonthinkers or pro-Talmadge, rather than pro-Georgian and, therefore, pro-American.

Georgia is an integral part of these United States and potentially the leader of this section of the nation, both economically and productively.

Florida, Ga.

Now, and hereafter, let all qualified voters, Negro and white, remember that Georgia cannot live without the rest of America and it's democracy, any more than the United States can survive without the balance of the universe.

THOMAS M. N. GEORGE.

Tallahassee, Fla.

TALMADGE ASSAILS ARNALL AS PLOTTER

The Times

37a(2)

Says He and Cox Lead Outside Radicals in Drive to Wreck White Rule in Georgia

New York, N.Y.

Sat. 1-25-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Jan. 24—Herman Talmadge, defending his right to the Governorship of Georgia over his rival claimant, M. E. Thompson, declared in a radio address to the people of the State tonight that "the present revolt against your mandate at the ballot box is a crusade of radicals, and its ugly roots are fixed in soil outside Georgia, its purpose determined to destroy the dominance of the white race in the South."

Mr. Talmadge charged that James M. Cox, former Governor of Ohio and Presidential nominee in 1920, and former Gov. Ellis Arnall, who resigned in favor of Mr. Thompson, "are spearheading an assault with fanatical determination upon the sovereign branches of your government."

"They are crippling the functions of your State government by every means which their cunning can devise," Mr. Talmadge added. "They are striving for panic in every State department, and certain elective officers, who no longer remember the mandate which you gave them last summer, are aiding them."

Mr. Talmadge did not identify Mr. Cox or Mr. Arnall by name. He referred to them as "an Ohio publisher" and "an ex-Governor." Mr. Cox is publisher of The Atlanta Journal, which opposed the election of Mr. Talmadge's father, the late Eugene Talmadge, in last summer's campaign, and has supported Mr. Arnall and Mr. Thomp- chief harbinger of opposition views in Georgia."

He accused the newspaper of trying to destroy the county unit system and planning meetings against the General Assembly "and the Governor of the State."

Wright Bryan, editor of The Journal, when asked for comment, said:

"The Journal's only connection with mass meetings has been to report them. That it will continue to do."

Mr. Thompson, elected Lieutenant Governor, and claimant to the Governorship by right of succession, said today he was working on some suggestions he expects to offer the Legislature but emphasized that he had no intention of attempting "to dictate to the Assembly." Fri. 1-24-47 son in the present controversy.

Talmadge Assails Arnall

In another radio address two hours earlier, Mr. Talmadge obtained fifteen minutes' time over The Atlanta Journal station, WSB, after he had appealed to the Federal Communications Commission asserting that time had been refused to him to defend himself against criticism by a Journal editor. The Times

In this speech, Mr. Talmadge referred to numerous community mass meetings over the State, which have endorsed the Arnall-Thompson position and have urged the Legislature to adjourn until the Governorship dispute is settled.

These meetings, he charged, were "inspired and promoted by the very same people who promoted them last summer in opposition to the platform of my father." This group, he said, has as its main objectives the defeat of the white primary proposal and elimination of Georgia's county unit vote system. New York, N.Y.

"For some months prior to the Democratic primary of last summer," he added, "my predecessor in office connived with radicals outside the State to force the Democratic party in Georgia to admit Negroes to its membership, to compel us to march to the polls alongside them. Sat. 1-25-47

Says Negro Block Is Sought

"By deceit and trickery they did force Negro voters upon us, and they registered them by the tens of thousands. It was their purpose to regiment this Negro vote into a controlled block, with which they might dominate every election in this State. They started off with this block vote by electing a Lieutenant Governor."

Mr. Talmadge, who was elected last week by the General Assembly in place of his father, accused Mr. Arnall of creating incidents to win over public opinion. Referring to Mr. Arnall's assertion that he was barred by armed guards from the Executive Mansion, he declared that the former Governor, who had challenged the constitutionality of the Assembly election and insisted on keeping office until his "legal successor" could be sworn and qualified, had already "abandoned the Executive Mansion, had moved every personal item to his home in Newnan."

Mr. Talmadge said that Mr. Arnall was accompanied to the mansion so that the incident would "build up background for more visits to Pittsburgh and Harlem" and "make tickets to his lectures sell."

Another Court Test Planned

Other developments today in the Governorship dispute were:

An attorney for J. B. Edwards, Arnall-appointed Solicitor General of the Southern Judicial Circuit, stated he would file a court petition Monday for a declaratory judgment on the legality of appointments by the opposing Governorship claimants. The Times

The court would be asked to decide whether Mr. Edwards was Solicitor General of the circuit or whether the office belonged to A. J. Whitehurst, appointee of Mr. Talmadge. New York, N.Y.

Mr. Thompson, as "acting Governor," said he had made twenty-six appointments to various State offices and would send the appointments to the Senate for confirmation next week. Talmadge appointees for many of the same offices had been announced previously. Sat. 1-25-47

Mr. Thompson also said that if he was recognized by the courts as Acting Governor, he intended to dismiss State highway patrolmen who have been guarding the State Capitol and Executive Mansion, under direction of Mr. Talmadge's adjutant general, Marvin Griffin. He said that "the State Highway Patrol Act specifically prohibits any patrolman or official from taking any part in politics."

At his press conference today, Mr. Talmadge said that many of his friends had suggested a march on the Capitol as a counter movement to the pro-Thompson mass meetings over the State, but that he had advised them against any such demonstrations.

Talmadge Holds Reins In Georgia

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Gains Possession Of Governor's Office By Changing Of Locks

Fri. 1-17-47

Ruling On Monday

Arnall Denied Entrance To Mansion; Firecracker Blast Excites Capitol

By The Associated Press

ATLANTA, Jan. 16—(AP)—Ellis Arnall's contest for the Georgia governorship tonight appeared certain of being prolonged at least until Monday, although the rival claimant, Herman Talmadge, held possession of the gubernatorial chambers at the capitol and the executive mansion in fashionable Ansley Park. The Advertiser

Sources close to Lieutenant Governor-elect M. E. Thompson said Thompson would take the oath of office at 11 a.m. Monday, thus qualifying to succeed Arnall under the latter's resignation filed with Georgia's secretary of state last weekend.

The resignation was to become effective "immediately on qualification of the lieutenant governor." Montgomery, Ala.

As the dual state administrations neared the close of their second business day, the capitol was thrown briefly into turmoil by the explosion of a firecracker high up in the rotunda above the spot where Arnall established his temporary "office" this morning.

Apparently tossed from an upper floor, the firecracker burst with a terrific report that reverberated through the dome and sent capitol workers scurrying into the corridors. Fri. 1-17-47

Arnall had just left his desk. No one was injured. An odor of burned powder lingered for some time on the upper floors, but there was no indication who had thrown the firecracker.

Shortly after this incident the Talmadge-appointed adjutant general, Marvin Griffin, issued an order that state guardsmen should not bring rifles into the capitol.

"I will bust the stock on every gun brought into the statehouse," Griffin declared.

Arnall's move into the rotunda today followed early morning seizure of the executive chambers by Talmadge and his adherents.

Arnall described the tactics there and at the mansion where he later was denied entrance by state patrolmen as "the perfect panzer movement" which gave control to "storm troops." Talmadge declined comment on this reference to his backers.

When the general assembly convened in mid-morning, the Senate gave further support to Talmadge's legislative election by confirming three of his top appointees. At the same time Talmadge House forces beat down a proposal for an assembly recess until the State Supreme Court rules who is governor.

Arnall, who has served a four-year term, reiterated his contention that the Legislature was without authority to elect Talmadge as his successor. He said he would step down when M. E. Thompson is installed as lieutenant governor and can claim the office.

"If he's the kind of a man I think he is he won't yield to this farce," Arnall said of Thompson.

GEORGIA'S TWO GOVERNORS

Times New York N.Y.

Georgia's political tangle now presents the unedifying spectacle of two Governors trying to rule the State, each claiming constitutional authority and each with his own military establishment to back it up. Such a trouble-brewing situation cannot last. Obviously only one holds office legally. Either "Governor" Arnall or "Governor" Talmadge must yield. We believe that if Mr. Arnall possesses the political wisdom his liberal administration has indicated he will withdraw from so useless a struggle. Thur

1-16-47

The problem is one which Georgia alone has the right to solve. Convening for that purpose, the General Assembly has declared Herman Talmadge Governor by a vote of 161 to 87. To be sure, the situation was unique and confusing. Eugene Talmadge had been elected Governor but died before he could take office. There can be no doubt that the people, or the only politically effective minority of the people voted for a return to Talmadgeism, "white supremacy," general reaction and Negro disfranchisement. Talmadge's son Herman represents these reactionary policies in fullest measure. He appealed to the Legislature as a candidate for the Governorship on the ground that he had received the highest number of write-in votes. His opponent, Lieut. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson, was defeated two to one. In choosing Talmadge the Legislature undoubtedly confirmed prevailing opinion among the electorate. The Constitution and constitutional precedent in Georgia seem to support its action. Times

Governor Arnall, who cannot constitutionally succeed himself, insists Talmadge is a "pretender." He holds that he can surrender his office only to Mr. Thompson. Acting on his own interpretation of the law, he defies the Legislature in the exercise of its legal functions. It is an old maxim that a house divided against itself cannot stand. The division in Georgia threatens the welfare of the State.

HE GETS UNEASY

The News

To the Editor of The News:

In your issue of Jan. 18 you added another insult to the Talmadgeites of Georgia, notwithstanding the majority of the Georgia Legislature and fully half of the Georgia citizens think differently from you. Why don't your stripe be sports when you get licked and not bellow, "Dictator, ignoramuses, etc."? I guess you, the city editors and highbrows of the cities have a perfect right to call the old country Georgians just any old names, just because they live back in the woods. It's a wonder to me sometimes that any of us take your old dailies, and we would not if we had no more sporting blood in us than most of you editors have. We still take the dailies because it does us good to get "cussed out" sometimes by the right person. I have often wondered why nearly all of you editors and writers never say one word against one of the most secretive and dastardly organizations, according to history, ever spewed from the pit. Yet you will be mean with vitriolic language the K. K. K. and other groups. I think I know why, but I could be wrong. If I am wrong, please forgive me. I think it is because they are strong enough to boycott you, a trick they have proved themselves very good at in the past.

Birmingham, Ala.

I get more uneasy about our democracy when I read such castigations as yours of the people of Georgia. Let the Talmadgeites and the Bilbos go their way if that suits Georgia and Mississippi.

W. J. LEATH.

Camp Hill, Ala.

Fri. 1-24-47

Here Is Text of Office Opinion By State's Attorney General

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Sun 1-5-47

Here is the full text of Att. Gen. Eugene Cook's opinion on the present gubernatorial emergency:

37a (2)

"Dear Gov. Arnall:

"At your request, I hand you herewith my official opinion on the subject matter of your inquiry. The views expressed in this official opinion conform to the views I gave you orally before the release of your statement of Dec. 24, 1946.

"I am pleased that you have requested my official opinion on this matter, because of its grave importance to the people of Georgia. I am dealing with the several sections of the State Constitution which are applicable to the condition arising from the death of Honorable Eugene Talmadge, who was nominated for Governor of Georgia at the July, 1946, Democratic Primary, and whose name was the only name printed upon the official ballot used in the Noember General Election. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Honorable Eugene Talmadge obtained a majority of the votes cast in that election, and that since that date and prior to the date of taking office, has died.

"The several matters involved in this opinion fall naturally into four headings: (1) the tenure of the incumbent Governor; (2) the requirements of the Constitution as to the Legislature's declaration of the results of the election, and its authority to elect a Governor; (3) the status of the office of President of the Senate; (4) the right of the Lieutenant Governor of Georgia to immediate succession.

"Your duties as the present incumbent of the Governor's office are set forth in the following section of the Constitution: Article 5, Section 1, Paragraph 1.

"The executive power shall be vested in a Governor who shall hold his office during the term of four years, and until his successor shall be chosen and qualified. The Governor serving at the time of the adoption of this Constitution and future Governors shall not be eligible to succeed themselves and shall not be eligible to hold the office until after the expiration of four years from his term of office.'

"In construing the Constitution it is important that weight be given to every word of the framers thereof. The provision that the Governor shall hold his office 'during the term of four years and until his successor shall be chosen and qualified' was a recognition by the framers of that instrument that contingencies might happen which had not been specifically dealt with, the purpose being to avoid a vacancy in office when such contingency occurred.

"It was held in the case of Pittman v. Ingram, 184 Ga., p. 255, that upon the death of the person elected to the office of Judge of the Superior Court prior to the date of taking office, there was no vacancy in office created thereby, and that the incumbent judge would continue in office until his successor was chosen and qualified as provided by the Constitution.

The Constitution

"That same provision of the Constitution, which is as follows: 'Governors shall not be eligible to succeed themselves and shall not be eligible to hold the office until after the expiration of four years from the conclusion of his term of office' does not affect the question here under discussion. It is clear that this provision of the Constitution is intended to make a Governor ineligible to succeed himself in order that he might avoid means afforded him by his office of securing re-election. It does not exclude him from performing and discharging the duties of his office after the expiration of four years. He, having been chosen by the people and having served for four years, is presumed to be better qualified than any other person to perform the duties of the office of Governor more efficiently during [illegible] emergency than any other person.

"The Constitution of [illegible] expressly nor by implication indicates an intention to render a Governor incompetent to continue his duties as Governor in such an emergency. On the contrary, the Constitution expressly states that he should continue in office during the term of four years and 'until his successor is chosen and qualified.'

"Your public statement that you planned 'to resign promptly at a time when the Lieutenant Governor has been installed in office and he can succeed under the constitutional provisions, and when there can be no further question as to his right to do so,' makes it unnecessary to decide the question with respect to the period during which it would be your duty to hold over.

"The duties of the Legislature with respect to the election of a Governor are set forth in the Constitution in Paragraph 2, Section 1, Article 5 of the Constitution of Georgia, as follows:

Sun. 1-5-47

"The members of each branch of the General Assembly shall convene in the Representative Hall, and the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives shall open and publish the returns in the presence and under the direction of the General Assembly; and the person having a majority of the whole number of votes shall be declared duly elected Governor of this State; but, if no person shall have such majority, then from the two persons having the highest number of votes, who shall be in life, and shall not declare an election at the time appointed for the General Assembly to elect, the General Assembly shall immediately elect a Governor viva voce . . ." (Underscoring supplied.)

"By this provision of the Constitution of Georgia it is the duty of the Legislature first to open and publish the returns of the General Election for Governor held November 5, 1946. Having published the returns it is likewise clear that the Legislature should declare the person receiving a majority of the whole number of votes cast duly elected Governor. Since it is a matter of common and public knowledge that the Honorable Eugene Talmadge was the only candidate on the official ballot at said election for the Office of Governor, and received the constitutional majority of votes cast, the duties of the Legislature are exhausted when they shall so publish and declare.

"The further provision of this section of the Constitution with reference to the Legislature's electing a Governor is applicable only when no person shall have received at said election the majority of the whole number of votes so cast.

"The law of this State does not authorize the disregarding of a majority of the votes cast in an election simply because the person receiving same was at that time or subsequently became incapacitated to fill said office. It certainly was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that in such circumstances the majority of the people should be ignored and a defeated candidate or a person receiving a minority of the votes permitted to hold said office. This view is clearly sustained by the court decisions in Dobbs v. Mayer, et al. 128 Ga., p. 483; Marshall v. Walker, 183 Ga., 44; State of Missouri vs. Walsh, 7 Mo., p. 142.

"In addition to the constitutional provisions on these questions which prevent the General Assembly from electing a Governor under these circumstances, it is clearly the legislative intent that the General Assembly should not have such authority. This view is expressly stated in Section 34-1904 of the Amended Code of Georgia.

"The creation of the office of Lieutenant Governor in this State by the Constitution of Georgia adopted in 1945 abolishes the office of the President of the Senate as it existed under the prior Constitution.

"There is some legal authority for the view that the Lieutenant Governor, by virtue of his election to that office, would become the chosen and qualified successor to the incumbent Governor immediately upon his qualification as Lieutenant Governor; however, in view of the foregoing conclusion and your expressed purpose of resigning the office of Governor immediately after the qualification of the Lieutenant Governor, it is unnecessary that this theory be discussed. The leading authority for the latter contention is State v. Moodie, 258 N. W. Reporter, 558-568.

"Upon the qualification of the Lieutenant Governor and your resignation as Governor, the Lieutenant Governor would become vested with the executive power of the State under the Constitution of Georgia until the next general election, at which time the people would elect a Governor.

"The Law Department has made an exhaustive research of the authorities on the questions herein involved and will, if requested by you, furnish a complete brief of all authorities on said questions in addition to the authorities cited herein.

"Trusting the above fully answers your questions, and with high personal regards, I am

"Sincerely yours,
"EUGENE COOK,
"Attorney General."

Why Vote?

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Gene Talmadge said he would stop the "niggahs" from voting with the whites, and give all World War II vets tax exemption for five years on places of business and roads, and he died before he took office.

His son Herman, on his father's platform, has fought for the office by overpowering it with the State Troopers, and if the Legislature can appoint a Governor what is the use for we people to go out to the polls and cast our vote. I did not vote for my legislator to appoint me a Governor. I can do that myself. Let the man have the office that was elected Lieutenant Governor by the "people!" What other Governor has taken office by having to overpower it by force? Sun. 2-23-47

Atlanta, Ga.

LOUIE RAINES.

Cumming.

Battle for Governorship Ties Up Funds of 2 Georgia Departments

The Times

New York, N.Y.

Fri. 2-24-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Jan. 23—Funds for the operation of the Georgia Revenue and Highway Departments were ordered held up today by State Treasurer George B. Hamilton as legal complications mounted in the Governorship battle between Herman Talmadge and M. E. Thompson.

Soon after Mr. Hamilton's announcement, the Fulton National Bank, which holds an estimated $100,000 left over by former Governor Ellis Arnall in the State Executive Department account, said that it would not honor the demands of either Mr. Talmadge or Mr. Thompson and had instructed its lawyers to institute court procedure for direction as to which one is entitled to the money.

Mr. Hamilton said that he would not accede to any requests for operating expenses from the Revenue and Highway Departments until appointees of Mr. Talmadge in those departments had duly qualified under the law. The Times

In the Highway Department, Mr. Hamilton pointed out, the Talmadge-appointed treasurer has not been confirmed by the Senate and transfer of bond from the previous treasurer is therefore illegal. New York, N.Y.

Mr. Hamilton stated that in the Revenue Department, Georgia law required that bond of the commissioner be aprpoved by the Attorney General. A bond of $70,000 posted by Charles Redwine, named as Revenue Commissioner by Mr. Talmadge, does not have the approval of Attorney General Eugene Cook, who has recognized Mr. Thompson as Acting Governor, and who has given approval to a bond of the Thompson appointee to the office, Stonewall Dyer. Mr. Dyer, however, lacks confirmation by the Senate.

37a (2) 44

Observers said the highway funds might be released if the Senate confirmed Sims Garrett, the Talmadge-appointed treasurer. In view of yesterday's attitude of the Senate, however, in holding up action on a sealed message from Mr. Talmadge, believed to contain appointments, and in the light of indications that Mr. Thompson has won increased support in the upper branch, Mr. Garrett's confirmation appeared to be in doubt.

Bank Issues Statement

All Federal funds being received for the Highway Department will also be held in the Treasurer's vaults until the legal channels are cleared, Mr. Hamilton declared.

Erle Cocke, president of the Fulton National Bank, issued the following statement on its position in tieing up the Executive Department account: The Times

"In view of the confusion that exists throughout the State as to the Governorship of Georgia, this bank has instructed its attorneys to file court proceedings for instructions as to the proper person to control the account of the Executive Department of Georgia.

"Prior to a controlling court decision it is not the purpose of this bank to recognize either of the contending parties as entitled to control of this account.

"This morning a small check in the amount of $50 upon the account of the Executive Department was presented to a teller in the ladies' department and was cashed through error, without the knowledge or approval of any officer of the bank." New York, N.Y.

The check was presented at the bank by Mr. Thompson's executive secretary and led to an announcement during the day that the bank was recognizing Mr. Thompson as Acting Governor.

Mr. Talmadge, elected last week as "Governor" by a joint session of the General Assembly in place of his late father, Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, declined to comment on Treasurer Hamilton's announcement, except to say that he had approved the bond of his appointee, Mr. Redwine, as Revenue Commissioner and had forwarded it to the Attorney General.

Fri. 1-24-47

No Operating Funds Asked

Mr. Hamilton said he had received no requests for operating funds from either the Highway or Revenue Departments. He explained these funds are usually requested on the first of each month, and that the agencies are now functioning with money made available to them on Jan. 1.

Mr. Hamilton's order upset procedure in the handling of revenue collections. He said that ordinarily the Revenue Commissioner deposited funds received by that department in a separate bank account and then transferred the amount in a lump sum by check.

He said that collections could be turned over direct to the Treasurer but that any checks transferring collection funds from the Revenue Department bank account to the Treasury would be held in the Treasury vault pending settlement of the Revenue Commissioner's legal authority.

In Valdosta, Ga., meanwhile, taxpayers were reported circulating a petition preparatory to filing a court suit asking that the Lowndes County Tax Commissioner be restrained from sending any tax receipts to the State Treasury until the Governorship dispute is settled by the courts.

Assembly Adjourns

The General Assembly adjourned today until Monday, the Senate after hearing vehement protests against any further business in the present "chaotic state of affairs" and the House, after Speaker Fred Hand, a Talmadge supporter, appealed to the legislators to go home over the week-end, "talk things over with the homefolks and see how they feel."

Adjournment came after Mr. Talmadge, as "Governor," submitted a budget message in which he asked for increased taxes totaling $32,000,000, to carry out his late father's pledges of expended State services. The Times

Mr. Talmadge stated that Georgia's budget for the next four years must be $109,224,563 annually, and he emphasized that present revenues can take care of only $77,392,000 of that total.

The new revenue will be needed, Mr. Talmadge stated, to continue a 50 per cent increase in teachers' salaries, instituted by former Governor Arnall, and for other projects as follows: $1,000,000 annually to aid counties in building schools, $600,000 annually for improvements to the university system, $550,000 increased teacher pension payments, $7,500,000 annually for rural roads, $4,500,000 annually for health work and hospitals, $3,000,000 for pensions for the aged and other public welfare services. New York, N.Y.

"This expended program is the program my father campaigned on, knowing that the rural counties of the State and the citizens therein were entitled to more and better services from the Government of the State," Mr. Talmadge's message said. Fri. 1-24-47

Talmadge Makes Appeal

During the day, Mr. Talmadge made an appeal to his followers throughout the State to make their views known to the legislators.

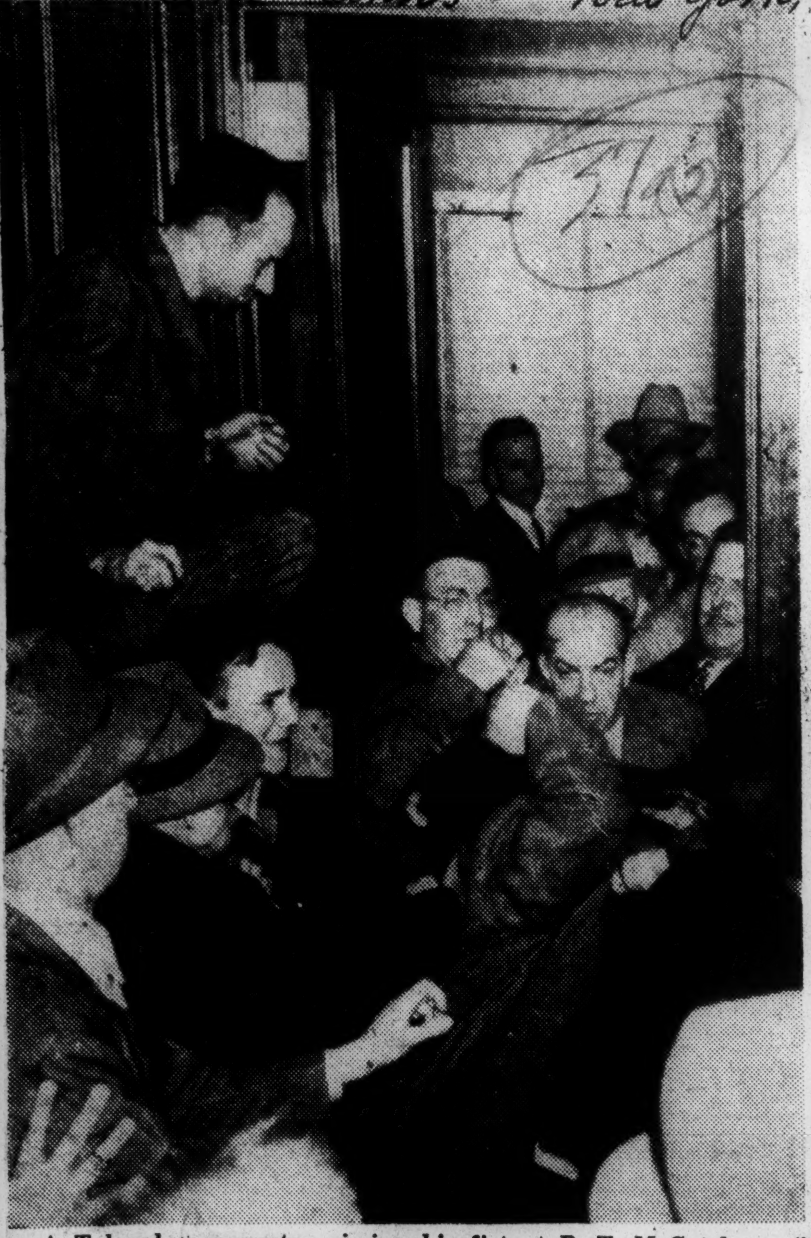
Deriding the anti-Talmadge mass meetings being held in various parts of Georgia, Mr. Talmadge said that he could have 25,000 of his supporters on the Capitol grounds within twenty-four hours' notice if he chose to do so.

"I don't approve, however, of any demonstrations that could be construed as a threat to intimidate the Legislature or the courts," he added.

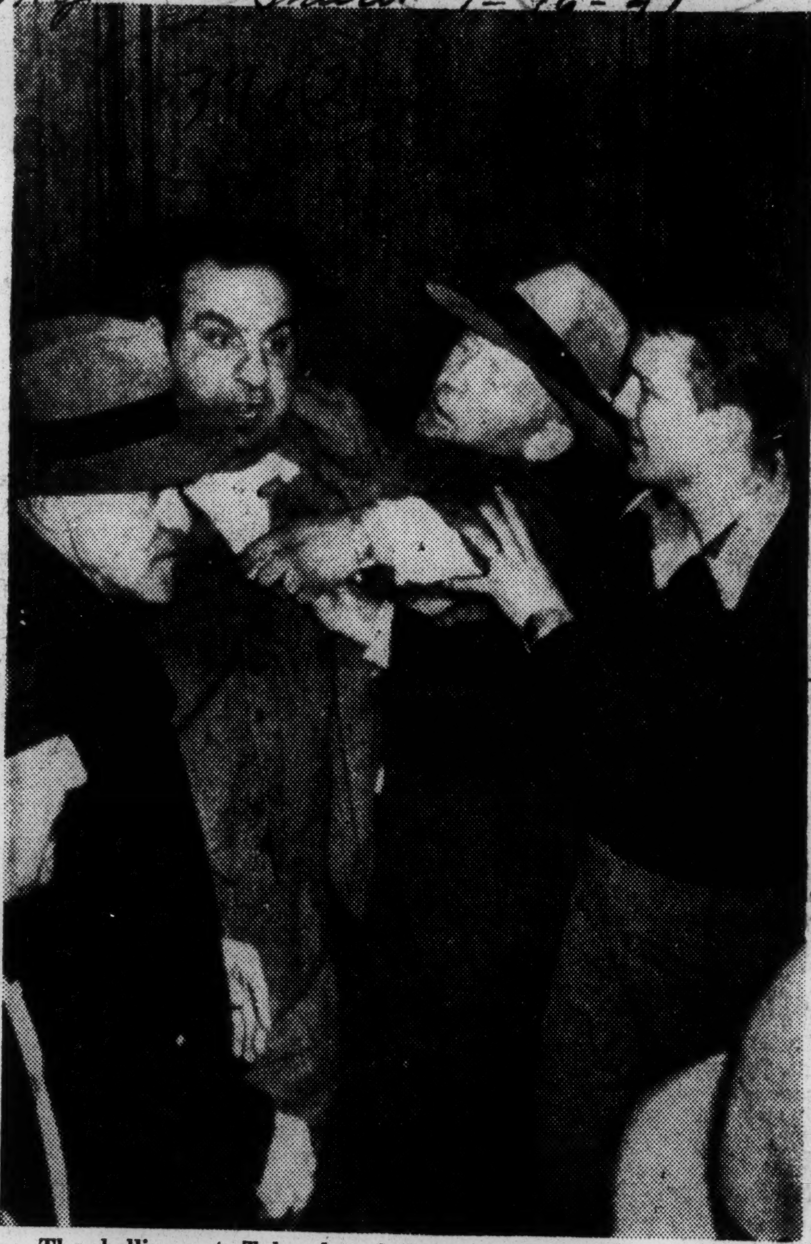
In his press conference, Mr. Talmadge assailed The Atlanta Journal, published by James M. Cox, former Governor of Ohio and Presidential nominee in 1920, as "the

THE STATE OF GEORGIA TANGLES WITH THE PROBLEM OF TWO GOVERNORS

The Times New York, N.Y. Thurs. 1-16-47



A Talmadge supporter aiming his fist at P. T. McCutcheon (in center of doorway), secretary to Gov. Ellis Arnall, who barred the group from entering the Executive's offices. The Times New York, N.Y. Thurs. 1-16-47



The belligerent Talmadge follower is forcefully restrained by others in the party after trying to force his way into Gov. Arnall's quarters. The Times New York, N.Y. Thurs. 1-16-47

Washington Neutral in Row As Pleas by Georgians Fail

The Times New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15—Georgia's dispute over its Governorship threatened to overflow into the national capital today, but nearly all concerned managed to steer clear of it. The Georgia delegation in Congress, with one exception, avoided taking sides and the War Department decided that it has no reason yet to intervene in Atlanta.

The single Congressional exception was Representative E. E. Cox, who said that "the Georgia General Assembly voiced the will of the people, obeyed the Constitution and served the best interests of the State when it elected Herman Talmadge Governor." Mr. Cox has been a political foe of Governor Ellis Arnall.

The War Department's possible interest sprang from the appointment of rival Adjutants General of Georgia, and its first reaction was to adopt a strict hands-off policy. Thurs. 1-16-47

Patterson Hears from Rivals

Secretary Robert P. Patterson declined to comment on the situation. It was confirmed, as announced in Atlanta, that Governor Arnall himself had telephoned to Mr. Patterson to tell him he had appointed Col. R. W. Collins as his Adjutant General. It was confirmed also that the Secretary of War had received a telegram from Herman Talmadge advising him that Brig. Gen. S. Marvin Griffin, who had served under Mr. Arnall had been appointed Adjutant General for the Talmadge regime.

A War Department public relations spokesman said the department took the position that the Georgia Adjutant General was an adviser to the Governor and that, as such, it was not necessary for the War Department to grant him "Federal recognition." New York, N.Y.

Inasmuch as the Adjutant General also passes on Federal National Guard policies, the question of recognition by the War Department could arise. The Times

There seemed to be a disposition at the War Department to regard the controversy as one which the courts would have to settle. Meanwhile, the War Department was preparing for any possible decisions that might be thrust upon it by having a study made by its own legal department. The National Guard Bureau also is interested. The Times

The Georgia situation served to arouse some interest in a concurrent resolution now before the Senate Rules Committee to investigate the possibility of a similar crisis arising in the National government. New York, N.Y. Introduced by Senators Theodore F. Green, Democrat of Rhode Island, and H. Alexander Smith, Republican of New Jersey, it would establish a joint committee of five Senators and five Representatives to look into eight possibilities in the Presidential succession. Fri. 1-16-47

Eight Possibilities Stated

They are as follows:

1. Whether the President and Vice President should continue to be elected by the electoral college, and, if so, whether Presidential electors should be legally bound to vote in accordance with their instructions.

2. Whether provisions should be made for a case where a candidate for the Presidency or the Vice Presidency, either before or after election, should die, decline to run, or be found ineligible. The Times

3. Whether provision should be made for the case of the death of any individuals from whom the House of Representatives might have to select a President, or the Senate a Vice President. New York, N.Y.

4. Whether provision should be made for the case where a President-elect or Vice President-elect, or both, might die, decline to serve, or fail to qualify.

5. How to determine when a President, or individual acting as President, is unable to execute the duties of office, and for how long.

6. Whether to designate an individual to act as President in a case where both the President and Vice President died and there was no individual in the line of automatic succession. Fri. 1-16-47

7. Whether there should be any difference in status between an elected President and any other individual filling the office.

8. Whether there should be any limitation on the number of terms an individual could serve as President.

Only Natura

Constitution

Editor Constitution: It is an old Southern custom" for the people of Georgia to elect the Governor who shall govern them, and who will execute laws that they will be ruled by. Wed 2-12-47

It is only natural that the people should claim their birthright, as this principle of justice is embedded in their hearts, and in the Constitution of the United States. Atlanta, Ga.

I don't see how anyone could go against natural justice and constitutional right. To do so would be to oppose one's own self.

MRS. LE ROY G. HENDERSON.
Americus.

The Constitution

Talmadge Owes Claim To Dime-Store Man

Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 1-6-47

By ROMNEY WHEELER
Associated Press Staff Writer.

If Herman Talmadge is elected by the Legislature one week hence as Governor of Georgia, he can thank the manager of a five-and-ten-cent store in Monticello. The dime-store manager, it

seems, read the State Constitution. There is NO indication why he found it interesting, because he is NO lawyer. But he read it closely enough to begin asking questions, and the questions alarmed associates of ailing Eugene Talmadge.

Here is the inside story of what happened, and how Herman Talmadge came to get some 700-odd write-in votes on which he now claims legislative candidacy for a four-year term as Governor.

On election morning, Gibson Ezell, of Monticello, telephoned

Herman Talmadge. "Have you read the State Constitution?" he asked.

READS PROVISION

Herman, being an attorney, replied he had reasonably good knowledge of it. The Constitution

"Well," said Ezell, warming up to his subject, "somebody had better get busy because if anything happens to Eugene Talmadge, you may have a Republican Governor of Georgia." Atlanta, Ga.

Then he read to Herman Talmadge that section of the Constitution dealing with canvassing of votes by the General Assembly, and with legislative election of a Governor if NO person has a majority. D. Talmadge Bowers, Elberton monument manufacturer, running as an independent, then was the only announced candidate other than Talmadge.

It was about nine o'clock on election morning. Herman Talmadge got busy on the telephone. For more than three hours he consulted with other attorneys.

"Every damn' lawyer," related an associate, "told Herman the same thing. If the English language meant anything, we were in a hole."

Mon. 1-6-47

LAST HOUR RUSH

It was too late for organized action. It was then past noon on Election Day. So a few key lieutenants were hastily summoned by telephone, and in turn they called leaders in strategic Talmadge strongholds.

The orders: "Have as many voters as possible scratch the name of Eugene Talmadge and write in the name of his son, Herman."

Talmadge supporters were rushed to the polls to follow out instructions—usually the voting is light in a general election—and approximately 700 write-in votes were cast for Herman. They might never be needed . . . but they were the insurance policy in case Talmadge died. And he did.

Roy Harris, retiring Speaker of the House and Chief of Staff for Herman Talmadge's campaign, is grateful to that dime-store manager at Monticello.

Mon. 1-6-47

"People are saying I engineered this as a prearranged plot. I wish I'd been smart enough to think of it. If it wasn't for Gibson Ezell, down at Monticello, we'd be campaigning today for Jimmy Carmichael against that Republican from Elberton."

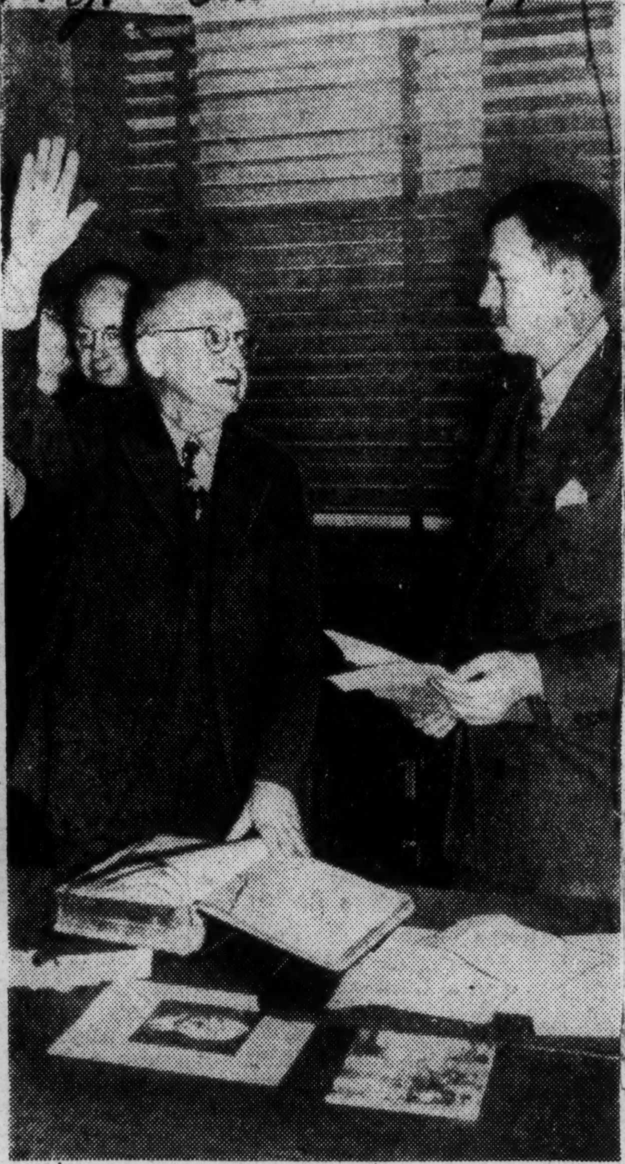
GEORGIA'S TWO GOVERNORS FUNCTIONING YESTERDAY

The Times New York, N.Y. Thurs. 1-16-47

37a(2)

Ellis Arnall (right) administering the oath of office to his Adjutant General, Col. R. W. Collins.

The Times New York, N.Y.



Herman Talmadge (right) swearing in Charles D. Redwine as his Commissioner of Revenue.

Thurs. 1-16-47

Talmadge Only Bar To Electing Governor by People—Thompson

37a(2) Ga. (

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 1-9-47

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson has declared the only obstacle to an early election b the people of their Governor is "the opposition's candidate," Herman Talmadge.

Laughing yesterday at the "political somersault" of the opposition who originally sai a special election could not be held, Thompson said the move was purely a smokescree to cover up their real design to block the people from electing their Governor until 195

In changing their position, the opposition showed they did not have and cannot get the votes in the Legislature they have been claiming, Thompson asserted.

Thompson, himself, said he was the only person who could legally act as Governor and be in a position to work with the Legislature toward calling a special election—if one can be called legally. He pledged his co-operation with the Legislature in passing any constitutional act calling an election earlier than next year. (Thompson would, as Lieutenant-Governor, serve only until 1948 when a general election is held.)

Another development last night found Frank Gross, of Toccoa, retiring Senate President, indorsing Herman's Talmadge's position in the gubernatorial succession muddle and calling upon the General Assembly to elect a Governor.

The Constitution

Gross had Gov. Arnall's indorsement when he ran against Thompson for Lieutenant-Governor. He recently suggested that Arnall resign immediately so that he, as Senate President, could call a special election for Governor. Since it now is too late for an election, Gross said it is the responsibility of the Legislature to select a Governor.

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 1-9-47

Thompson said the oppositio had Talmadge contend a specia election cannot be held legally and now they have him say h will agree to it whether it is legal or not.

37a(2) Ga.

"They propose to let the people vote only on the opposition's own terms," Thompson continued. "They say the Legislature must first elect Herman Talmadge Governor, then they will agree for the Legislature to set up an illegal special election. Thus they would fill the high office of Governor by two illegal processes: (1) the Legislature illegally electing Herman Talmadge, and (2) the Legislature then setting up an illegal election."

"Who doubts but what someone would bring "perhaps a friendly" suit to enjoin such an illegal election?" Thompson asked. Any court would have to sustain a suit if brought. Then Talmadge would be in for four years without any vote of the people at all, Thompson added.

The Constitution

Thompson asked how a Legislature could knowingly pass an unconstitutional act when it is sworn to uphold the Constitution and laws of the State. He asked how a Governor, under the same oath, could approve such an illegal act.

The Constitution

"If the General Assembly already had undertaken to elect Herman Talmadge Governor before they passed such an illegal special election act, as they propose, there would be weeks and maybe months of litigation and contest between Herman Talmadge, Arnall, and myself, as to who had the right to act as Governor," Thompson asserted. "Meanwhile, the office of Governor being in litigation, who could approve such an act as Governor with certainty until the courts could settle these first suits?"

Even if such an illegal election were held, Thompson observed, it could not be based on either the white primary or the County Unit system. The Negroes would vote and the vote would be on a popular basis rather than the county unit plan in a special election, so that the large city Counties and Negroes would control such a special election.

Atlanta, Ga.

Thompson said the white Democrats will have an opportunity to pick a candidate by their direct votes and have him elected by the county unit system if the Constitution is followed and he becomes acting Governor.

Thurs. 1-9-47

"I want the people to vote on who is to serve as their Governor at the earliest possible time they can legally and with certainty do so under the white primary and county unit system," Thompson concluded. "I will, as acting Governor, co-operate with the Legislature in passing, and will approve, any constitutional and legal act that can be developed calling for an election earlier than next year, but I will not be a party to a ruse that would finally result in blocking the people from voting at all, as the opposition in their desperation have lately proposed."

Meanwhile, another group of Legislators who served in World War II pledged their support to Herman Talmadge. They were Reps. Culver Kidd and Sibley Jennings, of Baldwin County; Garland Byrd, of Taylor, and J. E. Briscoe, Jr., of Walton. Sen. O. W. Hill, of Greenville, also said he would vote for Talmadge.

Judge Will R. Smith, of Nashville, member of the Constitution Redrafting Commission, gave a radio address supporting Thompson's claims. Judge Earl Camp, of Dublin, issued a statement supporting Talmadge.

D. D. Veal, Chairman of the Putnam County Democratic Executive Committee, declared it is "inconceivable" that any "true Democrat" will support a movement to elect to the governorship any person receiving "write-in" votes against the Democratic Party's candidate in the General Election.

Another contender for the governorship, D. Talmadge Bowers, said a special election would not be necessary if the Legislature elects a Governor first as Herman Talmadge suggested.

"If they are going to have a special election, they should permit the people to vote on the Governor first, and then it wouldn't be necessary for the Legislature to act," Bowers said. "However, I still contend that a special election isn't authorized. The Legislature can merely approve the candidate already elected by the people—me. I was the only bonafide candidate running against the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge. I received more votes than any other candidate other than the late Eugene Talmadge. The people already have spoken. The Legislature should elect me."

Bowers, who has attended Republican National Conventions, said he was a Democrat, had run for State office as a Democrat several times, and had participated in the Democratic primary for 35 years.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Surprise Herman

37a(2)

Editor Constitution: Mr. Talmadge and his followers would be surprised if they could see the names of the fine people from every walk of life here who signed to the following resolution: 2-7-47

"We, the undersigned, believe in the Constitution of these United States. Since the Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that persons cannot be barred from the ballot box because of race or creed, we believe that the White Primary, like "taxation without representation" and slavery, is a lost cause. Therefore, we resolve to fight for standards of citizenship and principles rather than for party and individuals. Fri.

"We are indignant over the happenings in our capitol and demand that the Legislature adjourn and courts rule as speedily as possible that our beloved State may proceed according to constitutional government." The Constitution

Many people are thinking these days. MRS. TROY ELLIS.

Monticello. Atlanta, Ga.

Abide by Courts

Editor Constitution: Since "silence gives consent" I want to "stand up and be counted" in the grave political crisis through which we are all passing.

The resolutions adopted by the Atlanta Baptist Ministers express in my opinion, what is right and just in the whole matter.

As for the Governorship, the Courts should decide which is the legal choice of the people of Georgia, and both claimants should abide by its decision.

RUTH S. WINGATE.

Pelham.

Thank Arnall

Editor Constitution: On top of everything else that our honorable ex-Governor Arnall did for us during his governorship a group of "we, the people," of Temple, wish to thank him for preserving the dignity which has always (heretofore) associated itself with our thoughts of "a Governor."

Of course our pride and democratic principles are suffering terribly from this prevailing slap-in-the-face, but we are expecting our Supreme Court to bring us relief from our suffering and intimidation. The Constitution

Meanwhile, we are asking our lawmakers to perform an emergency operation on our government and amputate that rotten little undermining "write-in vote" branch of it. Said write-in vote is as far from democracy as the North Pole is from the South, and once we are rid of it we hope Admiral Byrd doesn't pick it up any place and drop it back on us.

MR. AND MRS. U. S. KINNEY.

Temple. Atlanta, Ga.

Take a Stand!

Editor Constitution: Why in the name of decency, justice and democracy don't you come out with a firm stand against such practices?

WALLACE W. RHODES.

Atlanta. 2-7-47

Naive Assumption

Editor Constitution: Your naive assumption that the courts will assume jurisdiction in a political matter is surprising. How do you interpret Art. III, Sec. IV, Par. V of the constitution? It states that "the original journal (of each house of the General Assembly) shall be preserved after publication in the office of the Secretary of State, but there shall be no other record thereof." If the courts attempted to scrutinize the procedure of the General Assembly, uncertainty would follow every close election. The Constitution

Naturally there was not a dissenting vote at the meeting of "aroused citizens" in Athens on Jan. 26. Mr. Fortson advised me before the meeting that it would not be an open meeting with discussion on both sides and that the opposition would not be permitted to speak. Poor procedure and erroneous news reports convert neutrals into opponents. This letter is written as a private citizen.

ALBERT B. SAYE.

Athens. Atlanta, Ga.

What Fulton Wants

Editor Constitution: Mr. Etheridge, Jr., and Mr. Kendrick should have no doubt after last July 17 as to what we voters of Fulton want. We have never wanted a Talmadge and don't want one now. If I were the two gentlemen I would be squirming and trying to get back in accord with the voters of Fulton. Voters, shall we let these two boys ride until election or should we recall them. JAMES A HAMPTON.

Atlanta. 2-7-1 7th

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Royalty in Georgia

37a(2)

Editor Constitution: I quote a front-page headline in today's issue of your paper:

"Windsors RELAX in Georgia, Florida." The

Well, they might "relax" here, for certainly it is the closest they have been to a monarchy in a long, long time. Constitution

If we are going to have a monarchy, let's call in a man who is well trained. England would, no doubt, be delighted to continue paying him the fabulous sums they now pay him for doing nothing for doing something.

He is at this moment either at Thomasville, Ga., or Tallahassee, Fla., just over the line, hovering close to Georgia for the Winter in West Palm Beach. What an opportunity! He could (and would) get here on a moment's notice.

Let's do over the old Capitol in rich rugs and purple hangings, install a costly throne and jeweled crown, and then charge $500 to be "presented at court."

If we are going to have a king, Georgia should have the best. Edward even speaks our language, better than our pretender.

Or, if we want Naziism, let's find Hitler. Atlanta, Ga.

In other words, let's not be satisfied with upstarts or thugs.

But just before we invite either of these two top prospects in to take us over, let every Georgian re-read the Declaration of Independence, at least the preamble.

And I seriously propose that The Atlanta Constitution give over sufficient space immediately to the publication in full of the Declaration of Independence. It is as timely now as it was in 1776.

Three Georgians signed that great document—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton. May their love of Georgia and this nation be our guide in our present catastrophe, that all Georgians who love Georgia may rededicate themselves to the democratic principle that "Governments should derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

RACHAEL PEEPLES ROGERS.

Atlanta. Thurs. 1-30-47

Stealing House

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: We raise our voices because the lock has been stolen—while in our pitiful ignorance we haven't the horse sense to see that our whole house is being carted away—meaning the so-called White Primary Bill sets a legal form giving Harris and Herman such a stranglehold on our State that only a State revolution would free us. The word "white" in it is a blind to fool us into handing over our State. 1-30-47

Atlanta, Ga. VIRGINIA WAY.

Marietta. Thurs. 1-30-47

'Pattern of Conquest'

Editor Constitution: Under whose wagon is "Hummon" running? Roy Harris' of course!

"Hummon" evidently has received orders from headquarters to change his strategy of attack. Instead of Hitler-like conquest, now it a "Pattern of Conquest" consisting of sweet words and false promises—plus financial requests. Yes, "Hummon's" only stand now is Roy Harris' White Primary Bill—the death warrant of freedom and democracy in Georgia.

JAMES O. SMITH.

Atlanta.

Ayes and Nays

Editor Constitution: There are many fine, honest, SOBER men in the Legislature who have fought valiantly for the majority of Georgians who desire democracy instead of despotism. Let us keep their names in mind for future consideration at the polls. And let us not forget those, too, who would make Georgia a starting place for a Hitlerized America.

CARL F. MORGAN.

Hapeville.

Publicity—Good and Bad

Editor Constitution: Mr. Arnall is trying to turn a political struggle between two State political factions into a stinking mess to attract national attention to himself, regardless of how much the State suffers in the eyes of the rest of the nation. 1-30-47

Thurs. A. J. CROWE.

Atlanta.

Take It, Like It

Editor Constitution: Herman Talmadge is the lawful Governor of Georgia, and everything that the nigger-loving goody-goodies and the Atlanta preachers can do will be to take it and like it. Ellis Arnall should get down on his knees and thank Herman Talmadge for saving his life last Tuesday night instead of inciting the people to riot and rebel against their duly elected Governor. If the State has been held up to ridicule it is because of Arnall's sulking, unsportsmanlike attitude. He was beaten in a fair fight and instead of taking it like a man he runs crying to the people. After his disgraceful conduct in this matter, Ellis Arnall will never be elected to any public office again as long as he lives.

"Old Gene's body lies a' mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on." The Constitution

Thurs. 1-30-47 JOHN H. WATSON.

LaGrange. Atlanta, Ga.

Simple

Editor Constitution: The squabble about who is Governor is silly. Any person who can understand the English language should be able to understand our present Constitution. The legislators were elected by the people so Herman Talmadge was elected by the people.

E. T. WILBORN.

East Point. Thurs.

Why a Primary? 1-30-47

Editor Constitution: Why have a primary or charge any one a fee or set a date for entrances?

MRS. MARY C. TAYLOR.

Atlanta.

Case for Talmadge

By John Temple Graves

[illegible]

"In ranks and squadrons and right forms of war
That drizzled blood upon the capitol . . ."

In anticipation of the Georgia supreme court decision on the gubernatorial quarrel there, I asked both Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson to state their cases for this column. Governor Thompson's is promised soon. Whether Mr. Talmadge's is now of historic interest only or forerunner of things to come, here it is. Charleston, S. C.

By HERMAN E. TALMADGE

For the first time in many decades, Georgia was forced last year to conduct a Democratic primary with 100,000 negroes voting. The then governor, spearheading efforts of political extremists and Chicago negro leaders to have the colored man in Georgia vote en masse in Democratic primaries, refused to call an extra session of the legislature to insure a white primary.

Judge Samuel Sibley of the Fifth circuit court of appeals had pointed the way in which Georgia could have a constitutional white primary, to meet federal court decisions holding Georgia's party-nominating arrangement unconstitutional. But the then governor even threatened veto if the general assembly should convene itself into special session and act to remedy the white primary setup. Sat. 3-22-47

That provided the burning issue for the gubernatorial campaign of 1946. My father picked up the gauntlet thrown down by the extremists and Chicagoites. In face of his physician's stern warnings, he campaigned day and night as champion of the embattled issue of continuing the white primary.

We did not intend to disfranchise the negro and keep him from voting, but we were determined to have one party in Georgia whose candidates were not selected through negro block voting manipulated from extremist and negro political strongholds, North and South. We felt that if Georgia went down before this radical onslaught, the other Southern states would, one by one, be forced to follow in its path. The News and Courier

Well, a flood of negro bloc votes poured into the ballot boxes in last summer's primary, but the really aroused citizens of Georgia went to the polls and voted for my father—men and women in all walks and professions. The white primary won. Down fell the selfish political scheme to vote the negro masses and throw the control of Georgia politics into the hands of ultra-liberals in the Democratic party headed by Henry Wallace and Georgia's recent governor! Smash went the conspiracy to establish a black-and-white oligarchy which would constitute a dictatorship for a long period of years! Crash went the plan to capture the state's delegation to the next national Democratic convention for all the patent purposes for which it could be exploited.

The News and Courier

Yes, the victory was won—but my father gave his life in the strenuous efforts necessary to head off the powerful, well-heeled forces that were reaching for Georgia's throat.

Charleston, S.C.

With the governor-designate having died, it was the duty of the legislature, under the Georgia constitution, to elect a governor. The constitution provides that the general assembly shall convene, open and announce the election returns, "and the person having the majority of the whole number of votes, shall be declared duly elected governor of this state; but if no person shall have such majority, then from the two persons having the highest number of votes, who shall be in life . . . the general assembly shall immediately elect a governor viva voce."

Sat. 3-22-47

The legislature held that since the winning candidate in the elections was no longer in life, he could not possess the majority; and therefore it proceeded to the task of electing a governor from those who had received write-in votes in the general election. In the voting by the legislators, I received 161 votes, with 87 members voting "present".

The legislature itself installed me in the office of governor. Then it proceeded to carry out the mandates of the people as expressed in the Talmadge election promises and the state Democratic party platform. These called for not only a white primary, but a constructive four-year program, including increased salaries for school teachers and school bus drivers, paving of farm-to-market roads, provision of rural hospitals, increase in the number of beds at the state tuberculosis hospital from 1,200 to 3,000, improvement of social security benefits, and a square deal for the veterans of World War II.

Election contests, in Georgia are always vigorous. The tragic but unnecessary feature is that some of Georgia's politicians chose, for selfish and overt reasons, to fight matters out through the national press and radio. Like the puppy whose tail was run over by the wagon wheel, they have dramatized their anguish and done all they could to put the wagon wheel in disrepute. But the wheel in this instance is the people's will—the mandate from the polls, expressed also through representative government.

When the winning candidate in last year's elections died, great was the rejoicing in the extremist camps. Now, indeed, they would win the victory, cancel the election outcome, seize the governor's office and hold the gubernatorial whip over the legislature to prevent it from saving the white primary. This would be done by installing as acting governor, contrary to the state constitution, the lieutenant-governor-elect.

3-22-47

But the state legislature, far more representative of the people's will, tracked the constitution and elected a governor as required to do.

The opposition, angered, struck back, through a skilled army of press agents. They would have you believe the people of Georgia are divided down the middle on the gubernatorial matter. But apart from the aforementioned conspiracy and the propagandists' beating of the tom-toms, there are no more than the usual political differences in Georgia. The little so-called "aroused citizenship" group is simply reminiscent of campaign activities in the past. Always some group has "aroused" itself against the majority will of the people—and the best interests of our state. Only now, there are those leaders inside our state who, because of overweaning ambitions and purely selfish schemes, are joining with dangerous anti-South extremists on the outside in selling Georgia down the river—and I mean the Hudson river and the one that flows in the vicinity of Chicago!

For Thompson

Constitution

Editor Constitution: What will the Supreme Court decision be on our long-awaited facts on who is entitled to hold office of Governor of the State of Georgia?

I have talked to a lot of voters, Talmadge men and Thompson men. I say that three-fourths of them say that they believe that M. E. Thompson was the proper one to be Governor of Georgia. We all know that Eugene Talmadge was in life Nov. 5, 1946, when we elected a Governor of Georgia and common sense ought to teach us that when Eugene Talmadge died the office fell to M. E. Thompson.

Sat. 3-8-47

MYRTON M. SCOTT, J. P.
Plainville.

Atlanta, Ga.

Talmadge Ballots Attacked In Senate

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

ATLANTA, March 5.—(AP)—A charge that Georgians "waste their time going to the polls" because of widespread election frauds were made in the state Senate today on the eve of Supreme Court consideration of the muddled governorship.

The charge, by G. Everett Milligan, a leader of Herman Talmadge's opposition in the legislature, came in the course of Senate discussion of an Atlanta Journal charge of voting "irregularities" in Telfair, the Talmadge family's home county.

A Supreme Court decision is expected within a few days. Both Talmadge and M. E. Thompson, rival governor, have promised to abide by a decision of the courts.

Thurs. 3-6-47

The case comes before the high court today in appeals from three lower court judgments. Two held that Talmadge is the rightful governor. The other decided that the legislature had no power to elect Talmadge and that Thompson became acting governor when Ellis Arnall resigned.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

NEED NOT FEAR
(Columbus Ledger)

3-31-47

Certainly the Supreme Court of Georgia need not fear such people as John Lewis, of Hancock, nor any others of that sorry bunch who sought by conniving means to seize the Governorship.

The Legislature is not a sacrosanct body; it isn't even "sovereign" as some of the Talmadge folks like to claim.

When you hear any elected public officer talk about being "sovereign" you can put it down that he has forgotten his true status of servant to the people, and has begun to think of himself as the ruler of the people.

In a democracy, there is and can be no sovereignty except that of the people.

The Talmadge crowd forgot all about the people in its thirst for the spoils of office of which they were so suddenly deprived by the death of Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge.

3-31-47

No Legal Claim

Constitution (Atlanta

Editor Constitution: Those legislators who are supporting the claims of Herman Talmadge are destroying the Democratic Party in Georgia. Herman Talmadge was never a candidate for any office. He never submitted himself to the votes of the people, as M. E. Thompson did. To decide against the Democratic nominee for office in favor of a bolter will cause the voters to lose respect for our primary system and ultimately lead to complete political confusion in Georgia.

Tue. 3-4-47

Everyone in the State knows that the Lieutenant Governor was supposed to succeed to office if the Governor died. You cannot build a legal claim upon grounds wholly wanting in moral values. Herman Talmadge, who was not elected by the people, knows he has no moral right to be Governor.

OTTO MILLER.
Atlanta.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

The Needed Physic of the Law

Fri. 3-7-47

Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia's spectacular political case has moved now into the realm of law from whence will come a decision by a respected court.

It is without doubt well that the court, representing the law, comes into the problem and the emotions of the moment.

The law is a good physic for the emotionally sick.

And Georgia is emotionally sick.

There are vultures tearing at many livers, and there is much heat without enlightenment.

Therefore, the cold, hard waters of the law will be good for us.

There has been so much misunderstanding, that a discussion of the case may be justified.

The Law What the Supreme Court of Georgia will rule upon is the right of the Legislature to act. It will not directly consider any write-in votes. Nor will it take cognizance of any irregularities or fraud such as are charged in Telfair County, and insinuated in others.

It will deal with the interpretation of the legislative acts as permitted, or denied, by the State Constitution.

There will be no appeal from this decision of the next few days. There is no Federal law involved. Therefore, it is a matter for the State courts alone. There can be no appeal to Federal law since there is no Federal jurisdiction.

What Georgians must keep in mind is that this is their problem. Actually, the State court can decide only a point of law.

The court is not ruling, and will not rule, for or against Herman Talmadge or M. E. Thompson, de facto Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively.

It will rule only on the legality of the legislative act.

It is not fair to the court to think of it as ruling "for" or "against" the principals, although the effect will be just that.

The court will deal with the legality of the acts brought before it.

Fraud Evidence has been presented indicating fraud and irregularities in the Telfair County general election balloting. No one may defend fraud, even obliquely. No one wishes to do so.

The most important thing about the Telfair County irregularities is not their revelation, but the fact they are routine practices growing out of the carelessness generated by the one-party system.

In none of the Southern States is any real supervision given the general elections. They are meaningless. They are routine affairs, with no opposition to the party ticket.

As a result they are handled, by custom or habit, in slipshod, careless fashion. The only effort made is to get enough of the boys out to validate the election returns. The election, in the one-party States, already has been held. The general election is a mere formality, handled with the carelessness attendant on anything regarded as an unimportant formality.

This does not justify, nor is it intended to justify, such carelessness. I am attempting merely to discuss, informatively, the whole problem.

Constitution

Enigma It is charged, and in part sustained, that in Telfair County an even hundred votes were added in each of six districts. It is possible there was another sheet, but even so, the paradox of it is there was no necessity to add them. There was no opposition to the Democratic ticket. One vote would have put it in office.

3-7-47

The only suggestion that comes to mind is that some enthusiastic official was trying to be sure the welfare amendment was defeated.

At any rate, these votes had no connection with the present Herman Talmadge controversy. They were entirely unnecessary and must remain a mystery.

The Talmadge plan to have a few hundred write-in votes for Herman Talmadge, as a backstop against his father's possible death, was secretly carried out. Hence, it is illogical to believe he did not get the votes. With the committee of opposition on hand when the package was opened, it was not possible for them to have been slipped into the package.

Atlanta, Ga.

Votes To even the most naive political students it must be obvious the Talmadge people telephoned only those on whom they could count to understand and had them write in some votes. It isn't common sense to believe he didn't get them.

It appears that some enthusiastic supporter added a few more. It is routine in most counties where there is not even county opposition, to vote for some of those who didn't get to the polls.

I do not at all mean to justify this practice. It is reprehensible, if routine. My whole thesis is that we go into emotional hysterics and try to achieve political reform by a single election or by occasional outbursts of civic virtue.

The plain truth is the average American active in politics has so conditioned himself that he accepts a little irregularity with the ballot as a part of his political system. Those not active never bother to probe into the weaknesses of election laws or the loopholes left for the unscrupulous. That is why the average American doesn't get really excited when he reads about Telfair County.

We cannot bring about reform from the top down.

It must begin with the grass roots.

That is you and me, Darby and Joan.

Fri. 3-7-47

37a (2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

BATTLE IN GEORGIA ON GOVERNORSHIP IS TAKEN TO COURT

The Times

New York, N. Y.

37a(2)

Arnall Files Suit to Hold Post, but Judge Bars Temporary Writ Against Talmadge

Thurs. 1-16-47

RIVALS SEEK TROOPS' RULE

Guard Head Goes Over to New State Chief and Is Replaced —Appointees Seize Offices

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Jan. 15—Gov. Ellis Arnall, challenging the constitutionality of Herman Talmadge's election to the Governorship early today at a tumultous session of the General Assembly, took his battle into court this afternoon.

Attorney General Eugene Cook, at Mr. Arnall's direction, filed a petition in Fulton County Superior Court requesting adjudication of the title to the office of Governor and a permanent injunction against Mr. Talmadge. The Times

The development came in a tense, exciting day marked by Mr. Talmadge's moving into an outer office of the executive suite at the Capitol. The quarters he occupied were only 20 feet from those of Mr. Arnall. Mr. Talmadge is the son of Eugene Talmadge, who was elected Governor in the general election but died before he could take office for the four-year term.

Mr. Arnall and Herman Talmadge appointed and swore in rival State officials today and started rival action to seize control of the State military forces. New York, N.Y.

Rival Adjutant Generals

Gen. R. W. Collins of Atlanta, a retired Army officer, was appointed by Mr. Arnall as adjutant general and immediately announced plans to merge the State Guard with the National Guard and command both. He was named after Marvin Griffin of Bannbridge, who had served as Mr. Arnall's adjutant general, became adjutant general for Mr. Talmadge. In Washington the War Departmennt said that it would take no part in the dispute.

Throughout the day General Collins was at the private office of Mr. Arnall and General Griffin was at the side of Mr. Talmadge. Seige conditions were evidenced and neither Mr. Arnall nor Mr. Talmadge went out to lunch, instead eating sandwiches at their desks.

It was regarded as a possibility that Mr. Talmadge might attempt to use the National Guard o eject appointees of Mr. Arnall and install his own. It was also suggested that Mr. Arnall might call upon the National Guard to protect his appointees.

Statement on Court Petition

Attorney General Cook, commenting upon the filing of the court petition, issued the following statement: Thurs. 1-16-47

"I was directed by Governor Arnall to file such proceedings as will establish the status of the Governorship. In accordance with this order I have petitioned for a declaratory verdict in which I am requesting the court to adjudicate the title to the office of Governor and to grant a permanent injunction against Herman Talmadge.

"In accepting this order and filing this petition I am recognizing Arnal as Governor in line with the official opinion I rendered him regarding the issues involved some time ago.

"It is my desire as Attorney General to have the dispute settled in an orderly manner before the

and if he is upheld by the court he will be the youngest Governo in the State's history.

He bears a remarkable resemblance to his late father. Graduated from the University of Georgia ni 1936 he took up law practice with his father in Atlanta. In 1938, he managed his father's unsuccessful campaign to unseat Walter F. George in the United States Senate. He also managed his father's successful races for the Gevornorship in 1940 and in 1946.

Mr. Talmadge was commissioned an ensign in the Navy in 1941 and was assigned to sea duty in the Pacific one year afterward. He ticipated in the Battle of Guadalcanal and in the Battle for Okinawa. The Times New York, N.Y.

He left the Navy in November, 1945, with the rank of lieutenant commander and is now a member of the Navy Reserve. Thurs. 1-16-47

proper courts. The issues involved relate to proper construction of the Constitution of Georgia and are of such importance that I feel the Superior Court of Georgia should have an opportunity to pass upon them."

37a(2)

The suit is filed under the title 'Governor Arnall versus Herman Talmadge." Mr. Cook said that Feb. 7 was the earliest date under the law on which the case could be heard. The arrangements in the suit will be in the Henry County Superior Court at McDonough. Henry is Mr. Talmadge's home county. The Times

Judge Walter C. Hendry refused this evening to grant a temporary injunction against Mr. Talmadge.

The atmosphere at the capitol was tense all day and a few minor arguments weer reported among Talmadge and Arnall supporters who milled about the corridors until the rival governorship claimants left their offices.

Crowds of Talmadge backers thronged the Governor's reception room and compelled Mrs. Velma Fellows, information and telephone secretary for Mr. Arnall, to yield her desk to a Talmadge appointee. New York, N.Y.

Early this afternoon Mr. Talmadge stood on a desk and appealed to visiting supporters to leave the bulding. Thurs. 1-16-47

"I appreciate the support of my friends and am glad you came to Atlanta to back me up," he said. "However, I am duly installed as Governor of Georgia now and do not need your services any longer.

"I was legally elected Governor by the General Assembly and will continue to be your Governor.

"I do not object to Ellis Arnall hanging around as long as he wants to. I do not want any force or violence used in my behalf. You fellows have been a big help to me and I am asking you to go home now."

Most of the crowd departed, but soon the Talmadge quarters again were jammed.

Herman Talmadge bases his claim to the Governorship on a Constitutional clause allowing election of a Governor by the General Assembly if no person has a majority of the votes in the general election. He contends that death voided his father's majority and that the Legislature was required to choose a Governor from two candidates receiving the highest number of write-in votes.

He led in write-in ballots, having received the votes in a move which took into consideration the condition of the health of Eugene Talmadge.

After his election as Governor by the Assembly in the early hours of this morning, Herman Talmadge was immediately inaugurated. The roll-call vote on his election was 161 to 87. Thurs. 1-16-47

A few moments after his inauguration Mr. Talmadge was escorted to the Governor's office, where Mr. Arnall informed him that the Legislature had acted without constitutional authority and that he did not intend to yield.

Several Talmadge followers crowded around Mr. Arnall and threatened to throw him out. They were restrained by Mr. Talmadge and one of his advisers.

Mr. Arnall contends that the controlling provision of the State's new constitution, adopted in 1945, is one fixing a Governor's term at four years, or until his successor is chosen and qualified. He asserts that, since the Legislature does not have the power to choose a Governor who was not an announced candidate before the people, he has the right to remain in office another four years.

He has stated, however, that he does not want the office under a legal technicality and would remain in office only until Lieut. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson was sworn in and thus made eligible to succeed him. Thurs. 1-16-47

In the light of today's developments, it appeared questionable whether Mr. Arnall would give up the office to Mr. Thompson until the court has ruled on his petition.

Mr. Thompson is still awaiting General Assembly action to permit him to be inducted into the office to which he was elected.

Today Charles Redwine of Fayetteville was sworn in by Mr. Talmadge and took over the office of Mr. Thompson as Revenue Commissioner. Mr. Thompson found Mr. Redwine occupying his desk when he arrived at the Capitol soon before noon.

He told Mr. Redwine that he still considered himself Revenue Commissioner. Mr. Redwine was friendly but asserted that he intended to "stay on the job."

Talmadge and Arnall appointees were occupying several other offices jointly, including those of State Highway Director, State Patrol Commander and Parks Director. The News

A few constitutional officers recognized Mr. Talmadge as Governor and took the oath of office from him. State Labor Commissioner Ben Huiett, Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder and Comtroller General Zach Cravey. Thurs.

State Treasurer George B. Hemilton and State Auditor B. E. Thrasher Jr. said that the financial set-up of the State was such that normal government functions could be paid for without going through the Governor's office. 1-16-47

Appointees of Mr. Arnall have just received their semi-monthly pay, but the question of to whom State salary checks are to go henceforth will probably tie up funds in a number of instances unless the Governorship tangle is settled by the end of the month.

In addition to the commissioning of Mr. Collins as Adjutant General, Mr. Arnall swore in a number of justices of peace, members of the Board of Education and commissioners of various counties.

At a press conference he said that he welcomed Mr. Talmadge as a visitor, but reiterated that he regarded him as a "pretender to the governorship without any authority" and that "the constitution plainly provides that a Governor can be eltced only by the people."

Mr. Talmadge left the Capitol at 2:50 P. M. Birmingham

He said he planned to "retire early so I can get an early start tomorrow." Ala. Fri. 1-16-47

Mr. Talmadge is 33 years old

Two Still Pursue Job In Georgia

The Advertiser

Montgomery Ala

Thompson Pledges Himself To 'White Supremacy'

37a(2)

ATLANTA, Jan. 6.—(AP)—Six freshman Georgia legislators declared tonight they had found legal means of holding a special election to choose a successor to the late Eugene Talmadge, but authoritative legal sources insisted it was constitutionally impossible.

The legislators, in a signed statement, sought legislative support of a plan which they said could refer the conflicting claim of Herman Talmadge and Lieut. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson to the people. Tue. 1-7-47

Meantime Lieut. Gov.-elect Thompson promised to carry out 'Gene Talmadge's white supremacy program "without changing the single dotting of an 'I' or the crossing of a 'T.'"

Rejecting contention of Herman Talmadge that his father's program would be sabotaged unless the Legislature next week elects Herman to a four-year term as governor of Georgia, Thompson declared there must be "orderly succession" of a lieutenant-governor pending a general election in 1948.

He made three points: First, that there was no contention that Thompson became governor—merely that he would act as governor until an election provided by law. Second, that succession of the lieutenant governor is the quickest way to give the people an opportuntiy to vote (at the 1948 general election). Third, departure from an orderly succession would invite litigation and dispute which would delay enactment of Talmadge's program.

Thompson then went unequivocally on record with specific promise to carry out Talmadge's entire program.

Gov. Ellis Arnall Resigns Post As Chief Executive Of Georgia

B'ham News, Sun

B'ham Ala.

Maneuver Is Apparently Aimed At Preventing Talmadge Son Succeeding To Governorship

News

BY ROMNEY WHEELER

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 11—(AP)—Ellis Arnall resigned today as governor of Georgia, "effective immediately after the qualification of the lieutenant-governor," in a maneuver apparently aimed at blocking succession of Herman Talmadge to the office won by his late father. Birmingham, Ala.

The 39-year-old governor, who unseated 'Gene Talmadge in 1942 and who was ineligible to seek re-election when Talmadge won a fourth non-consecutive term in 1946, dramatically removed himself from the controversy which has torn Georgia since death claimed the defender of "white supremacy." His resignation automatically makes M. E. Thompson a claimant to the governorship the moment he is sworn in as Georgia's first lieutenant-governor. It will be effective regardless of whether the Legislature sustains Herman's claims to office based on a few hundred write-in votes acknowledged to have been engineered on election day as "insurance" in case 'Gene Talmadge died.

Arnall's move appeared to preclude any situation in which he and Herman Talmadge might be ival governors.

In a nine-line letter to Secretary of State Ben Fortson, Jr., the governor said: News Birmingham, Ala.

"IN CONFORMITY with my announced purpose, supported by the opinion of the attorney general, and in order to insure an election by the people at the earliest time consistent with the constitution, I hereby resign as governor of Georgia, effective immediately after qualification of the lieutenant-governor, so that the executive powers of govenrment may devolve upon the lieutenant-governor and the expressed will of the people of Georgia may be effectuated."

The letter was dated Jan. 11, 1947, and came just 48 hours before the Georgia General Assembly convenes to accept or reject claims of Herman Talmadge, only son of the late governor-elect, that the Legislature elect him to his father's term..

Commenting on Arnall's qualified resignation, Herman Talmadge said: "That is just another effort by Gov. Arnall to dictate his successor as governor, in order that he may control him." 1-12-47-Sun.

Lt. Gov.-Elect. M. E. Thompson declined comment on Arnall's move. News Birmingham, Ala.

TALMADGE BASES HIS claim to the governorship on a section of Georgia's constitution requiring the Legislature to canvass votes cast in the general election, and to declare elected that person with a clear majority. The constitution provides that if no person shall have a majority, the Assembly shall elect a governor "from the two persons having the highest number of votes, who shall be in life, and shall not decline an election."

Herman Talmadge contends he is one of the two highest alternates on basis of approximately 700 write-in votes. The other is acknowledged to be D. Talmadge Bowers, North Georgia Republican, who was an avowed write-in candidate. Bowers received 1,700 write-in votes in 1942.

37a(2)

ARNALL "RESIGNS"

The Times

A dramatic and undignified stage in the Georgia gubernatorial dispute ended yesterday when Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson was sworn in and former Gov. Ellis Arnall announced his "resignation." Mr. Arnall had been successively locked out of the executive chambers, excluded from the Capitol and barred from the Executive Mansion. He had undergone these indignities in order to make good his point that he could legally hand over his office only to Thompson, and that the General Assembly had erred in naming Herman Talmadge, son of the deceased Eugene Talmadge, to serve as Governor.

On a literal reading of the Georgia Constitution it seemed to some of us that Mr. Arnall's technical case was questionable. At any rate, the issue is now before the courts. With his moral

Sun. 1-19-47

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case we had complete sympathy. Eugene Talmadge, though legally elected, actually received fewer popular votes than his opponent. He won because Georgia has the so-called "county unit" voting system, which loads the dice in favor of the rural citizen. He won by the votes of a small minority of Georgia's potentially eligible voters, most of whom are excluded from the polls by one device or another. The best that can be said for Herman Talmadge is that he seems to represent the narrow and intolerant policies which nearly a majority of the Georgians who actually cast their ballots appeared to desire. New York

But before we despair of Georgia let us remember that the State elected a wise and enlightened Governor in the person of Mr. Arnall, four years ago. The leaven may be working, even now. Four more years of Talmadgeism may be just the lesson Georgia needs. N.Y.

News and Courier

It's a dangerous life we columnists lead. Go wrong with a single line and horrendous things result. In an impressive guest column for me last week by Publisher John D. Ewing, of The Shrevesport Times, for example, a sentence contracting some "pink and misleading" reports of the Georgia gubernatorial situation with cool and fair estimates of a few writers like Bill Cunningham in The Boston Herald and Publisher John Knight in his Detroit, Chicago, and Miama papers was made to read in reverse by the omission of a line, with Messrs. Knight and Cunningham themselves called "pink and misleading". I apoligize to all parties, and am glad all are too famous to have the misrepresentation take. Sun. 6-20-47

Charleston S.C.

CELESTINE SIBLEY

The Constitution

At Last Gets To Cover a War

Atlanta Ga.

At last we have covered a war.

And the next time a sure-enough global war comes along remind us not to green up with envy and mope around mournfully when our male colleagues set out to cover it. They can have it.

After a taste of covering little Dunkirk of the Dome—the Capitol dome, that is—we'll be content to hang around the office and do scintillating pieces about golden wedding anniversaries and old ladies and gentlemen who are celebrating their 102nd birthdays in sound mind and body.

Covering a war, as the boys warned us, can have moments of high drama. It can also have long hours of sheer boredom. And there's the additional chance that you MIGHT get shot at. Don't belittle our chances on that score, either, because if we weren't actually shot at Thursday aftermoon we might as well have been, we were scared to death.

Sun. 1-19-47

YOU SEE, after spending one day at the Capitol in the stronghold of the royalist party watching Gov. Herman Talmadge operate, the next day we were sent to the other side—a staff correspondent assigned to the headquarters of the Government-in-Exile at 1407 Candler Bldg.

Gov. Arnall had just come in from his set-to with the State Troopers in what he later called "The Battle of the Mansion" and he was apparently settled in his office for awhile. That meant we and four or five other staff correspondents were likewise settled.

We divested ourselves of raincoats in his outer office and sat down. Somebody went out for sandwiches and candy bars. The Governor's secretary, Grace Cannington, just moved into the headquarters herself, notified the Inner Office a fresh batch of spooks had come to haunt him for the rest of the day.

IT WAS a long afternoon. Occasionally the phone rang or a buzzer sounded from the Inner Office and Miss Cannington left us. Gen. Collins, the Governor's new Adjutant General, dropped by with a newspaper we all had read. A Western Union boy kept popping in with more telegrams to add to the stack of about 200 on Miss Cannington's desk. A couple of radio men hammered a while on the wall installing a fancy-looking telephone contraption they said was "a direct line" to their studio. A few congratulatory citizens drifted in and out but none of them were newsworthy enough to bestir the correspondents. One reporter dropped into a fitful doze. A photographer rearranged his camera case to make a footstool out of it. We eased off our wet shoes and propped our feet against the cold radiator. Somebody found a joke book and read aloud awhile. The rain and fog sent gray tendrils of mist swirling against the window panes. Two of the reporters between heavy yawns speculated dreamily on what would happen if the various counties of the two-Governor State would start seceding.

It was a good enough idea to perk everybody up but before they could get anywhere with there was a sudden stir of activity in the Inner Office. Arnall opened the door and said lightly, "I'm going over to my office for awhile."

That's what we had been waiting for. The Battle of the Rotunda! We lunged into coats and shoes and headed for the elevators. We raced for the Capitol—trying to get there to give the photographers time enough to get their cameras set up before Arnall started up the steps. The place was alive with reporters and photographers. John Couric, The Constitution reporter assigned to the Government-in-power, whispered to us that he was holding us a phone in the rotunda a few feet from Arnall's desk. A rewrite man was on the other end of the phone, ready to take down on the typewriter whatever words of Arnall's we might relay over the phone. We were all set up and then Arnall walked in with such a throng milling around him we could neither see nor hear him. We asked a lady in a green hat to hold our phone for us while we pressed nearer to hear what he was saying.

HE MADE a brief speech, which has been dully reported, and we rushed back to our phone to find both the lady in the green hat and the rewrite man on the other end of the line gone. We borrowed a nickle from somebody and as Arnall walked out of the rotunda we started dictating.

Suddenly there was a loud explosion overhead. Somebody yelled about somebody being shot. There was a mad scramble for the gallery as wisps of blue smoke drifted downward. We clung weakly to the phone and somehow managed to convey the impression to the office that Arnall and/or Sibley had been assassinated. Sun. 1-19-47

LATER the man who lent us the nickle brought us a piece of the red firecracker shell which had evidently exploded in midair in the rotunda. But if in years to come our children want to exhibit that souvenir as a piece of shotgun shell that almost "got" mama, we wont discourage them. After all we were covering a war, weren't we?

GEORGIA LAW CHIEF ASSAILS TALMADGE

The Times

New York N.Y.

Cook Says Latter's Men Aim to Set Up Dictatorship in Governor's Office

37a(2) Sat. 2-1-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 31—Attorney General Eugene Cook accused the Talmadge forces today of seeking to set up distatorial powers in the Governor's office, and almost simultaneously Herman Talmadge issued an executive order demanding the dismissal of five of the Attorney General's assistants.

Three others were also named by Mr. Talamdge for ousting from Mr. Cook's staff but they had previously resigned. All of the assistants served during the administration of former Governor Ellis Arnall and had been reappointed by M. E. Thompson, the elected Lieutenant Governor who has been recognized by Mr. Cook as Acting Governor.

Mr. Talmadge, the Attorney General contends, was illegally elected by the Legislature in place of his late father, Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge.

Mr. Cook promptly termed Mr. Talmadge's dismissal of the assistant attorneys general unconstitutional. Earlier in the day, the Attorney General had vigorously denounced a bill introduced by Talmadge forces in the House of Representatives to strip the Attorney General of his powers.

Says He Would Lose Power

Mr. Cook said approval of the measure would leave him without any salary and with only one assistant attorney general and a stenographer. He held that the bill would eliminate his power to advice any State official by adding the executive department to the legislative and judicial departments, which he cannot advise at present. Sat. 2-1-47

Meanwhile, Mr. Cook approved the $70,000 bond of Charles D. Redwine, Talmadge-appointed revenue commissioner, after Mr. Talmadge's name was removed from the document and the bond was made payable to "the Governor and his successors in office" instead of to "Herman Talmadge, Governor of Georgia."

Mr. Cok made it clear that his action was not to be interpreted in the slightest degree as recognition of Mr. Talmadge as Governor. State Treasurer George B. Hamilton declared that approval of the bond would not alter his position. He would continue refusing to accept Mr. Redwine's checks representing tax collections and would not release operating funds to the department.

White Primary Bill Pushed

Tonight, Mr. Talmadge made a radio address, urging Georgians to write to their Senators demanding passage of his white primary bill.

The measure

e House, would repeal all State
mary laws and turn over con-
l of the elections to the Demo-
tic party. It was designed to en-
e the party to bar Negroes from
ing without Federal interfer-
e.
r. Talmadge's speech also con-
ed a new attack upon Mr. Ar-
, in which he said the former
vernor "has as much 'washin'
e in the North and East as he

does in Georgia."

"Your State Government has been going to the extreme left at a dizzy pace during the past three or four years," Mr. Talmadge declared.

Jax Negro Second In Opening Primary

JACKSONVILLE —(AP)— Wilson Armstrong, a Negro, won his way into the second Democratic primary race for a seat on the city council on the basis of complete unofficial returns from Tuesday's first primary election. Journal

R. D. (Dick) Sutton, World War II Army officer, defeated T. F. McCall, Jr., the incumbent, for safety commissioner on the basis of unofficial returns. Sutton polled 14,498 votes to McCall's 7,825 in the two-man race. Pensacola, Fla.

Finance Commissioner Guy L. Simmons was renominated for another four-year term in the only other city commission race. Simmons had 13,014 votes to 8,124 for his opponent, M. C. Moore. 4-16-47

Armstrong finished second in a four-man contest in the fifth ward, a predominantly Negro section. He trailed the white incumbent, Claude Smith, Jr., 278 votes to 353, but was well ahead of two other white candidates. Barney Cobb received 85 votes and Sam Foor polled 66. The second primary is April 29.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

GEORGIA IS MORE NEWSWORTHY NOW THAN at any time since Sherman crashed through to the sea. With two governors in Atlanta, its finances half-frozen, and a legislature bent on making suffrage the affair of private "clubs," it presents a picture of democracy about to receive extreme unction. On the other hand, indignation meetings are reported throughout the state, the brassy legislative maneuver contains pleasant possibilities of boomeranging, the courts cast a long shadow over the path of the Pretender, and former governor Ellis Arnall is barnstorming the country preaching the tenets of democracy. At the moment, the most important of these developments is the passage of the white-primary bill by the state House of Representatives. The essence of the measure is to prevent federal interference in behalf of would-be Negro voters by the simple device of repealing all state controls over the primary, leaving it up to local Democratic clubs to make such regulations as they see fit. The theory is that the primary is purely a party affair, and the party can insist on lily-white exclusiveness where the state government cannot. But three rude contingencies tend to modify the rapture of the Talmadge legislators in perpetuating this bit of parliamentary larceny. First, the Georgia Supreme Court may throw out "Governor" Talmadge, and along with him all legislation carrying his signature. Second, the federal courts are likely to decide to hold Georgia to the spirit as well as the letter of the Fourteenth Amendment. And, third, if the courts do not so decide, Negroes might flock to receptive Republican "clubs" or eventually to a third party—with the result that Georgians might wake up some November morning to find that at last they really had a better electoral system than Poland or Yugoslavia. 2-8-47-Sat.

The Nation 2-8-47 New York, N.Y.

Herman the Pretender

The Nation New York, N.Y. Sat 1-25-47

LAST July, in an unconsciously prophetic phrase, we offered "condolences to the state of Georgia on the untimely resurrection of Eugene Talmadge." With the ominous turn that events have taken, we can only deepen those condolences. On the earlier occasion, Talmadge *père*, thanks to Georgia's rotten-borough electoral system, had just been nominated for the governorship, although outvoted by more than 70,000. As a result of last week's fantastic developments his son Herman sits in the Governor's chair on the basis of 697 votes out of 1,000,000.

Talmadge's claim to the governorship, for which, incidentally, he has had not the faintest training or experience, rests on a far-fetched technicality. Under Georgia's constitution the Legislature may choose a governor from among those with the highest vote in cases where no candidate has a majority. Talmadge contends that death eliminated his father's majority and that the Legislature was therefore within its rights in choosing him on the basis of the 697 write-in vote provided by the Talmadge machine to meet just this contingency. Having received the vote of the Legislature, which is elected by the same preposterous county-unit system as the governor, he has seized both the Capitol and the Executive Mansion, backed by segments of the State's National Guard.

With the federal government traditionally loath to interfere in affairs of this kind, Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson, the logical successor now that Ellis Arnall has stepped down, has no recourse other than the courts of his state. In this connection it is encouraging to have the word of the former Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court that Talmadge's claim is utterly without merit. To avoid a complete breakdown of government it should be possible to force an immediate decision. Should the Talmadge forces then refuse to recognize a verdict against them, federal intervention could be invoked under the Constitutional provision that guarantees "to every state in this Union a republican form of government," as well as protection against domestic violence when such aid is legally invoked. The Nation New York, N.Y.

A great deal more is at stake here than the ambitions of an unscrupulous little politician. As governor, Arnall brought Georgia to a historic turning-point, fateful for the entire South. The state will either continue to follow the path of industrial and social emancipation that he has laid out for it or slump back into four more years of corrupt cracker government, dominated socially by the Klan and exploited financially by Northern corporations. Thompson himself gives little promise of being another Arnall, but neither would he be the official errand boy of the Klan. The majority vote against Talmadge last July shows the way Georgians want to go. And it underscores the fatuousness of the New York *Times's* contention that the Arnall-Thompson forces should yield because "the people . . . voted for a return to Talmadgeism, 'white supremacy', general reaction, and Negro disfranchisement." Sat 1-25-47

37a(2)

B'ham News Tues-1-14-47 B'ham, Ala.

Most persons, we believe, will feel that it is best for Georgia to go forward under the leadership of the duly-elected lieutenant governor, M. E. Thompson. Ellis Arnall has made it plain enough that this is his own idea of what now should be done. But as of yesterday at least, Herman Talmadge still was eager for the test to see whether the Georgia Legislature would support him in his claims for election by that body to the governorship.

Gov. Arnall Saturday resigned, effective upon the qualification of the lieutenant governor. This should follow in due course unless the Legislature desires another solution. It has the power to scramble things into a not-pretty mess. Young Talmadge wants the General Assembly to follow through on a portion of the constitution which provides that if no one has a majority when the votes are canvassed, then the Assembly shall elect a governor from the two highest-polling living candidates. Herman Talmadge includes himself in this. The question may arise whether James Carmichael fits into this in any way.

Gov. Arnall apparently hoped to cinch the situation with his resignation. 1-14-47 In short, that resignation would become effective under his own terms, only upon the specific qualification of the lieutenant governor. Should anyone else be chosen by action of the Legislature, then Ellis Arnall might allege that he had not resigned on the basis of such a development. He might "fight it out."

Fraud In Elections

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. 37a(2)

In Telfair County, home of Governor Herman Talmadge, The Atlanta Journal in its last Sunday's edition, has brought to light a startling expose of fraud, corruption and voting irregularities in last November's general elections. With documentary evidence to support its findings, The Journal's account showed that the names of people dead as far back as six years; the names of those who had long since moved away, together with those who do not even exist, were carried on the official Talley Sheet, certified by election officials. In so doing, The Journal has rendered a notable public service to its vast army of readers and to the people of Georgia. Tues.

The only reply Mr. Talmadge has made to these startling findings is the charge of "yellow journalism" against The Journal. Of course that answer is too simple to satisfy the extreme doubts and suspicions raised in The Journal's expose. Georgians will not want to believe that a newspaper of the influence and circulation of The Journal would go about looking for a libel suit. Neither will they be satisfied with a Legislature unwilling to take the necessary steps to institute a wholesale investigation into a condition, the results of which strike at the very heart of the action of its members in electing Mr. Talmadge governor.

Mr. Talmadge and his crowd, together with a small minority of newspapers of the state, some of whom ought to know better, give as their excuse for opposing the ballot for Negroes, the charge that they vote in a "bloc". The charge is of course, without foundation. The absence of demagoguery in office seekers in other areas of America will prove that the Negro voter is as sharply divided in his political choices as is the white voter. But even so, the charge is not to be compared to the revelations uncovered by The Journal in Telfair County. Tues 3-11-47

Telfair's Talmadge Vote

37a(2)

Birmingham News Tues 3-4-47

The Atlanta Journal Sunday poked into a hornets' nest, to judge from current and stew in oft-harried Georgia. The newspaper charges flatly that investigators on its staff, in studying the official election returns and talking with persons who were said to have "written in" Herman Talmadge's name in the recent gubernatorial election, have reason to believe that there was tampering with

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the voting list from the Helena district of Promptly denials were issued. The challengers said: "I don't know of a single dead

Telfair County, the Talmadge home county, man of the Helena district election man, person, or of a single non-resident whose me was voted in the last general election." But *The Journal* spread some pretty impressive evidence across its Sunday morning front page. Birmingham, Ala.

It is emphasized by the newspaper that in the voting list submitted as official, from the Helena district, the first 55 names—the total credited to Eugene Talmadge, not Herman—are in no specific order. There was no alphabetical sequence. But the last 34 names listed "are arranged in alphabetical order, starting with A and ending with K." The Journal presumes that it was this Helena district tabulation which was brought in at the last minute in the Legislature, when votes were being counted last January.

A *Journal* reporter tried to locate each of the last 34 of the 103 voters listed in Helena, Telfair County, records. Part of his comment was: "No. 75, Otis Cravey, said he did vote on Nov. 5. No. 76, listed as Mrs. Otis Cravey, he said did not vote—because he does not have a wife. . . . Mrs. Olin Dennis, No. 85, said neither she nor her husband, No. 84, had voted. 'We never voted for nobody,' she said, adding that she had never voted in her life, and so far as she knew she had never been registered. She said that J. T. Dennis, No. 86, was her husband's father. 'He died Feb. 18, seven years ago,' she said." News 3-4-47

The Herman Talmadge forces, of course, have been prompt to fling verbal barbs at *The Journal.* "Yellow journalism" is charged. But what are Georgians to think now?

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of Negroes were organized as voters in general elections.

Followers of Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson, rival governorship claimant of the Assembly-elected Mr. Talmade, declared that the proposal was part of a general scheme to gain dictatorial control of the State. New York N.Y.

Representative Herschel Lovett of Laurens County, a Talmadge leader, asserted that "without this measure the white pirmary law will be worthless."

The Talmadge-sponsored white primary law, designed to bar Negroes from voting, repealed all State controls over primaries and placed them in the hands of the Democratic party, following passage of the measure, a rival party group spearheaded by supporters of Mr. Thompson opened a Statewide campaign "to purge Talmadgeites from the party."

Heretofore, the Governor and other State officers have been nominated in the Democratic primary on a county unit basis and loyal Democrats have simply endorsed the party nominees in the general election. However, under present constitutional provisions, State officers may be chosen on a popular vote system in the general election. 3-13-47

In the primary last summer, the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge was elected Governor on the strength of the county unit system although he received a smaller popular vote than James V. Carmichael, 121 of Georgia's 159 counties have two unit votes, thirty have four unit votes and the other eight have six units, thus placing the balance of power in the small, rural two-vote counties. 3-13-47

TALMADGE SET BACK IN GEORGIA HOUSE

New York Times

His Forces Fail to Get Enough Votes on General Elections Using County Unit System

3-13-47

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., March 12—In a battle involving supporters of Georgia's rival Governors, the forces of Herman Talmadge received a setback in the State House of Representatives today when they failed to muster a two-thirds majority on a proposed constitutional amendment to apply the county unit voting system to general elections.

The vote on the measure was 116 for and 69 against. A favorable vote of 137, or two-thirds, is required to pass a constitutional amendment. New York Times

Talmadge leaders appealed for approval of the measure on the basis that it was needed to assure the Democratic Party of remaining in control in the event a rival party was formed and large groups

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The Pattern of the Purge

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Herman Talmadge has provided additional ammunition for his enemies in his ill-advised efforts to disrupt the State Law Department and thereby embarrass the Attorney General. Mar. 2-3-47

The latter is a constitutional officer.

He was elected by the people, having been an announced candidate in both the primary and general election.

He paid an entrance fee and met every qualification, receiving more than 400,000 votes in the primary, in which he had opposition, and carrying 150 of the State's 159 counties.

Thus, it ill becomes Mr. Talmadge precipitately to order the firing of all save one of the Attorney General's assistants.

Thus, it is certainly inexcusable for Talmadge legislative leaders, presumably at his behest, to propose a measure which would strip the Attorney General of his powers and make of him a subservient stooge of the Governor.

The proposed bill not only would divest this elected constitutional official of any authority, but would also leave him without remuneration, the latter ostensibly to be obtained at the whim and caprice of the Governor. Incidentally, this fact renders the measure clearly unconstitutional inasmuch as the organic law specifically provides that the Legislature cannot change the salary of an incumbent Statehouse official during his term of office.

The purge is repugnant to democratic people. Mar 2-3-47

Thinking Georgians, of whatever political allegiance, cannot but take offense at this unworthy effort to hamstring an elected public official and harass him into resigning. Constitution

The Legislature has the power, under certain circumstances, to impeach the Attorney General.

If it has the evidence and the courage, let it endeavor to do so.

But, in the name of democratic decency, let Herman Talmadge and his legislative lieutenants desist in their efforts to persecute an elective constitutional officer—chosen by the people in manner legally prescribed—merely because he evidences integrity and independence.

GEORGIA EDITCRS SAY:

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

On the Governorship Dispute

Mar. 2-3-47

(Eastman Times-Journal)

During Saturday's mass meeting Representative Eugene Yawn deplored the fact that Herman Talmadge has been charged with using mob tactics in taking possession of the Governor's office.

Mr. Yawn particularly condemned the editor of The Times-Journal, and other newspapers for their "unfairness to the Governor."

So deeply interested did the Representative become in his efforts to protect Mr. Talmadge, and so anxious was he to place the man he helped choose for the governorship in the light of a hero, that without realizing what he had said, he made the following statement, word for word: "Why, he probably saved Ellis' life."

The remark slipped out as the Representative was referring to the "mob" that invaded the office of Governor Ellis Arnall. We presume, as will the general public, that Mr. Yawn means that when Talmadge demanded of Arnall that he relinquish the Governor's chair, he was so close to Arnall the "mob" could not deal the death blow to the man protecting the right of all Georgians without doing bodily harm to their own claimant! Mar 2-3-47

(Pickens County Progress)

An effort is being made to secure the repeal of the Georgia five percent voting law. This law, which was passed in 1943, provides that no candidate's name can go on the official ballot unless he is the nominee of a political party that polled five percent of the votes in the last general election, or has a petition signed by five per cent of the registered voters. We believe the act was unconstitutional to start with, and if it is constitutional we do not see how any write-in vote could be counted for anybody. It makes it almost impossible for an independent to run in Georgia. If it is constitutional we have not had a legal candidate for a local office in Pickens County since it passed, for it has been a long time since a local candidate has run as party nominee, and he would probably be beaten if he did. Atlanta, Ga.

(Cedartown Standard)

"It can't happen here?" My fellow citizens, it HAS happened here. And if we as Georgians do not rise up and demand a return to a government wherein the people themselves express a choice, then we will have no recourse other than to submit our future to the whims and dictates of a clique that, drunk with power, will stop at nothing to further their efforts to perpetuate themselves in power to the eternal detriment of Georgia and the impairment of the solidarity of a democratic nation; it has happened here. Mar 2-3-47

(Commerce News)

We, the people, are the highest branch of government, superseding the legislative, executive and judicial, as Georgia politicians are fast finding out.

Do the Young People of Today Think Seriously?

Jacksonville, Fla.

Rather than vote for the late Eugene Talmadge in last Summer's election, many students of the University of Georgia were reported to have cast write-in ballots for Charlie Trippi, the All-American halfback on the team of the Red and Black. The anti-Talmadge feeling was reflected again yesterday when students from colleges in the University System marched on the Capitol in Atlanta in a demonstration against legislative election of Herman Talmadge to the office left vacant by death of his father.

This protest no doubt was a manifestation of the antipathy which the elder Talmadge incurred at the hands of the students during his previous governorship when he committed certain acts which many Georgians believed were inimical to the best interests of the University of Georgia. If either of the Talmadges ever had any love for their alma mater, the opposition registered toward them by the students must have cut to the very quick, for both of them are graduates of the University. Jacksonville, Fla.

"What are today's young people thinking?" That question, frequently heard by today's older generation, sometimes seems to be a little beside the point. What concerns the grown-ups more than what the younger people are thinking is whether they are thinking at all. The demonstration yesterday in Georgia should dispel any doubt on that score. 1-23-47

Today's young people definitely do have minds of their own. When giving consideration to that all-too-patent fact,

the American people would do well to give some thought to the demonstrations that were staged recently by Chinese college students demanding that the Americans get out of China.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

RECEIVES GOVERNOR'S LICENSE PLATES

GA 47
T 1
GOVERNOR

Herman Talmadge (right) getting the official 1947 plates from Charles Stewart in Atlanta yesterday. The latter made the presentation in behalf of the State Highway Patrol. Associated Press Wirephoto

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M. L. ST. JOHN

The Constitution

Envisioned Gubernatorial Situation

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 1-5-46

No one—it is has been said—ever dreamed that the present gubernatorial situation would develop when the new Constitution was being drawn. That was an error. It now has been disclosed that the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce not only envisioned the death of a Governor-Elect, but also envisioned the deaths of the two high men in the general election in case no one got a majority. Not only did it think of such possibilities, but it suggested that the Constitution redrafters—at that time—make provisions for such circumstances. The Chamber of Commerce's Governmental Research Bureau recommended for the present situation a combination of Legislative election of a Governor and special election for a Governor.

Under the Chamber of Commerce's recommendation made in 1944, the General Assembly of 1947 would elect a "temporary" Governor to take the office to which the late Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge was elected. This "temporary" Governor would be selected from among all of the other candidates in the general election (not just the two high men) or from among all of the members of the Legislature. The "temporary" Governor would call a special election immediately upon being sworn in, and the people, themselves, would proceed to elect a Governor for the full term.

If in the general election no candidate received a majority of the votes and one or both of the two persons having the highest number of votes should die before the Legislature convened, the Legislature would proceed to elect a "temporary" Governor in the same manner as above.

The sub-committee of the Constitution redrafters failed to take these recommendations. On the belief that the new General Assembly might be interested in such a plan, J. F. Gordy, Secretary of the Governmental Research Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce, has mailed copies of the proposals to Fulton County's Representatives.

No Mudslinging Aside from its other unique features, the present gubernatorial contest has a strange absence of mudslinging. There are no charges of Red Russia, Black Harlem, Nazis, Ku Klux Klan, Dictatorship, Nigger or Silk Stocking Element that filled the air of last Summer's bitter gubernatorial struggle. Young Herman Talmadge has adopted a serene attitude, confident of victory, and refers lightly to former Schoolteacher Thompson as "The Professor." He does not slash out at Thompson personally. On the other hand, Thompson, who conducted a campaign for Lieutenant-Governor last Summer without mudslinging, says Talmadge is a "good boy" whose political future is being endangered by taking advice of a clique seeking political power. Thompson does not slash out at Herman Talmadge personally.

A major reason for the lack of mudslinging, of course, is that this is a dispute of the law and its interpretation. Both sides cite the same constitutional provisions to prove their points, but one group interprets a provision to mean one thing and the other group interprets it to mean directly the opposite. There are no personalities involved in the legal dispute. In place of barbecues, brass bands, and shouting crowds of a political rally, dignified judges get on the radio and calmly discuss the law in this peculiar gubernatorial election. Both sides have the same platform—the platform on which the late Eugene Talmadge was elected and which the State Democratic Convention at Macon approved—so there is no cause for feuding on issues. The Constitution

Skeered To Fight Another reason for the absence of rock throwing in the present campaign is that all political factions are mingled and there is no clearcut battle among the old-line factions. Some men who have supported the late Eugene Talmadge are backing Thompson, and some men who have supported Gov. Arnall are backing young Talmadge. The friendships of Thompson and young Talmadge among the Legislators overlap, and many solons are remaining non-committal in polls. As a spokesman in one of the headquarters remarked, "We are afraid to throw any rocks at the opposition for fear we might hit one of our own men." Atlanta Ga. Sun. 1-[illegible]

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Politics Is a Struggle for Power

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 1-5-47

The study of politics has been said to be a study of influence and the influential . . . the influential are those who get the most of what there is to get.

What there is to get may be summed up in the word "power."

Pressure politics, always employed, is as old as government itself.

Political parties are mainly, though not exclusively, concerned with who shall exercise power, pressure groups with how power shall be exercised.

Georgia's current political struggle illustrates all these deductions.

There is going on in Georgia a contest between the influential who are using what influence they have through political pressures to obtain political power.

It is an old struggle. An old Georgia struggle.

There is nothing new in it. Not even the faces are new.

The same three political factions to which Georgia long has become accustomed and at times resentful to each, are again in the struggle of influence and the influential.

Issues Oddly enough, there is not a single issue between them in their political pronouncements. Two of the groups, one captained by former Gov. E. D. Rivers, and the other by the Tennyson "Brook" of State politics, Roy Harris, face each other with the third faction, headed by incumbent Gov. Arnall lending its moral support to the former. The Constitution

Each of the two contending factions is pledged to the identical platform, that adopted by the Talmadge-controlled convention at Macon. Hence, any person looking on and thinking of choosing sides must do so on some other basis than that of the political objectives of the two contending groups. Atlanta, Ga. Sun

Duelists M. E. Thompson, elected as Georgia's first Lieutenant Governor in the November balloting, contends with Herman Talmadge, son of the late Gov. Eugene Talmadge, with the office of Governor as the prize. The Constitution

Both are conducting races strange to Georgia. There has been no flinging of mud, no sounding crimination and recrimination. But one may be sure the Legislators are already harassed and learning the facts of life. Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 1-5-47

M. E. Thompson brings something of an organization of his own. Always before a lieutenant, and never before a captain, he brings along some school teacher strength, and others he has drawn to himself in 25 years of association with the State Department of Education, and two years as Revenue Commissioner. He and his friends feel he was the victim of a bad deal in the Summer campaign when the incumbent Governor threw his support to another candidate. There is a coolness there, despite the moral support of the latter in the present contest. It is shared by National Committeeman E. D. Rivers, except in his case it is much more of a coolness.

Former Gov. Rivers is at a low ebb politically. He nevertheless has some loyal followers. He probably sees in the Thompson candidacy a chance to rally them, but he cannot be entirely comfortable with Gov. Arnall.

Herman Talmadge, who participated modestly in previous campaigns, but heavily in the recent campaign by his late father, inherits a fairly stout organization. That it should break at the seams here and there was inevitable. Several of the former cogs in the organization have pulled out. Some have done so because they have started building up their own personal organizations, others because they feel they have been slighted in the new set-up of the organization. Young Talmadge, a veteran, smartly has remained in the background.

Machine On the whole, it remains the most formidable single organization, or factional group. Until time and events prove otherwise, it appears to be the only really statewide organization. The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

While some of the old-timers have left, others have come in. Such political and congressional district stalwarts as Charles D. Redwine, for example, have been joined by Roy V. Harris and Jim Gillis, both former members of the E. D. Rivers and the Ellis Arnall faction. Sun. 1-5-47

Law It is without question true that the average voter assumed that in the event the Governor-Elect died before or after taking office, the Lieutenant Governor would succeed him.

But, politics is a struggle for power. The Talmadge people, more alert than others, noted the presence in the new State Constitution of a provision brought over from the old one. It dates to the time when the Legislature elected the Governor.

It gave them a legal leg to stand on in the event their nominee or, later, their Governor-Elect, should succumb to the malady which hit him at Jacksonville, Fla., before the general election. Without knowing, one must assume they discussed it with him and agreed on procedure to take advantage of the constitutional provision and write in Herman Talmadge's name. Whether one approves or disapproves, it was alert, sound politics, and kept them in the fight.

Whatever the application of it, the provision is in the Constitution.

The Legislature will determine, by roll-call ballot, whether they agree with that provision or not. If they do, then there will be an effort made to get it to the courts. The courts will then determine whether or not they have jurisdiction.

Politics is a struggle for power.

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 1-5-47

Bowers Promises Jobs To 4 If He Is Elected

The Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Declaring he wishes to promote harmony, D. Talmadge Bowers, independent candidate for Governor, yesterday promised governmental appointments to Herman Talmadge, James V. Carmichael, E. D. Rivers and Hoke O'Kelly if the General Assembly elects him chief executive.

37a(2) Ga.

Bowers offered jobs to these gubernatorial candidates, past or present, saying they could name their preference in the order listed. He excluded appointments pertaining to the Highway Department, because he prefers to handle these himself. Thur. 1-2-47

The Elberton candidate asserted he was the only avowed candidate at the time of the general election and that he was second to the late Eugene Talmadge in votes cast.

"As the only avowed, self-announced candidate for Governor, in the Nov. 5 general election, on a 'write-in-vote' ticket, I, D. Talmadge Bowers, must respectfully ask every member of the General Assembly, after tabulating my write-in-votes, to unanimously elect me Governor of Georgia to serve for the next four years," he declared. Thur. 1-2-47

Bowers made no offer of a job to Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson, who also is seeking the Governorship, since Thompson, presumably, would remain Lieutenant Governor in the event of legislative election of the Chief Executive.

Included in Bowers' campaign pledges are improvement of rural roads and rural schools, prompt payment of efficient teachers, improvement of eleemosynary institutions, consideration of war veterans and the maintenance of present tax levies without increases.

Bowers originally scheduled the opening of his campaign headquarters for yesterday at the Henry Grady Hotel, but has postponed the opening until Saturday.

Urge Arnall To Await Thompson

37a(2) Ga.

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Atty.-Gen. Eugene Cook has ruled that the State Legislature does not have the authority to elect a Governor in the place of the late Eugene Talmadge, whose term was to have begun a week from tomorrow. Sun. 1-5-47

Cook ruled that it is the duty of Gov. Arnall to hold over during the emergency caused by the death of the Governor-Elect, until he carries out his intention of turning the office over to M. E. Thompson, Lt.-Governor-Elect.

Complete text of Atty. Gen. Cook's opinion is published on Page 10-A.

Herman Talmadge, son of the late Governor-Elect and a candidate for election by the Legislature, declared Cook's "opinion is a political opinion."

Talmadge continued: "It is not the first political opinion Cook has written. He wrote one for Mrs. Mankin in the now famous Mankin-Davis Fifth District Congress case and the courts of this state repudiated it.

"He is wrong again and his opinion is not binding on the Legislature. The Legislature is a sovereign body. In this instance it sits as a court and will determine this question. The Legislature's acts in this case are not reviewable by the courts. This political opinion was issued in desperation. My opposition is desperate. They know that I have 173 members of the Legislature pledged to vote for me for Governor."

Since Arnall has announced his intention of resigning as soon as the Lieutenant Governor-Elect becomes eligible for the office of acting Governor, Cook said he did not rule on how long Arnall could hold the office of Governor, himself. Neither did he give an opinion, as to whether Thompson is eligible for the office should Arnall refuse to resign.

Cook declared it is the duty of the Legislature to publish the election returns and declare the late Eugene Talmadge as the duly elected Governor of Georgia. There the Legislature's duty and authority ends, Cook said. He said the further constitutional provision concerning choosing a Governor from among the two high candidates is applicable only when no candidate received a majority of the votes. That is not true in the present situation, since Eugene Talmadge did receive the majority of the votes, the Attorney General remarked. The Constitution

"The law of this State does not authorize the disregarding of a majority of the votes cast in an election simply because the person receiving same was at that time or subsequently became incapacitated to fill the office," Cook declared.

"It certainly was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that in such circumstances the majority of the people should be ignored and a defeated candidate or a person receiving a minority of the votes permitted to hold said office." Atlanta, Ga.

Stating that Gov. Arnall should hold office at least until Thompson becomes qualified, Cook said that the Constitution of Georgia neither expressly nor by implication indicates an intention to render a Governor incompetent to continue his duties as Governor in such an emergency. Sun. 1-5-47

Talmadge and Thompson earlier crossed swords on the election of Gov. George Troup by the Legislature as a precedent for the present gubernatorial situation.

"The Legislature elected Troup to succeed Gov.-Elect Tolbert, who died prior to taking the oath of office in 1823," Talmadge said. "The same provision is in our Constitution today that was in the Constitution in 1823 when Gov. Troup was elected."

Thompson says Talmadge's reference is full of errors:

"Matthew Talbot was not Governor-Elect in 1823. He assumed office on Oct. 24, 1819, solely by virtue of being President of the Senate. He was neither Governor-Elect nor did he die before assuming office. Gov. Troup did not succeed Matthew Talbot as Governor. Gov. John Clark succeeded Talbot as Governor. And, whatever happened in 1823 was under an entirely different Constitution from the present. In 1823, the Constitution of 1798 was in effect, and it provided the General Assembly as the only means for electing a Governor or his successor. That was before the people ever had even the right to elect their Governor by their own direct vote, and long before we ever had a Democratic primary in this State. This method of electing Governors was in effect until a constitutional amendment was ratified in 1824, giving the people the right for the first time to vote directly for their Governor." The Constitution

CLAIMS 173 PLEDGES

Talmadge claimed 173 pledges from the Legislature yesterday, which is 44 more than the number required to elect a Governor if the General Assembly can name one. Atlanta, Ga.

Thompson, however, declared that more than half of the 257 members of the Senate and House have assured him "directly and unequivocally that they will vote to sustain my position," and that they are convinced the General Assembly has no right to elect a Governor under the present circumstances and under the present Constitution. Sun. 1-5-47

Talmadge's full statement on the Cook opinion:

The Attorney General's opinion is a political opinion. It is not the first political opinion he has written. He wrote one for Mrs. Mankin in the now famous Mankin-Davis case and the courts of this state repudiated it. He is wrong again and his opinion is not binding on the Legislature. The Legislature is a sovereign body. In this instance it sits as a court and will determine this question. The Legislature's acts in this instance are not reviewable by the courts. This political opinion was issued in desperation. My opposition is desperate. They know that I have 173 members of the Legislature pledged to vote for me for Governor.

In the beginning the opposition said that they would not open headquarters. They said that they would not make a fight to block my election as Governor because the Lieutenant Governor-Elect would automatically become Governor.

They changed their minds two days later and started fighting to block this election. This effort failed and the members continued to pledge me their support. When it became known to the opposition that I would be elected they resorted to this political trick and issued out of the Governor's office an opinion by the Attorney General.

It is a political trick that will not work. It will arouse the people of Georgia as they have never been aroused before and they will rally to my support in greater numbers than ever.

Governor Arnall destroyed the white primary in Georgia. Governor Arnall undertook to sabotage the county unit system in Georgia. We made a race against him and whipped him before the people of Georgia.

This is the last desperate effort to forever destroy the Democratic white primary in Georgia and the county unit system in Georgia. If Ellis Arnall is allowed to dictate his successor he will control the next administration of this state. He will block every vote to restore the democratic white primary in Georgia. This state will be turned over lock, stock and barrel to the reds and pinks of the East and the Negroes of Georgia. The Constitution

GOWEN RIDICULES

Sun. 1-5-47

This is a white man's state. It always has been a white man's state and this fight I am making is a white man's fight to keep Georgia a white man's state. The law contained in the constitution is mandatory upon the Legislature to elect a Governor. Atlanta, Ga.

The question is, will the white people of Georgia turn this state over to Ellis Arnall, the PAC, the reds and the pinks of the East, and the Negroes?

What will your answer be?

Rep. Charles L. Gowen, of Brunswick, candidate for Speaker of the House, ridiculed the claim of Herman Talmadge to the office of Governor.

"In 1940 Eugene Talmadge received a total of 289,988 votes, J. L. N. Boyd received 875 votes and Joseph M. Wallace 296," Gowen continued. "If Gov. Talmadge had died before his inauguration that year does anyone believe for a moment that the 'Fox from Fayette,' the Honorable Wesley Culpepper; that brilliant corporation lawyer, Mr. B. D. Murphy, or that distinguished jurist, Judge T. Hicks Fort, would have been on the radio demanding that the Legislature place either Mr. Boyd or Mr. Wallace in the Governor's chair?"

The absurdity of the present attempt to "grab" the Governorship is further illustrated by the fact that each of the candidates in previous elections had their names printed on the ballots, Gowen contended. Reference to the House and Senate Journals will show that in previous years "write-in" votes have never been counted or considered by the Legislature, he said.

Gowen asked election of himself as Speaker in order to guard against what he termed the parliamentary tricks that the Harris-Talmadge machines will try in desperation at the last moment.

If Herman Talmadge successfully claims that the 1946 election is not complete until the Legislature declares the results, and the Legislature does his bidding and declares that no one received a majority of the votes and proceeds to elect a Governor from the two surviving men, then the late Eugene Talmadge will be robbed of his greatest ambition of being elected Governor four times, according to Solicitor General Fred Kelly, of the Northeastern Circuit. The Constitution

Kelly said a "small group of politicians is attempting to use this great Georgian's son as a tool by which to rob Eugene Talmadge of his place in history as one of two men being elected Governor four times." Atlanta, Ga.

He said the people in adopting the new Constitution did not intend for it to allow a "few disgruntled politicians to bolt the Democratic primary and tie the hands of the Legislature by limiting its selection for Governor to the persons receiving a few write-in votes." Sun. 1-5-47

Howard Reflects Not On Himself Alone

37a(2) Ga.

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

DeKalb County Representative Pierre Howard, in publicly declaring his intention of "beating hell" out of former Governor Arnall has succeeded in making as great a spectacle of himself as did Bleckley County Representative James Dykes in offering to whip all comers in the Capitol rotunda the other day. Rep. Dykes' display was more spectacular, to be sure, but Rep. Howard's is the more disgusting inasmuch as one had expected better of him.

Fri. 1-31-47

Our regrettable gubernatorial dispute will be settled only in the courts. Until such time as a Supreme Court decision is forthcoming, any violence or threats thereof on the part of any State official—Governors, Judges or Representatives—will only serve further to blacken the State's reputation. The Constitution

37a (2) 1947 Georgia (Governorship)

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

The Constitution

Cash and Carry

37a(2)

Editor Constitution: It is evident from the results of last year's primary that Fulton County citizens prefer good clean State Government as opposed to the Talmadge-Harris type of gangsterism; yet Fulton County votes count as little as one one-hundredth of those cast in the smallest counties, even though Fulton has approximately one-fifth of the State's population and furnished more than half of its revenue. Jan. 1-28-47

My suggestion, therefore, is that the County of Fulton secede from the State of Georgia and declare itself an independent State. Much worse things have happened here. It would be interesting to see how long the State's finances would hold out without us.

HERBERT L. WATERS.

Atlanta. Atlanta Ga.

Hurrah For Citizens

Editor Constitution: Congratulations to all "Aroused Citizens of Georgia" in their demand for decency, law and order.

LOUIS B. CRAMER.

Atlanta.

Mileage and Loops

Editor Constitution: If the "Great Gov. Arnall" had stayed at home long enough to have read the Constitution which he wanted so much credit for giving the State, he would have seen the clause in it which he wants now to consider illegal. No, he wants to tour the United States every thirty days. Was he trying to outdistance Eleanor Roosevelt?

MAX STOKES.

Stockbridge. Jan. 1-24-47

Kick Out All

Editor Constitution: When parliamentary procedures fail, fist fights break out on the floor, and general foolishness goes on at a critical time like this we get an inside look at what represents us. If some of these men were as low in stature as they are in principles, they could walk under a gnat without knocking their hats off. Throw them all out.

VICTOR LOWE.

Watkinsville.

Greatest of All

Editor Constitution: Ellis Arnall is the greatest Governor who has ever sat in the Governor's chair. He is a credit not only to Georgia but to the world.

REV. J. L. VAUGHN

Rome.

Go On Record

Editor Constitution: We, the undersigned, go on record deploring the recent action of our State Legislature in electing a Governor whose name was not up for consideration in the State Primary. We condemn Representatives Etheridge and Kendrick, of Fulton County for concurring in this action and commend Sen. Millican and Rep. Smith for their stand against it.

MRS HUGH DICKERSON,
MRS. H. R. COOK,
MRS. RICHARD PRETY,
MRS. B. S. COMPTON,
MRS. E. D. ALDRICH,
MRS. W. A. EISENHART,
MRS. GEO. E. SCOTT,
MRS. C. L. TEMPLIN,
MRS. P. D. ALLEN,
MRS. MURRAY R. HUBBARD,
MRS. GEO. A. CRABB,
MRS. BOB CHILDS,
MRS. PAUL ANSLEY,
MRS. C. F. FUGITT,
MRS. FRANK R. BEALL,
MRS. JOHN R. ROSE, JR.,
MRS. D. B. McCOY,
MRS. FRANK T. McKIBBEN,
MISS KATHARINE WALKER,
MRS. H. H. CALDWELL,
MRS. BEN L. ODOM,
MRS. T. B. DUNLAP.
Atlanta.

Courageous

37a(2)

Editor Constitution: (Letter to Ellis Arnall) Your courageous fight for democracy and the Christian principles prompts us to take this means of letting you know that we stand with you firmly.

Could peace and progress ever come from the methods used by your opposition? We think not and rejoice that there are those in high positions in public life who agree with us.

A GROUP OF CHRISTIAN YOUNG PEOPLE, DRUID HILLS BAPTIST CHURCH.

Atlanta.

Backs Legislature

Editor Constitution: The Legislature was under mandate by the State Constitution to elect a Governor. Under the conditions, the Legislature could not fail to elect a Governor.

JOHN W. GOOLSBY.

Washington, Ga.

Of Mice and Men

Editor Constitution: When men, who should be dignified, intelligent and serious-minded, elected by the people to serve their interests, take the political arena to be a circus in which they act like monkeys, kangaroos and trained rats under their professional bosses, they are sure to find out sooner or later that people are not so gullible as they think.

F. D. GARRETT.

Atlanta. Isa (Governorship)

Voices Raised

Editor Constitution: We would like to voice our opinion and protest against the action of the Assembly in appointing Herman Talmadge Governor. We, the people of Georgia, are still capable of electing the man who is to serve us. The Constitution

MR. AND MRS. CLYDE COLLINS.

Blairsville.

Faith in Court

Editor Constitution: We have faith that the Supreme Court of Georgia will maintain its integrity and protect the will of the people by delivering a decision that will drive these native Fascists back to their hiding places.

GEORGE D. GUEST.

Atlanta. Atlanta Ga.

Greek God

Editor Constitution: Herman Talmadge has ideas like a Greek god, or at least that is the way he is showing his hand. So, wake up, you drugged legislators, before he gets YOU under his feet and starts putting the pressure too hard.

BUSH GREENE.

Atlanta. Jan. 1-28-47

Lost Prestige

Editor Constitution: If something is not done in your State to put a stop to this mob rule, it will take a hundred years or more for your State to recover the prestige that it has lost as a member of the United States.

OSCAR P. RYDER

Alexandria, Va.

Charlie McTalmadge

Editor Constitution: Herman reminds me of Charlie McCarthy and Edgar Bergen, with Roy Harris playing the role of Edgar.

MARY BARTLETT,

Atlanta.

Vote Curbs Pushed For Talmadge

The Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.

~~37a(2) Isa.~~

His Group Shouts Down Amendments To White Primary Measure

Wed 1-29-47

Debate Continues

2,500 Employes Of State Face Payless Pay-Day In Governorship Dispute

ATLANTA, Jan. 28—(AP)—Talmadge forces today shouted down amendments to the white primary bill and pushed through initial sections of the measure resigned to restrict Democratic primaries to white voters.

A substitute for the Talmadge-backed white primary bill, which would leave primaries under statutory control but tighten educational qualifications of voters, was ruled out of order in the House by Speaker Fred Hand.

The lower branch voted 94 to 87 against cutting off debate on the bill shortly before adjournment. Work will be resumed on the measure tomorrow morning.

Face Payless Pay-Day

While Talmadge leaders pushed the white primary bill through the lower branch, the dispute of rival governors threatened an empty pay-day for 2,500 state employes. Wed 1-29-47

Grinding out section after section voiding state control of future primaries, the House repealed Georgia's unique county-unit system which for decades has given political control to sparsely-settled rural counties. Talmadge leaders explained repeal was necessary to restore the "white primary" and bar Negroes from Georgia ballot boxes, but emphasized the system was carried over in party regulations.

The Talmadge-sponsored measure removes primaries from statutory regulation, and makes them "club" affairs controlled exclusively by the party. The county-unit system is similar to the U. S. electoral college, granting all "unit votes" to the candidate carrying each county. In effect, it frequently makes one rural vote equivalent to 30 or more urban votes.

Seeks To Avoid Ruling

The legislation, number-one campaign plank of the late Eugene Talmadge, would attempt to circumvent recent rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court that Negroes cannot be excluded from Southern primaries in which nomination is equivalent to election.

Meanwhile, the battle continued over executive control of Georgia's government. A sixth lawsuit was filed challenging the right of Herman Talmadge to occupy the office of governor. Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson contends he is the acting governor.

The state continued to have rival governors, rival revenue commissioners, rival adjutants general, rival parks commissioners, rival highway boards and chairmen thereof.

Awaits Court Action

State Treasurer George B. Hamilton continued to refuse to deal with any of them, pending court directive, and held uncashed nearly $5,000,000,000 in revenue checks which he claims were sent "illegally" by Talmadge's revenue commissioner.

Employes of a half-dozen state departments, administered by appointive heads, glumly looked forward to a pay-less payday next Saturday. Wed. 1-29-47

Talmadge said he would pay his "executive department" out of public subscriptions, raised by Talmadge faithful after radio appeals for support. Other departments, he said, were not his responsibility.

Bank Asks Ruling On 'Governor'

The Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.

Writ Blocks Talmadge And Thompson From Drawing State Funds

Jury Probe Asked

Final Outlook 'Critical'; Georgia Faces Loss Of Federal Assistance Cash

ATLANTA, Jan. 25.—(AP)—The Fulton National Bank, of Atlanta, filed suit in Henry County Superior Court tonight to determine who is legal governor of Georgia.

Superior (Circuit) Judge Bond Almand immediately signed a temporary restraining order preventing either Herman Talmadge or his gubernatorial rival, Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson, from drawing on $95,682 which was left in the State Executive Department fund by retiring Gov. Ellis Arnall. Sun. 1-26-47

Both Thompson and Talmadge were summoned to appear at McDonough Feb. 7—the same day Talmadge must answer a parallel challenge by Thompson in the same court.

The earlier suit, originally brought by Arnall and later amended in the name of Thompson, seeks to enjoin Talmadge from exercising authority of governor.

Headed For High Court

Both cases are aimed at speedy review by Georgia's Supreme Court.

The bank's litigation coincided with demands for a Grand Jury investigation into allegations that legislators were offered bribes to influence their votes on the night the General Assembly elected Talmadge as governor.

The bank's litigation coincided with demands for a Grand Jury investigation into allegations that legislators were offered bribes to influence their votes on the night the General Assembly elected Talmadge as governor.

Devereaux F. McClatchey, counsel for the bank, said Thompson and six members of his executive staff had presented checks totaling more than $1,000 today. None was paid. The bank's petition cited that there was "a bona fide controversy as to the persons entitled to withdraw" funds, and pleaded it could "determine only at its peril" the claims of the rival "governors."

The petition continued: "The

ends of justice require that the rights and legal relations of the defendants to the funds . . . be declared by the court."

Judge Accepts Petition

Almand accepted the petition when Judge Ogden Persons of the Flint Circuit disqualified himself. The previous suit was accepted by the Fulton Circuit's Judge Walter C. Hendrix, also on Persons' disqualification.

Earlier in the day, Judge Boyd Sloan had refused to accept the suit at Gainesville, ruling he had no jurisdiction. Jan. 1-6-47

Mayor Harvey Kennedy, of Barnesville, leader of the aroused Citizens of Georgia, a group formed to protest Talmadge's election, said a statewide meeting here Monday would make formal demands for investigation by the Fulton County (Atlanta) Grand Jury. Kennedy said he would cite public reports (Time Magazine) that blocs of six votes for Talmadge "were fetching $60,000," and a public statement by Representative Jack Flynt, of Spalding County that he and one other legislator were offered $100,000 in corporation retainers to withdraw support from Talmadge. Montgomery Adv

Parallel Inquiry

A parallel legislative investigation will be initiated Monday in the Georgia House of Representatives by Speaker Fred Hand. Talmadge declined comment, but his gubernatorial rival, Thompson, said he welcomed inquiry. "Any charge of bribery should be investigated," he said. "The public is entitled to know about it, and it should be either proved or disproved." The Advertiser

Former Gov. Arnall was not available for comment on proposals for a grand jury probe. However, in St. Petersburg, Fla., last night he declared "great pressure" on the Legislature by Talmadge campaign contributors resulted in Herman's election.

Talmadge, who last night bought radio time on 29 Georgia stations to appeal for moral and financial support of his claim as governor, announced today he was being flooded with checks and cash from Talmadge faithful. At a news conference he displayed a fistful of checks, and a wad of bills ranging from $1 to $100 each. He said part of the money would be used for executive department expenses pending adjudication of his claim by the courts.

Fiscal Outlook "Critical"

Meanwhile, an authoritative source described Georgia's fiscal outlook as "critical" and forecast complete breakdown of state services within 30 days unless the legal snarl over Georgia's revenue department is settled. Jan. 1-6

State Treasurer George B. Hamilton, who says he cannot recognize Talmadge's revenue commissioner. Charles Redwine, holds uncashed checks totaling $4,749,886.87. He refuses to accept collections from Redwine, or to authorize funds for Revenue Department payrolls, because Redwine's bond has not been approved by Georgia's attorney general, as required by law. Jan. 1-6-47

Simultaneously, in Washington, an exchange of correspondence was made public indicating that Georgia may be cut off from Federal funds of any kind until the governorship dispute is settled.

Will Ask Accounting

Senator Aiken (R), Vermont, chairman of the Senate committee on expenditures in the executive departments, announced he would ask accounting of all federal funds being distributed to Georgia. He was urged to question such disbursements in a letter from Senator Taylor (D), Idaho, a committee member who asserted "until the Georgia courts pass upon this question, it would appear that no Federal official could safely disburse any funds." Taylor suggested that if checks went to the wrong set of Georgia officials, the Federal disbursing officers might find themselves personally liable for improper disbursements.

If Federal funds are cut off, it immediately would affect departments of health, public welfare, education, forestry, game and fish, state highway, veterans' service, labor and the University of Georgia.

Georgia has enough state funds on hand to last approximately 30 days.

Thompson Says Bank Recognized Him As Governor

The News.

Birmingham Ala

Says Check Drawn On Fund Deposited By Arnall Is Okehed

Thur. 1-23-47

ATLANTA, Jan. 23—(AP)—M. E. Thompson announced today he had been recognized as "acting governor" of Georgia by the Fulton National Bank of Atlanta which cashed "without question" the first executive check drawn since he took office.

Thompson said the check, for $50, was for postage and had been presented in person by Phil Landrum, Thompson's secretary of the executive department. It was drawn against approximately $97,000 which was turned over to Thompson by retiring Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Herman Talmadge, rival "governor" by virtue of election by the Georgia General Assembly, said yesterday in a news conference he expected to have custody of the executive funds in time to meet his payroll, Feb. 1. Thompson said today: "I think this answers Mr. Talmadge."

Thompson said he was encouraged by independence displayed yesterday in the House of Representatives when it demurred at immediate consideration of the white primary bill. Thur. 1-23-47

* * *

THOMPSON OBSERVED THERE was general agreement of necessity of legislation restoring white supremacy in Georgia Democratic primaries, but he commented the House had shown a significant tendency to "resist dictation from within the House or from without."

Thompson referred specifically to presence on the House floor of former Speaker Roy Harris, of Augusta, Talmadge's chief strategist, and said it appeared the House "has two speakers."

Thompson's backers hailed legislative actions in both houses yesterday as indicative of a waning Talmadge hold on the body which last week named him governor.

The House, balking at what some members termed "being shoved around," showed such opposition to immediate consideration of a white primary bill that Talmadge's floor leaders themselves proposed that it lay over until Monday's session.

THE SENATE BY A TIE-VOTE in effect refused to accept a move by Talmadge adherents to expunge its journal showing that Thompson took an oath before it Monday as chief executive. Later, it recessed an executive session without taking action on a sealed message from Talmadge, the usual form for transmitting executive appointments.

Arnall Says Protests Are Hurting Talmadge

The News

MOBILE, Ala., Jan. 23—"The people of Georgia are not going to put up with dictatorship tactics," Ellis Arnall declared last night, adding that "protests by the people of Georgia against dictatorship" were causing a split in the forces backing Herman Talmadge for governor.

Arnall, who delivered a lecture on the South, said he interpreted Talmadge's reversals in the state Legislature as an indication of growing opposition to Talmadge.

Declaring he had accepted an invitation of Alabama's new governor, James E. Folsom, to visit him today, Arnall said "I have high regard for Jim Folsom and believe he will become a tower of strength in the South in the fight against monopilies." Birmingham Ala

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'Aroused Citizens' Call For Statewide Protest

ATLANTA, Jan. 23—(AP)—Organizers of the original "Aroused Citizens of Georgia" Chapter proposed today a statewide meeting for next Monday in Atlanta to insist on a "speedy and fair trial" of issues in Georgia's disputed governorship.

Mayor Harvey J. Kennedy, of Barnesville, where the first "Aroused Citizens" Chapter was formed last Friday night, sent the invitation to all organized groups "and those planning to organize."

He joined in the call by Dr. J. A. Corry and Ben Turner, co-chairmen of the Lamar chapter, and his law partner, Edwin Fortson. They set the meeting for 10 a.m. Monday at the Piedmont Hotel in Atlanta.

The group's original resolution scored the alleged use of "force and violence" by Herman Talmadge and his adherents in his election as governor by the Legislature, requested that claimants to the disputed post recognize the "power and authority of the courts" to settle the issue, and called on the Legislature to adjourn until the matter was adjudicated.

Meanwhile, other protest meetings over Talmadge's accession as governor were reported.

Scheduled for today were meetings in Carrollton at 4:30 p.m. (EST), the East Lake section of Atlanta at 7:30 p.m., and Cartersville also at 7:30 p.m. Dr. S. T. Ross and R. L. Rogers, of Winder, Ga., issued a call for a meeting at 7 p.m. (EST) Tuesday. Thur. 1-23-47

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

For Thompson

The Constitution Thurs 1-9-47

Editor Constitution: I, for one among the great majority of Georgia citizens hope our Legislature will avoid taking such action as will lead to confusion and chaos.

This can only be done by permitting the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Thompson, to become Governor upon the resignation of Mr. Arnall. Atlanta, Ga.

Any other procedure would require months, and perhaps years, of court action, resulting in confusion during that time. The regular time for an election next year would no doubt come before the lawyers could get through arguing the legality of the action taken by the Legislature.

The people will have an opportunity to elect a Governor next year if the Legislature does not attempt to elect one now for a term of four years.

Is Mr. Herman Talmadge afraid to let the people vote "next year" for whom they want for a Governor? Herman says he is willing to have an election "now," if the Legislature elects him "now"—before the people vote.

All except those who are hoping for "jobs" from Herman admit that he has no moral nor legal right to attempt to grab the Governor's office.

Members of the Legislature of Georgia, be men! Do not disfranchise us people of Georgia! Let Mr. Thompson take office till next year, the regular time for another election. Then let the people vote. B. R. W. COOPER.

Macon.

Vet for Talmadge

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 1-9-47

Editor Constitution: As a veteran of World War I and a farmer of Walton County, I wish to clarify the statement made by J. M. Durden in Sunday's Constitution Jan. 5, 1947. I quote Mr. Durden: "I feel that I am expressing the sentiment of the farmers of Walton County." I disregard his statement as absolutely false. Mr. Durden knows full well that he has never stood for the principles of Eugene Talmadge. In fact, he has always been a bitter enemy to our late Governor. As a supporter of Eugene Talmadge, I feel I know the friends of his throughout Walton County. Mr. Durden knows full well that Gov. Talmadge has carried my district and his overwhelmingly in every campaign he has ever waged.

I have talked to hundreds of Walton citizens who did everything in their power to elect Eugene Talmadge as Governor. I feel that we are not going to be disappointed when the General Assembly meets on Jan. 13, 1947.

L. S. SMITH.

Loganville. Rt. 1.

Right Vs. Power

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: While conjecturing about who will be Georgia's next Governor, remember this bit of law which should be universally known: While the U. S. Congress has only such powers as are expressly or impliedly delegated to it, Georgia's General Assembly has all powers that are not expressly prohibited by either the State or the Federal Constitution. It is analogous to the Parliament of England. Atlanta, Ga.

The emergency caused by the untimely death of Mr. Talmadge being one for which neither constitution provides, our General Assembly necessarily has all the powers needed to preserve the State and perpetuate its government. Thurs 1-9-47

It has the undoubted power, but not the moral right, to elect and inaugurate as Governor any person of its choice, as a means of meeting the present emergency.

Since a Lieutenant Governor has already been duly elected by the people, and since this Lieutenant Governor-elect would automatically have become Governor if Mr. Talmadge had lived another month, it ought to be clear enough to all nonpartisans that the General Assembly now has both the legal power and the moral right to take whatever steps are necessary to place the Lieutenant Governor-elect in the office of Governor.

I am ready to bet 10 to 1 that such action on the part of the General Assembly will stand the test of the courts. Thomas C. E. HAY.

Thomasville.

Thompson's Title Sound

News and Courier

The preference of The News and Courier, were it a citizen of Georgia, would be for Talmadge, not Thompson, for governor.

Thompson is the man entitled to the post. When the Georgians elected him to the office of lieutenant governor, they must have had in mind, assuming that their minds were not empty, that in the event of a vacancy in the office of governor he would succeed to it. Charleston S.C.

Of the political opinions of M. E. Thompson are diverse and contradictory sayings. A principal newspaper of New York tells that he is a protege of Ellis Arnall, Esq., clever citizen beloved of "Liberals", especially of those foreign to Georgia. Others are not sure of Mr. Thompson's enlightened "Liberal" notions. Wed. 1-22-47

Mr. Thompson is governor because the Georgians elected him lieutenant governor. If he should make them sick, they took the dose of their own free will.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

GRAND JURY INQUIRY IS URGED IN GEORGIA ON BRIBE REPORTS

The Times
New York, N.Y.

37a(2)

House Speaker Plans to Name Committee to Sift Rumors of Offers to Legislators

Sun. 1-26-47

BANK FILES SUIT IN MIX-UP

Judge Bars Funds to Talmadge and Thompson Till Ruling on Governorship Is Made

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 25—Grand jury and legislative investigations were demanded today into reported efforts to bribe legislators when General Assembly action was pending on the controversial issue of Georgia's Governorship.

Mayor Harvey Kennedy of Barnesville, organizer of the "Aroused Citizens of Georgia," a group challenging the constitutionality of Herman Talmadge's recent election by the Assembly as Governor, called for the grand jury inquiry. Sun. 1. 26-47

House Speaker Fred Hand, a Talmadge supporter, announced plans to appoint a special joint committee of House and Senate members Monday to investigate rumors that both the Talmadge and Ellis Arnall-M. E. Thompson supporters in the Legislature received offers to sell their votes.

Court Summons Rivals

Meanwhile, a suit was filed in Henry County by the Fulton National Bank of Atlanta today with the object of determining who is the legal Governor of Georgia.

Superior Court Judge Bond Almand signed a temporary order in Henry County Superior Court restraining both Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson from drawing on $95,682 left in the State Executive Department fund by Former Governor Arnall.

Judge Almand summoned both Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson to appear on Feb. 7.

Reports of bribery attempts developed earlier this week when Representative Jack Flynt, of Spalding County, according to The Griffin Daily News, told a mass meeting of 400 citizens that he and one other member of the House, whom he later identified as Pierre Howard, of DeKalb County, "were offered $100,000 to cast our vote other than we did." The News further quoted Mr. Flynt as saying:

"It was offered in such a way that either Pierre Howard or myself could take it as a retainer fee over a period of a few years from four or five large corporations."

Both Mr. Flynt and Mr. Howard voted for Mr. Talmadge.

When asked about Mr. Flynt's statement, Representative Howard told the Associated Press:

"A lot of extravagant offers were made to all legislators. I did not entertain such a proposition nor did I keep count of such offers." Sun. 1- 26-47

Mayor Kennedy declared that the reported bribe offers constituted support to the demands of the "Aroused Citizens of Georgia" that the Legislature should adjourn until the courts can rule whether the Legislature acted with constitutional authority in electing Mr. Talmadge in place of his father, the late Governor-Elect Eugene Talmadge, or whether the office belongs to the rival claimant, Mr. Thompson. Mr. Thompson, eected Lieutenant Governor in last summer's primary, insists he is the "Acting Governor" of Georgia by right of succession.

When the Legislature elected Mr. Talmadge eleven days ago, former Governor Arnall would not yield the Governorship to him, but Mr. Talmadge, with the aid of a few uniformed highway patrolmen, took possession of the Executive offices and the Governor's Mansion and since has been attempting to exercise the functions of the Governor's office.

Talmadge Refuses Comment

Backed by an opinion of Attorney General Eugene Cook, Mr. Arnall declined to resign as Governor until Mr. Thompson, whom he insists is his "legal successor," was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor and "qualified to succeed to the Governorship."

Mr. Talmadge said today that he had "no comment" upon the reported attempts to bribe Assemblymen or upon the demands for inquiries.

Mr. Thompson observed that "any charge of bribery or attempted bribery should be investigated," and adedd:

"The public is entitled to know about it and it should be either proved or disproved. For myself, I can say I have never in my life, directly or indirectly, been offered a bribe nor have I offered one."

Mayor Kennedy ir his statement urging grand jury action said:

"The people of Georgia are further shamed and humiliated over the charges made by members of the General Assembly that bribes were offered by both sides at the time the General Assembly elected a governor.

"The Aroused Citizens of Georgia now call upon the grand jury of Fulton County (Atlanta) and its solicitor general to investigate thoroughly these charges and to bring to immediate trial any person guilty of such conduct, regardless who it may be.

"These charges of bribery only emphasize the fact that the General Assembly should not take unto itself the prerogative of the people of electing a governor."

E. E. Andrews, solicitor general of Fulton County, said late today that no formal demand had been made for such an inquiry and that no evidence had been offered to warrant an investigation.

Other developments of the day in the **"battle of the Governors"** included these:

In Washington, **Senator Aiken**, Republican, of Vermont, chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, said that he would ask how Federal funds were being distributed to Georgia officials during the present Governorship dispute. His statement was said to have been prompted by a request from Senator Taylor, Democrat, of Idaho, who suggested that "until the Georgia courts pass upon this question, it would appear that no Federal official could safely disburse funds" to Georgia.

Mr. Talmadge declared that he expected the State Senate, in executive session scheduled Monday, to approve a group of his appointees. He also said he would ask the House of Representatives t. take immediate action on a proposed measure to establish a white Democratic primary.

Mr. Thompson stated he would call upon the Senate and House Monday to adjourn at once until the courts decide who is Governor. He also disclosed that he had ordered the State Board of Public Safety to meet Tuesday for the election of a new director of the department.

Mr. Thompson renewed his attack upon highway patrolmen being stationed in the Capitol, and added:

"If the patrolmen who are personally serving the Talmadge illegal regime do not return to the jobs they have abandoned I shall ask the board to fill vacancies thereby created with deserving young war veterans who will patrol the highways against death and destruction."

Talmadge 'Won't Yield' To Violence

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala
Mon. 1-20-47

Thompson Issues Orders Against Use Of Funds By 'Illegal Executives'

ATLANTA, Jan. 19.—(AP)—Herman Talmadge, whose claim to the Governorship of Georgia is currently challenged by M. E. Thompson, declared tonight that he would continue to hold the office and would "not yield to any threat or bow to force." Mon.

"We are amply able to defend the governor's office and will do so if necessary," he said. 1-20-47

Talmadge issued the statement several hours after Thompson, at a press conference, had asserted his intention of demanding possession of the capitol executive chambers at 9 a.m. tomorrow.

Thompson, 43-year-old former school teacher, was sworn in yesterday as lieutenant governor and proclaimed himself acting Governor of Georgia by virtue of Ellis Arnall's resignation earlier in the day.

Backs Claim

Moving to back up this claim today, Thompson also announced that he had instructed Attorney General Eugene Cook to proceed against the use of state funds by "illegal officials."

In his statement Talmadge, who occupies the Governor's office under guard of state troopers, declared that Thompson "himself asserted he would recruit an army and attempt to take the governorship by force." Mon. 1-20-47

"It is my purpose to hold the Governor's office and perform my duties within the law," said Talmadge. The Advertiser

To Accept Ruling

The promise of litigation to prevent Talmadge from spending state money came as Thompson supporters hastened to bring the issue before the Georgia Supreme Court and Talmadge, although contending that the tribunal is without jurisdiction, said he would abide by the decision.

One suit to enjoin Talmadge from serving as chief executive already has been filed by Attorney General Eugene Cook at Arnall's request and will be heard Feb. 7. Montgomery, Ala.

Thompson also announced today that he had appointed R. W. Collins as acting Adjutant General and named five assistant Attorneys-General. Yesterday he appointed a Revenue Commissioner and a Chairman of the State Highway Department.

'He said he would seek Senate confirmation of his appointments within a few days. Rival appointments to the same offices. made during the week by Talmadge, already have Senate approval.

Thompson said he believed the disputed governorship should be settled by the courts and added, "I will abide completely by the courts without question." Montgomery Ala

Then he promised, "if the courts rule against me, and I become Lieutenant Governor and Herman Talmadge becomes governor, he will have my wholehearted support."

Thompson's claim as acting Governor would extend only to the next general election in November, 1948. In response to a question as to his plans after that he said: The Advertiser

"If I feel I've done a good job then I will be a candidate for the unexpired term. If I feel I haven't done a good job, I wouldn't embarrass my friends by running."

Referring to court action to tie up the use of state funds, Thompson said, "suppose money spent by an illegal officer was spent in such a way that it couldn't be recovered. It is my duty to keep any illegal officer from spending funds." Mon. 1-20-47

GEORGIA IS WARNED OF FINANCIAL CRISIS

The Times
New York
N.Y.

37a(2)

State Treasurer Bars Use of Funds Involving Recognition of Rival Appointees

Mon. 1-27-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Jan. 26—George B. Hamilton, state treasurer, warned the rival governorship claimants tonight to submit at once to consent litigation in the State courts to settle their dispute if a serious crisis in the financing of State services was to be averted.

He declared that he would not recognize appointees of either Herman Talmadge or M. E. Thompson pending such court adjudication and would not accept funds from such appointees nor release State funds to them.

The Treasurer's announcement had the effect of immediately halting the flow of funds in at least six departments where both Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson, the Governorship rivals, have made appointments. One is the revenue department.

B. E. Thrasher Jr., State auditor, corroborating the view that all State services might be crippled within thirty days, reported that funds were available in the treasury to carry the schools and other State departments not involved by appointments of either "Governor" for the next four weeks.

Edict by Treasurer

Mr. Hamilton said that he had conferred with Mr. Talmadge, Mr. Thompson, an attorney represent ng Mr. Talmadge and a member of the staff of Eugene Cook, State Attorney General, and had informed them as follows:

"My personal attorney and the attorney of my bonding company have advised me that I cannot recognize appointments of either Herman Talmadge or M. E. Thompson, ven though they may be confirmed by the State Senate. I shall not do so until I am protected by a Supreme Court decision on the entire question."

Mr. Hamilton stated that he had suggested to Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson that they agree to go into court and seek to compel him to recognize one or the other group of appointees.

Mr. Talmadge declined to comment on the developments and Mr. Thompson expressed doubt that he could mandamus the Treasurer, because none of his appointees has been confirmed by the Senate.

Agencies other than the Revenue Department in which Talmadge and Thompson appointees have been made are the Highway, Public Safety, Executive, Parks and Military Departments.

Talmadge-appointed heads of the Highway, Revenue and Military Departments have received confirmation. Mon. 1-27-47

Two court actions already have been taken in the Governorship controversy.

Hearings Set for Feb. 7

The first was filed by Cook on behalf of former Governor Ellis Arnall and later amended in the name of Mr. Thompson. It asks for a declaratory judgment and an injunction to restrain Mr. Talmadge from exercising the duties of Governor.

Another action was entered by the Fulton National Bank seeking to determine which "Governor" is entitled to the $95,682 in the State Executive Department account left by Mr. Arnall. The bank obtained a temporary order Saturday restraining both claimants from issuing checks against the account.

These suits are to be heard in the Henry County Superior Court at McDonough Feb. 7.

Political observers recalled tonight that Mr. Hamilton was involved in a controversy over State financing with Herman Talmadge's father, the late Governor-Elect Eugene Talmadge, in 1936.

Eugene Talmadge, who was serving his second consecutive term as Governor, was at odds with the Legislature and the Legislature had adjourned without approving an appropriations act.

When Mr. Talmadge issued warrants for some State operations Mr. Hamilton, as Treasurer, refused to honor them. The Governor ordered Mr. Hamilton's dismissal and, when Mr. Hamilton refused to yield his office, summoned the National Guard and forcibly ejected him. Mr. Hamilton was later reinstated by the courts.

Checks Go Uncashed

As the result of last week's order tying up State funds, Mr. Hamilton disclosed today, $4,749,886.87 in checks were in Treasury vaults and would remain uncashed until a court ruling was forthcoming. These checks are from the Talmadge-appointed revenue commissioner, Charles D. Redwine.

Four major issues are expected to provide a new test of strength for Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson at tomorrow's session of the Legislature.

The Assembly recessed Thursday and, on the advice of both Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson, its leaders spent the interim sounding out public sentiment on the governorship issue in their home counties.

Mr. Talmadge has indicated he will insist on prompt action on a measure to establish a Democratic white primary and on a group of appointments to State offices. Thompson forces won delays on both these proposals last week.

Mr. Thompson and his supporters revealed plans to offer motion for immediate adjournment of the Assembly until the Governorship issue is decided in the courts.

They also prepared to propose a bill which would repeal an 1878 act protecting a Governor from quo warranto proceedings. Under the existing law a Governor is exempt from the legal action by which a public official may be brought into court and made to show cause why he is holding office. Mon. 1-27-47

A New Party Is Hinted

Some eight-five World War II veterans from twenty-five Georgia counties talked of forming a new anti-Talmadge "Democratic party" in Georgia, and indicated they would seek support for their proposal before a State-wide meeting in Atlanta tomorrow of the Aroused Citizens of Georgia, a group which has denounced Mr. Talmadge's recent election by the Legislature as unconstitutional.

The veterans, at a meeting last night, assailed Mr. Talmadge's proposed white primary measure as "a corrupt election bill" and "an attempt to overthrow constitutional democracy in Georgia."

A bitter battle over the white primary proposal is in prospect in the Legislature. Although Mr. Thompson, by party pledge, is committed to support the plan, both he and his supporters are vigorously opposed to any action at the present.

Battle of Atlanta

The Times

37a(1)

Over the Governorship

New York, N.Y.

Eugene Talmadge, native of Forsyth, Ga., once said he never cared about winning an election in a county that had street cars (most of Georgia's 159 counties don't). The remark typified his political technique. He was born in 1884 on a farm in middle Georgia, used his grass-roots origin to build a rural political machine that gained him three terms as Governor. Sun. 1-19-47

In politics he appealed to provincial prejudices, made issues of "white supremacy" and "the old-time religion." His red galluses and the way he "poured it on" his opponents delighted thousands of Georgia's small farmers and share-croppers. To these "wool-hat boys" from the piney woods he was "good ole Gene," champion of the "pore man." Others damned him roundly. But the rural voters seldom failed him. Last Nov. 5 Eugene Talmadge was elected Governor of Georgia a fourth time. On Dec. 21—twenty-four days before his scheduled inauguration—he died. There immediately arose the question: Who would become Governor?

Constitutional Loopholes

A new Constitution, adopted in 1945, provides for the Lieutenant Governor to take over if the Governor dies in office. It also provides that (1) the Legislature shall confirm as Governor the person who polled the largest number of votes in the general election; (2) if no candidate obtains a clear majority, the Legislature shall choose between the two living persons with the largest number of votes; (3) the incumbent Governor shall serve until his successor is "chosen and qualified." Nowhere does the Constitution state what should happen if a person who had been elected Governor dies before taking office.

Last week this situation led to the "Battle of the Governors" in Georgia's gray limestone Capitol. Two claimants for the office fought it out while the State's affairs fell into complete confusion. The rivals were:

Ellis Arnall, 39, Governor since 1943, leader of the liberals in Georgia, spokesman for the new South, a man who has become a national figure through his championship of progressive movements.

Herman Talmadge, 33, son of the late Governor-elect, Navy veteran of three years' service, inheritor of the political machine his father had built and stanch upholder of the elder Talmadge's program. He says: "I'll always champion the cause of the Little Man. The Big Folks can look after themselves."

The present struggle had its beginnings just before the November election, which in heavily Democratic Georgia merely certifies the results of the Democratic primary. Talmadge followers, alarmed by the nominee's illness, organized a write-in campaign for the younger Talmadge. The reasoning was that under one of the new Constitution's provisions this could throw the Gubernatorial election into the Talmadge-dominated Legislature if the elder Talmadge died. There were also a few write-in votes for two other men—liberal J. V. Carmichael, who had been narrowly defeated by Eugene Talmadge in the primary, and Republican D. Talmadge Bowers.

Strategic Moves

Mr. Carmichael was not a candidate in November; his write-ins were in the nature of a protest against Talmadgism. Mr. Bowers had actively campaigned for a hopeless GOP cause but under a Georgia statute which provides that a candidate or party must have polled 5 per cent of the votes in the previous general election to win a place on the ballot, his name had been left off the ballots. When the write-ins were counted last week by the Legislature, Herman Talmadge led with 675 to 669 for Carmichael and 637 for Bowers. Sun. 1-19-47

In the same election, Melvin E. Thompson, known as a liberal, a one-time Arnall protégé and a friend of Henry Wallace, was elected Lieutenant Governor, the first in the State's history. In the pre-election campaign, Mr. Thompson had voiced his approval of Eugene Talmadge, but many people still counted him a liberal and he was distrusted by the Talmadge forces.

The death of Eugene Talmadge then brought matters to a head. His followers insisted that the Legislature elect a new Governor. Mr. Arnall, pinning his hopes on another provision of the Constitution, announced that he would remain in office until the Lieutenant Governor was sworn in. Eight days ago—three days before his term legally ended—he announced his resignation, but with the proviso that it should take effect only after Mr. Thompson was inducted. The stage was set for last week's events.

On Tuesday the Legislature convened. Enthusiastic Talmadge supporters overflowed from the packed galleries to the floor of the chamber. There was a recess until they were cleared. Moves to seat the Lieutenant Governor were voted down. A series of carefully phrased resolutions by Talmadge men were adopted, paving the way for the election of Herman Talmadge. The session lasted far into the night. Early Wednesday morning the Legislature voted two to one to declare young Talmadge Governor. He was sworn in amid cheers from the gallery. Sun. 1-19-47

The Rivals Face to Face

An escort formed and young Talmadge led the way to the Governor's office. The door was smashed. There was fist-fighting. Mr. Talmadge strode into Mr. Arnall's private office, declared that he had come to take possession. Mr. Arnall calmly announced that he would not budge for a "pretender." Mr. Talmadge accused him of ignoring the mandate of the Legislature, but said he wanted no violence. He than set up his office in a room twenty feet away.

With daylight, skirmishing over control of State offices and the militia began. The State constabulary swung to Talmadge. The Attorney General, supporting Arnall, filed a court petition for a declaratory judgment on the Governorship and asked for a permanent injunction against Mr. Talmadge. That night Mr. Arnall locked his office and drove to his home in Newnan, forty miles away.

On Thursday Mr. Arnall returned to find his rival in possession of his office. An attaché denied him entrance, said if he wanted to see "the Governor" he could wait his turn. Mr. Talmadge's supporters thronged the building. Mr. Arnall set up headquarters in a squared enclosure in the rotunda. Later he went to the Executive Mansion, found his way barred by armed highway patrolmen.

On Friday Mr. Arnall returned to find his desk in the rotunda occupied by one of the Talmadge followers. The man refused to get out. Mr. Arnall retreated to his law offices in Atlanta, after making it clear that the move in no way affected his claim.

Yesterday, immediately after Mr. Thompson was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Arnall announced that his resignation had become effective.

His move shifted the burden of the battle to the new Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Thompson promptly took it up. Yesterday he announced that he considered himself acting Governor, that he will demand that Mr. Talmadge vacate the Governor's office and the Executive Mansion. He announced appointment of several Arnall supporters to contested State offices. He also revealed that his first official action was to direct the Attorney General to carry on the court fight begun by Mr. Arnall's petition for a declaratory judgment. This is set for early hearing in Superior Court. However, legal opinion was divided on the issues involved. Some Arnall supporters, remembering Mr. Dooley's remark that the Supreme Court follows the election returns, were not optimistic. Sun. 1-19-47

In addition, Mr. Talmadge indicated last week that he might ignore the court action. He declared: "The election of a Governor is a prerogative vested exclusively under the Constitution * * * in the General Assembly of the State. Their action in this matter is not subject to review by the courts."

The turn of affairs left many people bewildered and resentful. Public feeling mounted throughout the State, with opinion in the urban centers substantially on the side of Mr. Arnall and rural opinion backing Mr. Talmadge. Newspapers in Atlanta received hundreds of phone calls expressing indignation at the "high-handed" action of the Legislature. In Barnesville the Mayor called a mass meeting and speakers protested. Similar meetings were planned in many other communities.

Be Good Sports

37a(2)

Editor Constitution: Well, I was opposed to Eugene Talmadge in the last primary election and so voted. But the Talmadge forces won the fight, fairly and honestly, and through the misfortune of the death of their principal, I feel that the Talmadge forces were and are entitled to four years of administration of the State's affairs.

They won this right in the election and I feel that a great part of the sympathy for Herman Talmadge comes from voters on both sides who feel that fair play should be shown. Atlanta, Ga.

I did not like to see the loser in the last election hop in and try to take the ball away from the winning Talmadgeites. I don't like to see a boxer win on a foul. I do not like to see a football game or baseball game won on an umpire's decision. Sat. 3-15-47

By all means let us show our sportsmanship and quit beefing about the fact that one of our political factions won a victory and is trying to hold on to it.

C. A. PAGE, JR.

Sandersville.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

Drew Pearson

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

Georgia Big Business For Talmadge

WASHINGTON—Not many of them will admit it, but it was the powerful backstage support given Herman Talmadge by Georgia big business that really boosted him up the steps of the state capitol.

37a(2)

One Georgia business man franker than the rest is genial Chip Robert, ex-treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and engineer for some of the biggest Army-Navy construction jobs. Chip candidly admits that he pulled all the wires possible to put the Cracker dictator on the throne of Georgia.

Chip is not so frank, however, about one hitherto undisclosed brush he had with retiring Gov. Ellis Arnall which may shed light on his love for Talmadge.

Some time ago Gov. Arnall called at the White House and invited President Truman to visit Georgia, the second home of Franklin Roosevelt. Truman tentatively accepted, though plans were left indefinite.

Shortly thereafter Chip Robert went to the White House and also invited Truman to come to Georgia. And, unlike Arnall, who had said little to the press, Chip gave out a detailed statement of his plans for entertaining the President of the United States.

Back in Atlanta, Gov. Arnall read Chip's ornate entertainment schedule in the morning paper. Immediately he picked up the telephone and called Mr. Robert.

"Chip," said the governor, "I see you have invited the president to come to Georgia. That's fine. I also note that you've arranged for him to have breakfast at the Driving Club, a luncheon at the City Club and a reception at the Atlanta Biltmore. That's fine, too. We Georgians are hospitable.

"But I think you should also know that at the same time you're inviting Mr. Truman to breakfast at the Driving Club, I'm inviting him to breakfast at the governor's mansion. And at the same time you say he's going to be lunching at the City Club, I'm inviting him to lunch with me. And at the time you're inviting him to a reception at the Atlanta Biltmore, I'm inviting him to Warm Springs.

"And," concluded Arnall, "the president is going to have to choose between Chip Robert and the governor of Georgia."

Mr. Robert immediately dropped his plans for entertaining President Truman. Instead, he began laying plans to put Talmadge in the governor's mansion.

Drew Pearson

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

FBI Knew Of Georgia Intimidation

WASHINGTON—It was carefully hushed up at the time, but the political mess in Georgia might have been avoided if the Justice Department had gone ahead with a secret probe it conducted of the Talmadge election.

Last Fall the Justice Department had FBI men making a thorough check of Talmadge intimidation and racial discrimination at the polls. This, under recent Supreme Court rulings, now is the direct concern of the federal government and can be prosecuted as a criminal offense.

37a(2)

The FBI investigation showed that Talmadge had sent instructions to the Georgia primary polls aimed at preventing Negroes from voting. Although the evidence was conclusive, the Justice Department finally got cold feet. The case was dropped.

One obstacle the Justice Department ran up against was the fact that Eugene Talmadge was sick and they couldn't get to him for interrogation. Also son Herman Talmadge outbluffed the justice boys and refused to answer questions unless a stenographer was present.

Wed 1-22-47

Final factor, however, was the fear that federal government intervention in Georgia would boomerang, hurting the very same liberal forces the Justice Department wanted to help.

The Advertiser

BELIEVER IN GEORGIA

37a(2)

Editor, The Advertiser:

This letter is for the benefit of E. M. Jordan, Jr., an Alabama Georgian, who voted for Eugene Talmadge, the man who upheld and used all the tricks that the late Adolf Hitler used to subjugate the peoples of Europe. It is also for the benefit of other Alabamians who might believe that all Georgians feel the asme as Mr. Jordan.

I, too, voted in the primary last Summer in Georgia. But I voted anti-Talmadge, not pro. If Mr. Jordan will read the latest European history, he can easily see that Hitler used racial hatred, intolerance, bigotry and jingoism in overrunning the freedom-loving people of Europe.

Montgomery Ala.

And as for the statement that "the people of Georgia have spoken," I disagree with Mr. Jordan altogether. They are speaking now, from one end of the State to the other. Many former Talmadge stalwarts are deserting him like rats from a sinking ship because they know now they cannot get away with it.

Thurs. 1-30-47

If Mr. Jordan believes in "Humman" so very much, I cannot understand why he doesn't go back out of the United States into Georgia and help old Cracker Party Roy dictate to young Talmadge and the legislators as to how to run the once proud "Empire State of the South."

As for Grandma's footnote under Mr. Jordan's letter, I don't think that the decent people of Georgia are going to let the legislature get away with naming their governor for them, either.

KEITH OZMORE.
305 Greenville St., Montgomery, Ala.

IDEALISM AND CONFUSION

37a(2)

Editor, The Advertiser:

The striking similarity of two sentences in different editorials in The Advertiser of Feb. 12th is interesting. In one, the statement is made that "in both wars the American people were inspired by high idealistic impulses." In the other a Spanish propaganda pamphlet is quoted which says, "Spain has always been an idealistic country—predominantly moved by spiritual impulses." Accepted on face value there would appear to be no difference in the peoples of the two countries. If we attempt to define and classify these idealisms, what is the result? I believe we will find that both, for the most part, are bred in confusion and subterfuge.

The Advertiser

The following is quoted from an address made by Bishop Carpenter, and I recommend his short speech in its entirety. He says in part: "If ever there were a time when clear thinking is necessary, it is today. If there is any one word to describe the picture of man's present condition, it is the word 'confusion.' We live in confusion. Political confusion, economic confusion, racial confusion, national and international confusion, educational confusion, and often domestic confusion."

Montgomery, Ala.

Recently Herman Talmadge has condemned the clergy for their tolerance toward the Negro. In this he defines his type of idealism and consequently it should not be difficult to deal with a man of such obvious hates and prejudices; unless, of course, our own idealism is bogged down in too much confusion. If the U. S. Governmen would as clearly define its policy towar the Spanish Government the average citizen would be better able to adopt a positiv attitude on the subject. As it is we ofte are as misguided as the peoples of countrie whose news is strictly machine-made. Ou confusion of thinking can lead us to disaster as certain as that of the people of th countries who are told how to think.

Sat. 2-15-47

ANNE S. WEISENBURGH.
507 Norman Bridge Road, Montgomery, Al

Georgia: Round One

37a(2)

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

The legal battle has begun in Georgia, and the first round is over. No one knows how many rounds may be necessary. Two Superior Court cases testing the legality of Herman Talmadge's grip on the governorship last week were running concurrently, one in Floyd County Superior Court, Rome, Ga., the other in Henry County Superior Court, McDonough, Ga. The Rome case was ended last Friday, the victory clearly going to anti-Talmadge forces, which is to say for Melvin E. Thompson, duly sworn-in lieutenant governor. A plea by Thompson that budget information be turned over to him by the State Pardon and Parole Board was granted by the Rome Superior (Circuit) Court. Judge Claude H. Porter ruled that Thompson is "acting governor," and in a written order further declared that under the state constitution the Georgia Legislature had no power to elect Herman Talmadge governor.

Sat. 2-1-47

37a(2)

The finding of the court doubtless came as no great surprise, though the suddenness with which the verdict of the judge was returned may have startled Talmadgeites somewhat. All eyes — including Lt. Gov. Thompson's—were fixed on another Superior Court, in McDonough, Ga. There a plea by Thompson was being heard, its aim to bar Talmadge from office. Lt. Gov. Thompson himself was in McDonough as the Rome decision was announced.

Naturally, Talmadge attorneys appealed the Rome verdict, and it was reported that the case was expected to reach the Georgia Supreme Court yesterday. It should not take many days for that body to reach a decision. The McDonough test, meanwhile, was continuing. This is to the good. Talmadge has charged that the Rome case was in the nature of a "star chamber." He asserted that friends tried the case before friends; in short, he thinks the result was "fixed." The Rome judge refused to comment on such charges. It is well for a second Superior Court case to be heard.

It is not inconceivable that where Rome found Thompson in the right, McDonough might find for Talmadge. In that case, of course, Thompson's attorneys would press an appeal. Other cases are reported pending, but these two may be enough.

The News

THE GEORGIA CASE

1-23-47
Th.

To the Editor of The News:

I see you have taken sides with Arnall's gang. I'm taking sides with the lawmaking body of the state. If the Assembly is not the lawmaking body, then you haven't got any law. I sat up last Tuesday night until 2:30 o'clock to see what the outcome would be over there. I was listening over the radio and I heard the speaker of the House read that the constitution said that in case the elect died before he was sworn in, then it became the Assembly's duty to elect a governor. They voted on that to see if they would elect a governor. The Assembly passed on that. Then they called for a vote for a governor and Talmadge received 161 votes to 87 for Thompson. I think any fair-minded person will say that is law. Now comes Mr. Arnall in a radio address on Wednesday. I heard him call the Assembly, to their faces, as he was speaking from the capitol, a bunch of sots, a bunch of mobsters and a bunch of thugs. I just can't see where you can uphold a man who would do a thing like that.

Thur. 1-23-47

Birmingham, Ala.

Why don't you take both sides of the thing as you go? If I remember right, this is the same attitude you took toward Jim Folsom.

I don't think they would have had as much troubles if Arnall had kept his mouth out of it. I will agree with anybody that Arnall is a smart man, but this time he was a little too sure. I moved to Georgia in '29, stayed 14 years. There never was a better governor than Gene Talmadge, although he was fought by the big boys. I think the lawmaking body has done the right thing and the respect I had for Arnall is gone.

Birmingham, Ala.

East Tallassee, Ala. LEONARD PRICE.

GEORGIA'S NEXT GOVERNOR

It will be but a few days until Georgia makes her decision on a successor to the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge.

Fri - 1-10-47

Perhaps it is not a disservice to friendly relations between Alabama and Georgia to say that a majority of Alabamians had hoped that the legislature of our sister State will see fit to elevate the lieutenant-governor-elect to the post which would have been Eugene Talmadge's had he lived to take the oath of office.

Advertiser
1-10-47
Fri.

In these last few days, however, it seems apparent that most Alabamians have lost interest in the outcome of the Georgia gubernatorial contest now being waged by Mr. Thompson, the lieutenant-governor-elect; and Herman Talmadge, son of the dead governor-elect. In an obvious effort to lick the shoes of the Talmadge faction, Lieutenant Governor-elect Thompson has gone off the deep end of the board in promising to follow to the letter everything that Eugene Talmadge promised to do as governor of Georgia. If anything, he has vowed to "out-Talmadge" Gene himself if only he can get the governorship. If he is sincere in these current promises and vows—and it is not our aim to question his sincerity—then it seems that Georgia might as well choose the genuine article for governor instead of taking chances on the value of a synthetic product. As for Young Tal-

Montgomery Ala.

madge, whose dual claim to the governorship of Georgia is the fact that he got 700 write-in-votes in the recent election, it can be said that he is yet a young man and that he has on occasion given evidence that he is not quite so narrow and bigoted as his ancestry would indicate. There is a chance in a million that son Herman might prove big enough to ignore his political coaches, step out to some extent in his own right, and make a creditable governor of Georgia.

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Fri 1-10-47

Either way it goes now, though, the subject of Georgia's next governor is a matter of little interest to Alabamians.

One For Talmadge

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Fri. 2-14-47

One Superior Court of Georgia has ruled "in favor" of Melvin E. Thompson, duly elected lieutenant governor who claims the governorship. Another has ruled against a Thompson suit to prevent Herman Talmadge from exercising duties of governor. The "pretender," so-called by former Gov. Ellis Arnall, upon hearing the first of these two decisions, given at Rome, Ga., declared the case "collusion," that it was tried by friends before friends.

37a(2)

This week, to "balance" last week's Rome verdict, a Superior Court in McDonough, Ga., ruled against Melvin Thompson in his effort to restrict the activities of Herman Talmadge. Both cases now go to the Georgia Supreme Court. It is likely that the Rome appeal, a Thompson victory, will be heard first. A high court ruling on one case likely would settle the matter.

Benton Odom, executive secretary to Herman Talmadge, has dispatched to editors copies of a recent address by Walter McElreath, member of the Atlanta Bar Association and reportedly a constitutional authority. Mr. McElreath analyzed the legal question involved in the General Assembly's election of Talmadge, and that involved in claims of both Ellis Arnall and Melvin Thompson. He believes that Talmadge's election "was legally and constitutionally valid." He believes the constitution clearly gives the Assembly power to elect a governor if, when votes are canvassed, no living person is found to hold a majority of votes cast.

The News

It is clear that some legal minds can "back up" much of Herman Talmadge's contention, perhaps all of it. This does not eliminate the "heritage" aspect of the Assembly's action; it does not provide sanction for Herman Talmadge's high-handedness, his utilization of toughs and force to complete what was clearly a *coup d'etat*. In any case, the last word is with the Supreme Court.

Birmingham, Ala.

Fri. 2-14-47

Gov. Arnall of Georgia Resigns In Move to Block Talmadge's Son

The Times New York, N.Y.

37c(2)

Special to THE

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 11—Gov. Ellis Arnall today resigned "effective immediately after" the qualification of M. E. Thompson as Lieutenant Governor so that he may take over "the executive powers of government."

Sun. 1-12-47

The Governor's resignation was submitted to the Secretary of State, Ben W. Fortson. His action came as legislators began assembling here for the opening of the General Assembly Monday. A showdown battle is expected then in the fight between the Arnall and Talmadge forces over who is to be the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge's successor.

Both Herman Talmadge, who is campaigning for election by the legislature to succeed his father, and Mr. Thompson claim a majority of support in the General Assembly. The former contends the Legislature could elect him on the basis of the write-in votes he received in November.

Governor Arnall insists the Assembly has no such authority and that Mr. Thompson is the legally constituted successor although he has not been sworn in as Lieutenant Governor. The State Constitution makes no specific provision for the naming of a Governor-elect's successor in the event of death before inauguration.

Sun. 1-12-47

Mr. Arnall's term expires Tuesday but has said the law would permit him to remain in office for another four years if he chose to do so. It is believed that he will not yield if the Talmadge forces succeed in blocking Mr. Thompson.

The Governor's statement today said:

The Times N.Y.

"In conformity with my announced purpose, supported by the opinion of the Attorney General, and in order to insure an election by the people at the earliest time consistent with the Constitution, I hereby resign as Governor of Georgia, effective immediately after the qualification of the Lieutenant Governor so that the executive powers of government may devolve upon the Lieutenant Governor and the expressed will of the people of Georgia may be effectuated."

Arnall-Thompson supporters assert that the Constitution provides for an election within two years when a Lieutenant Governor takes office, whereas if the Legislature is permitted to name the Governor it would be for a full term of four years.

The Times

Herman Talmadge stamped the Governor's action as "just another effort by Governor Arnall to dictate his successor as Governor in order that he may control him. I am confident that when the Legislature elects me Governor, Governor Arnall will comply with the law."

New York, N.Y.

It is predicted that the Talmadge forces will seek action in the Assembly as soon as it convenes Monday. Mr. Thompson is to be sworn in as Lieutenant Governor Tuesday.

Sun. 1-12-47

Georgia Constitution Cited

The Times

Provisions Are Quoted Covering Legal Features of Governorship Battle

37a(2) New York N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Under the Georgia Constitution which was in force until 1945, there was no office of Lieutenant Governor. That office was created by the Constitution of 1945, and it was therein provided that, "In the event of the death, resignation or disability of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor shall exercise the executive power" until the disability is removed or until the next general election of members of the General Assembly. At that election a new Governor is to be chosen.

This constitutional provision does not cover the event which occurred in Georgia. There has been no death of a Governor. Eugene Talmadge died when he was Governor-elect and before he became Governor. The Twentieth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, adopted in 1933, includes a provision that "if at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President shall have died, the Vice President-elect shall become President." Before the adoption of this amendment, it would have been difficult or impossible to say who would have acted as President of the United States in the event of the death of a President-elect. In a recent editorial article in The Law Journal reference is made to this relatively new provision in the Federal Constitution and judicial decisions are cited which indicate that the death of a Governor-elect does not give to the one who has been elected Lieutenant Governor the right to exercise the executive power.

Thur. 1-23-47

View of Governor Arnall

This was also the view which was taken by Governor Arnall and on which he acted. He held over as Governor and then resigned so that, in consequence of his resignation, the newly elected and inducted Lieutenant Governor, M. E. Thompson, might exercise the executive power. Thompson has taken Arnall's place. He does not claim, as is stated in a dispatch from Atlanta published in THE NEW YORK TIMES of Jan. 19, that he has taken the place of Eugene Talmadge.

The Georgia Constitution provides that a Governor shall not be eligible to succeed himself and shall not be eligible to hold the office again until after the expiration of four years from the conclusion of his term of office. In the same paragraph there is also a provision that a Governor "shall hold his office during the term of four years, and until his successor shall be chosen and qualified." The two provisions are not at all inconsistent. Governor Arnall did not succeed himself or hold office "again." He simply remained in office under the "holdover" provision.

Herman Talmadge's claim to the Governorship is based on his having been elected by the Georgia Legislature, the General Assembly.

Under the Georgia Constitution, "The returns for every election of Governor shall be sealed up by the managers" and "on the day after the two houses (of the General Assembly) shall have been organized," "the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives shall open and publish the returns in the presence and under the direction of the General Assembly; and the person having the majority of the whole number of votes shall be declared duly elected Governor of this State."

Further Provision

The constitutional provision continues:

Thur. 1-23-47

"* * * but, if no person shall have such majority, then from the two persons having the highest number of votes, who shall be in life, and shall not decline an election at the time appointed for the General Assembly to elect, the General Assembly shall immediately elect a Governor viva voce; and in all cases of election of a Governor by the General Assembly, a majority of the members present shall be necessary to a choice."

Because he received some hundreds of write-in votes in the election, it is contended that Herman Talmadge was eligible to be elected Governor by the General Assembly under this provision of the Georgia Constitution. But did this provision of the Constitution become operative in the existing situation? It does not in terms provide for a case in which no person, living at the time of the official tally, shall have received a majority. It reads simply, "if no person shall have such majority." Eugene Talmadge received a majority of the votes in the election. His subsequent death cannot alter that fact or enlarge the constitutional powers of the General Assembly of Georgia.

WALTER A. BRUCE,

Flushing, N. Y., Jan. 21, 1947.

Why Abuse Herman?

[illegible]

Editor Constitution: I am a Georgian, do not hail from any other State, and have lived all my life in Georgia. My grandfather went to war from Georgia, and never returned, leaving a wife and seven small children. My father was the eldest one, and if there ever was a true Georgian my father was one.

He believed in right at all times, and neither he nor my mother ever engaged in ugly remarks about other people at election time or any other time.

[illegible]

After I have heard so many ugly remarks said about Hon. Herman Talmadge I would like to say a few words in his behalf. He is an honorable man and offered his all for four long years on the dangerous seas. Why should he not want to keep on doing a great job for his home State? If the Legislators are not the voice of the people, who is? They are elected by the people. Why abuse Mr. Talmadge? If anyone else had been elected I wonder who would have complained?

MISS LUCY SEE.

Atlanta.

[illegible] 1-27-47

GEORGIA'S RIVAL GOVERNORS RUNNING THE AFFAIRS OF THE STA

37a(2)

The Times

Herman Talmadge sitting in the Governor's office in the State Capitol yesterday morning. New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-17-47

Ellis Arnall (center, upraised arm) waves from behind his desk in the rotunda of the Capitol, where he set up an office. The Times New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-17-47

Mr. Arnall is barred from entering the Executive Mansion by Sgt. J. Frank Jones and Trooper J. T. Davis (right) of the Highway Patrol.

OFFICES ARE SEIZED

37a(2)

Arnall Finds Talmadge in Chambers at Capitol on Morning Arrival

The Times New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-17-47

SETS UP OWN QUARTERS

He Also Is Barred at the Executive Mansion, Where Mrs. Talmadge Moves In

Fri. 1-17-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Jan. 16 — Herman Talmadge, supported by a few uniformed military men, took possession of the Gubernatorial chambers in the State Capitol and the Executive Mansion today in his battle with Ellis Arnall, rival claimant to the Georgia Governorship. The Times

Mr. Arnall, who contends that the Legislature violated the State Constitution when it elected Mr. Talmadge in place of his father, the late Eugene Talmadge, charged that "military forces of Talmadge, the pretender," removed the locks from the doors of his offices "last night under cover of darkness," allowing Mr. Talmadge to take over the suite at 7 o'clock this morning. New York, N.Y.

Three uniformed military men were in the executive chambers when Mr. Arnall arrived at 10:30 A. M. and at noon four armed State highway patrolmen prevented Mr. Arnall from entering the Executive Mansion. They told Mr. Arnall they were under orders to "use force if necessary", to keep him out. Fri. 1-17-47 The Times

Mr. Arnall established new "Governor's quarters" in a squared-off enclosure normally used as an information booth on the first floor of the Capitol. He declared that Mr. Talmadge had completed a "military coup d'état" and that "this completes the capture of the State Government's physical properties through gradual use of the military armed force and infiltration of storm troopers." N.Y.

Emphasizing that Attorney General Eugene Cook had ruled that he was the rightful and legal Governor of Georgia, Mr. Arnall warned "all department heads and depositories and fiscal officers" that under the opinion of the Attorney General they would "act at their peril unless they act under the direction of Ellis Arnall, Governor of Georgia." Fri. 1-17-47

Anrall Charges Dictatorship

Mr. Arnall reiterated that he proposed to "continue to act as Governor until a Lietutenant Governor had been installed to take over the governorship."

"The issues here transcend personalities," he said. "The issues are whether the people are to be robbed of the right to elect a Governor, whether democracy will continue to give place to dictatorship, illegality, and force, whether the Constitution must yield to threats, force and violence."

Mr. Talmadge declared:

"I am not in full control of the State of Georgia. Georgia now has bu one Governor." Fri. 1-17-47

He indicated that he might ignore the suit filed against him yesterday in Fulton County Superior Court at Mr. Arnall's direction, which asked the court to adjudicate the title to the office of Governor and issue a permanent injunction restraining Mr. Talmadge from exercising the powers of the State's Chief Executive.

"Former Governor Arnall and the Attorney General, Eugene Cook, have instituted, according to the press, a suit against me seeking a declaratory judgment," Mr. Talmadge stated.

Suit Called Illegal

"The canvass of the votes (General Election returns) and the election of a Governor is a prerogative vested exclusively under the Constitution of the State of Georgia in the General Assembly of the State. Their action in this matter is not subject to review by the courts, since it would be an encroachment by the judicial branch of the Government upon the legislative branch of the Government." New York, N.Y. The Times

Highlights of the day's other developments were: Fri. 1-17-47

Lieut. Governor-elect M. E. Thompson, whom Governor Arnall supports as his "legal successor" announced he would take the oath of office as Lieutenant Governor next Monday. 37a(2)

Talmadge Appointed Confirmed

The Legislature, after a day of recess following the all-night session Tuesday and Wednesday morning at which Mr. Talmadge was elected and inaugurated, gave The Times him further support when the House rejected a motion to adjourn pending a Court decision on the governorship and the Senate confirmed three Talmadge appointees. New York, N.Y. Those confirmed were S. Marvin Griffin as Adjutant General, Charles D. Rewine as Revenue Commissioner, and James L. Gillis Sr. as Director of the State Highway Department, all of whom were sworn by Mr. Talmadge yesterday. Meanwhile, appointees of Mr. Arnall continued to occupy the offices jointly with the Talmadge appointees. Fri. 1-17-47

Roy Harris, Speaker of the State House of Representatives, said that a measure to restore the white primary in Georgia, as pledged by both Eugene Talmadge and his son, would be introduced in the House Monday under the sponsorship of House Speaker Fred Hand.

State Treasurer George B. Hamilton, a constitutional office-holder, refused the invitations of both Mr. Arnall and Mr. Talmadge to take his oath of office and was sworn in by a court official who signed two verifications of the oath, and Mr. Hamilton said he sent one to each claimant to the Governorship.

Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson also took his oath of office before a court official while State School Superintendent Ira Jarrell was sworn in before Mr. Talmadge. Labor Commissioner Ben Huiet, Agricultural Commissioner Tom Linder and Controller General Zach Cravey, who also are constitutional officers, were sworn in by Mr. Talmadge yesterday. Fri. 1-17-47

Firecracker Stirs Excitement

Two incidents stirred undue excitement at the capitol during the afternoon. Talmadge aides said it had been discovered that tear gas was used by "someone" in the reception room of the Governor's offices. Visitors rubbed stinging, bloodshot eyes and a vain search began to find the guilty party. Windows were thrown open and the air speedily cleared. N.Y.

About midafternoon, shortly after Mr. Arnall had left his "office" a loud explosion occurred in the upper reaches of the rotunda. A report quickly spread that Mr. Arnall had been fired at or shot. Investigators found pieces of a firecracker where the explosion took place. Fri. 1-17-47

A crowd of perhaps 100 spectators and newspaper men awaited Mr. Arnall's arrival at the capitol this morning as reports persisted that he would be forcibly ejected from the building.

They followed Mr. Arnell to the outer reception room of the executive quarters. The door to the inner reception room was locked and Mr. Arnall knocked for several minutes before it was opened by Benton Odum, Mr Talmadge's executive secretary

Mr Arnell approached the door to the Governor's private office and Mr. Odum barred his way.

"I want entrance into my office," Mr. Arnall aserted.

"This is the office of Mr. Talmadge," Mr. Odum retorted. "I am denying you entrance. You must await your turn in the reception room like any other private citizen."

Mr. Arnall repeated his demand and Mr. Odum gave substantially the same reply. Mr. Arnall turned to the reporters and declared:

"Gentlemen of the press, it is quite obvious that I am denied access to my office. It is quite obvious again that Mr. Talmadge is afraid to see me. It is quite obvious he is afraid to meet me face to face and refuse me admission to my office."

Arnall Barred at Mansion

Uniformed military men were in the executive chambers. Mr. Arnall then proceeded to the booth in the Capitol rotunda and announced he would "carry on at this spot." He said his secretaries would function at his private law office in a midtown office building.

Mr. Arnall was barred by four troopers at the executive mansion when he arrived about noon to entertain at luncheon a party of supporters and photographers.

Sergeant J. Frank Jones informed Mr. Arnall that he had been instructed to use force if necessary to keep him out.

"You mean you will resort to force and violence?" Mr. Arnall asked. The Times

"Those are my orders," Sergeant Jones replied.

Mr. Arnall apologized to the newspapermen and explained:

"I want it plainly understood that I fear neither one of these men, or four of them, or any group in the world. But I am not entering the mansion in consideration of these men who tell me they believe they are doing their duty. I want to create no scene or disorder here." New York, N.Y.

Twenty minutes after the departure of Mr. Arnall, whose wife and two children were at the Arnall home in Newnan, Ga., Mrs. Herman Talmadge and her two children arrived at the mansion in a State highway patrol automobile, driven by a State trooper, and accompanied by another trooper.

Mrs. Talmadge posed for pictures. She was asked, "Are you moving in for good?"

"It looks that way, doesn't it?" she replied. Fri. 1-17-47

Banks Recognize Talmadge Man

The Times New York N.Y.

ATLANTA, Jan. 16 (U.P.)—Atlanta banks recognized Mr. Talmadge's appointee for State Revenue Commissioner, Charles D. Redwine, and accepted deposits of tax monies. Mr. Redwine personally made the deposits as commissioner for the account of the State of Georgia. Fri. 1-17-47

The Times New York, N.Y. Fri. 1-17-47

Mrs. Herman Talmadge and her youngest son, Herman Eugene, 4 years old, arriving at the Executive Mansion. Associated Press Wirephotos

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Appeal Scheduled As Court Rules Talmadge Governor

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala

37a(2)

McDONOUGH, GA., Feb. 12.—(AP)—A Superior (Circuit) Court upheld Herman Talmadge today in his claim to the governorship of Georgia, but final decision rested with the State Supreme Court which already has one diametrically-opposite decision of another judge awaiting review. Thurs. 2-13-47

Judge Walter C. Hendrix of the Fulton (Atlanta) Circuit held unequivocally for Talmadge and dismissed suit by Lieut.-Gov. M. E. Thompson for a declaratory judgment ousting Talmadge from office. He ruled in a 2,600-word decision that Georgia's legislature was authorized to ignore 143,000 votes cast for Eugene Talmadge, after the latter died Dec. 21, 1946, and held the assembly was within its constitutional rights when it elected Gene's 33-year-old son to serve the elder Talmadge's four-year terms.

Appeal Scheduled

At Rome, Ga., last week, another superior judge, Claude Porter, took the opposite view. He held the legislature had exceeded its authority, and declared Lieut.-Gov. Thompson was legal "acting governor" in succession to Gov. Ellis Arnall, resigned. The Porter decision is docketed for hearing by the Supreme Court early in March.

Counsel for Thompson said today's decision by Hendrix would be appealed "at once."

Georgia House Group Kills 2 Labor Curbs

The Advertiser

ATLANTA, Feb. 12.—(AP)—The House industrial relations committee voted 12-8 to kill two bills to curb activities in Georgia after friends and foes of the measure had fought it out hammer-and-tong at a three and one-half hour public hearing. Thurs. 2-13-47

Chairman W. C. Kendrick of Fulton County said that normally adverse committee action would mean the death of a measure. However, there remained a possibility that the two bills might be brought up on the floor for action by the representatives-at-large. Montgomery, Ala.

Talmadge, Thompson Cite 'Legality' Views

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

37a(2)

Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge cited coming discussions by two Superior Court judges on the legality of their divergent claims to the Governorship as Georgia's political cauldron cooled to the simmering point New Year's Day.

Thompson said Judge David S. Atkinson, of Savannah,, one of the authors of the present State Constitution, will tell radio listeners tomorrow night that law does not permit the General Assembly from "blocking the Litutenant Governor from assuming the duties of the Chief Executive."

Judge T. Hicks Fort, of Columbus, a longtime supporter of Eugene Talmadge, tonight will press Herman Talmadge's claim that the General Assembly should elect the next Governor, Talmadge said.

Judge Atkinson will speak over Station WSB at 6:45 p. m. tomorrow, while Judge Fort will make his address at 6:45 p. m. today over the same station. 1-2-47 Thurs.

B. D. Murphy, local attorney, will speak for Talmadge at 6:30 p. m. today over Station WGST.

In a statement yesterday, Talmadge said he had 168 pledges from legislators, promising to vote for him for Governor. He needs 130. Thurs. 1-2-47

From Thompson's headquarters, it was learned that John J. Cummings, of Donaldsonville, a supporter of Eugene Talmadge and a member of the Board of Regents during one of the late Governor's terms, had expressed himself as favoring Thompson.

"I believe the people of Georgia wanted Mr. Thompson to succeed to the office of Governor when they voted for him, and therefore, he is morally entitled to that office," Cummings declared.

The Associated Press poll of legislators as to how they will vote in the contest continued to show a plurality for Thompson. Replies from 143 of the 257 Assemblymen gave 65 voted for Thompson, 41 for Talmadge, 33 non-committal and four advocates of a special election.

Yet To Come

37a(2)

Editor Constitution: The Thompson supporters are celebrating the defeat of "Hermanism" in Georgia and the Talmadge supporters are saying that they are not defeated. I believe the real battle is yet to come. Constitution

It has already been announced that Herman Talmadge will be a candidate for Governor in 1948, but he could be stopped right now if justice was administered as it should be. Atlanta, Ga.

On the night of Jan. 14, 1947, a man who had no more right than I took over the office of Governor by mob force and for more than two months acted as "pretending Governor" of Georgia, tying up State funds and causing Georgia more trouble than she has ever had since the War Between the States. As I said, this man had no more right to do this than I, but what would have happened to me if I had done so? Well. I would have a nice comfortable (?) cell in Tattnall Prison today. But what happened to this other man? He still walks the streets a free man and is even threatening to become Governor of Georgia.

HURLEY W. BIFFLE.
Buford, Ga. Fri. 3-28-47

37a(2) 1947 Georgia (Governorship)

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

For Thompson

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: There has been a good deal of discussion recently as to who should be the next Governor of Georgia. In this matter I would like to offer my two cents worth.

Wed. 1-8-47

The people of Georgia elected Eugene Talmadge to serve as Governor for the next four years. They also elected Thompson to the office of Lieutenant Governor. This office was created so that in the event of the Governor's death that the Lieutenant Governor would take over the duties of the Governor. I think that in making this office it was intended for the Lieutenant Governor to take over if the Governor-elect had not taken office.

The people as a whole had not read the Constitution of Georgia and had not understood it enough to know that there were so many loopholes and technicalities in the Constitution or that it could be defined several various ways. Neither had they expected a Governor-elect to die before taking office. They did elect a Lieutenant Governor and they also expect him to serve. He is the people's choice.

The people did not elect Herman Talmadge and he was not a qualified candidate and I don't think that the General Assembly should choose him even though he was a write-in candidate as only a very few people voted for him.

I was an ardent supporter of Eugene Talmadge but not Herman Talmadge. Herman might make a good Governor and possibly would if elected but he would not be the choice of the people. Therefore I think that he should not try to take office.

JOEL SIMMONS.

Columbus.

For Talmadge

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Where is "Judge" Hartley's Poll? If we ever needed it, we need it now! It looks like the Rivers-Thompson forces would have had "Judge" count the votes before now.

Atlanta, Ga.

Herman Talmadge is the only man who is an old-time supporter of the county unit system and the Democratic white primary. Don't you remember back during the Summer campaign, when the Lieutenant Governor was campaigning at State expense, he told the people he would co-operate with whoever was elected Governor? This statement included all candidates. It included, of course, Ed Rivers, who was a candidate for Governor.

Wed. 1-8-47

The position taken by the Lieutenant Governor-elect during the campaign, was that either for or against the white primary, or the county unit system, depending on who got elected. This attitude of expediency does not show strong character. It indicates the mind of a weakling, who bends with the breeze.

We need a man for Governor in Georgia like Herman Talmadge who can weather the storm, and I predict the Legislature is going to fulfill our wishes.

GEORGE W. McFARLIN.

Alpharetta.

Surprised!

Editor Constitution: Mr. Herman Talmadge, for all high heaven and for the respect of your father, for his great name why don't you come out and tell the people of the State of Georgia that you want to be the Governor only by the vote of the people of Georgia.

The Nov. 5 election was not to elect a Governor but to nominate the ones that were elected in the July 17 primary.

The Constitution

I am so surprised at you, a young man, brought up and taught by a man as great as your father, to take the attitude you are taking. You have let his teachings go to your head and I don't believe he would stand for any such doing. The worst thing I see about it is that you seem to have forgotten your father's teaching and are letting a dead duck, Cracker party, snowed-under politician like Roy Harris put a bit in your mouth and lead you around with the reins. For his own bidding—not for your sake. Think of the people of the State of Georgia and of the respect of your father.

Wed. 1-8-47

L. R. TARPLEY.

Atlanta.

Legal Heir

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Why all this confusion about who will be our next Governor?

Didn't Gene Talmadge win, according to our "county unit system" rules, and isn't Herman, Gene's son, and legal heir?

The King's dead—long live the King!

Atlanta, Ga. Wed.

Personally, I'm leaving Georgia next week for a state that has a little less Roy Harris and a — of a lot more democracy.

1-8-47 JOHN S. CLEVELAND.

Forsyth.

GEORGIA EDITCRS SAY:

37a(2).

The Constitution

On the Governorship Dispute

Atlanta, Ga.

WALTON TRIBUNE

The entire State will breathe a sigh of relief when the matter is settled by the courts and will fervently hope that such a mess may never occur again.

In the meantime, there is a widespread demand that the present session of the General Assembly adjourn, and await the decision of the Court, as the legality of legislation passed might be affected should it be determined that Herman Talmadge is not legally Governor.

LAWRENCEVILLE NEWS-HERALD

When there is confusion as to what the existing law is the Supreme Court of Georgia is the tribunal set up under our Constitution to construe and interpret this, and there is no emergency existing at the present time that would justify anything further being done by our legislative body until this question has been judicially determined.

Tue. 1-28-47

ATHENS BANNER-HERALD

In our opinion, the most constructive step the Legislature could take at this stage of the controversy, would be to declare a recess, pending adjudication of the matter by the Supreme Court, instead of remaining in session and continuing to pass laws, the legality of which could be questioned later on.

DAWSON NEWS

It is our belief that the Legislature itself would render the people a service by adjourning until the controversial issue is settled. Action that it now takes must remain under a cloud at least until the issue is settled.

The shenanigans going on at the State Capitol certainly reflect no great credit upon Mr. Talmadge or the great State of Georgia.

DOUGLAS ENTERPRISE

The Enterprise recognizes Hon. Herman Talmadge as Governor of Georgia.

LOWNDES COUNTY NEWS

Lem Griffis, of Homerville, says somebody should get a warrant out for the State of Georgia charging the State with bigamy.

HARTWELL SUN

Why not make it three, adding "Governor Roy Harris"?

BLACKSHEAR TIMES

We are a democratic republic and shall continue to assert our rights to elect our own Governors and other officials. The Legislature had no right to foist a crown prince upon us to inherit his father's throne and rule over us.

CLAXTON ENTERPRISE

We do not think it exactly right for any man to claim himself as the leading exponent of white supremacy who, through the devious device of bolting his own party nominees and having his name written in on general election ballots, should lay claim to the office of Governor of Georgia as a Democrat. Down here we call them "Hoovercrats." Nor do we like the idea of having anyone as Governor who is elected by the Legislature, knowing what we know about a lot of those who comprise this supposedly august body. And where did the county unit system figure in this result? Our information is that in all of the First Congressional District Herman Talmadge received exactly one vote and that in Chatham County.

FITZGERALD HERALD

As we see it, Mr. Talmadge is not a Democrat. He received a few write-in votes as an independent, and according to the usual procedure of the Democratic Party when an independent appears he is automatically degraded from the ranks and ignored. As a son of the late Eugene Talmadge, Herman seems to have successfully avoided that stigma, at least among the Legislators, and today Georgia apparently has a Governor who, with might and force, has seized the reins of government while the rightful Governor, Hon. M. E. Thompson, is refused his place.

SYLVESTER LOCAL

Try as they may, we doubt that the powers that be will be able to concoct a scheme that will insure an honest white primary. Unless regulated by law, a primary would be a farce from the start. Who believes that there wouldn't be wholesale fraud in a primary not regulated and governed by law?

Tue. 1-28-47

CALHOUN COUNTY NEWS

Mr. Herman Talmadge would like to have the people believe that the present impasse in Georgia is an issue between th Arnall forces and Talmadge. It is no such thing. It is merely whether the people are to have a democratic government or a dictatorship. When the Legislature assumes the right to elect a Governor then the people no longer have a say-so in who shall head their State.

SPARTA ISHMAELITE

Our dictionary says the word "representative" means — "One who has the power or authority to act for another or others." When candidates fo this office are seeking the votes of the people they beg, plead, threaten, barter, trade, shake hands, kiss babies and make all kinds of promises; bow and scrape to gain the sacred privilege of representing the people. Once seated in the Legislature they vote as they please and to their own selfish advantage. It is not a new story by any means, but must it be ever thus?

Thompson Takes Oath, Arnall Quits In Georgia Row

The News
Birmingham Ala.

Status Of Governor Remains Clouded; Talmadge In Chair

37a(2)

ATLANTA, Jan. 18—(AP)—M. E. Thompson took the office as lieutenant governor of Georgia today. Then Ellis Arnall announced that his resignation as governor of Georgia was effective as of 10:50 a.m. today when Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson was sworn in.

Sat. 1-18-47

Thompson originally had planned to take the oath Monday before the state Senate, but in a prepared statement issued after being sworn in today, he said he had been advised by the attorney general that "under the law it might be necessary that I take my oath before the expiration of this week."

The oath today was administered to Thompson in an almost empty Senate chamber by Judge Hugh McIntyre, of the State Court of Appeals.

Thompson's statement made no reference to whether he considered himself the legal governor under Arnall's resignation. Yesterday when asked whetther he would so consider himself after taking the oath, he said that the only statement he had was that he planned to take the oath as lieutenant-governor.

Arnall was not immediately available to newsmen.

* * *

MEANWHILE an authoritative source opposed to Herman Talmadge asserted today that Talmadge forces would impeach Georgia's attorney general Monday for his actions in upholding Ellis Arnall as legal governor of Georgia.

* * *

ARNALL SAID in a prepared statement: "Having discharged my constitutional duty as governor of Georgia, and the lieutenant-governor having qualified, my resignation as governor became effective shortly after 10:50 o'clock this day.

"The procedures clearly enable the lieutenant-governor to become acting governor, vested with the full, absolute powers of government until the people of Georgia can elect a governor to fill the unexpired term.

"I am confident that this action will meet with the approval of a vast majority of the people of the state. Likewise I am certain that the courts will uphold the constitution of Georgia and that elections by the people, democracy, law and order will be sustained."

Legislative observers discounted the chances that Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook could be removed. Talmadge forces could ram charges through the House, but a two-thirds majority of the Senate would be required to convict and anti-Talmadge forces control more than enough votes to block removal.

* * *

MEANWHILE, Herman Talmadge and his supporters continued to hold physical possession of the State Capitol and the governor's mansion while Ellis Arnall conducted business from temporary quarters in a downtown office building.

Arnall motored to Atlanta from his home, 40 miles southwest of Atlanta, prepared to bring suit against Atlanta's Fulton National Bank if checks issued by his executive secretary yesterday are rejected for payment.

"I have just begun to fight," he declared.

Herman Talmadge, occupying the capitol offices on basis of his election as governor by the General Assembly, declared that "everything is quiet" and said "the reluctance of the former governor to quit the scene of his triumphs has not disturbed me in the least."

* * *

THE FIGHT over the chief executive's chair evolved more and more into a war of words between the two principals, each issuing frequent statements supporting his claim or appearing in radio broadcasts to expound his case.

Arnall appealed to the citizenry of the state to discuss the issue with their legislators and declared that "free elections by the people will be done away with unless you fight for your rights," he said in a radio address during the afternoon.

In a reference to a suit he instructed Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook to institute seeking a judgment on whether the Legislature had the right to elect Talmadge, Arnall said he was "sure the courts will uphold me as legal governor and not the forces bent on violence."

Talmadge, in turn, reiterated a previous statement that the courts had no jurisdiction in the matter. He described the suit as "an attempt to create more confusion."

* * *

THE CONTROVERSY apparently will halt, temporarily at least, federal aid for highway construction in the state. Division Director B. P. McWhorter of the Public Roads Administration said his office was "not going to authorize any new work" on federal aid projects in Georgia until the issue was settled.

Secretary of State Ben Fortson said that so far there had been no showdown through his office on who is governor. Neither has requested him to affix the great seal of the state on any document, he added, although Arnall did carry a certificate to Fortson's office to indicate he was continuing to function as governor. Sat 1-18-47

* * *

IN A MOVE toward a showdown on state finances, Arnall issued 28 checks drawn against the executive department fund to cover the payroll for departmental employes. In a letter to President Erle Cocke of the Fulton National Bank, Arnall wrote that suit would be instituted if the bank failed to honor the checks.

Arnall said there was approximately $100,000 in the fund, enough to operate on indefinitely.

From the other camp, Charles D. Redwine, Talmadge-appointed revenue commissioner, said he had signed $1,815,000 in checks for state funds and all the checks had been honored by banks of the Atlanta Clearing House Association.

Redwine explained that the money was that which the department had collected in taxes and the checks were to transfer the cash to the state treasury.

* * *

AT AUGUSTA, Roy Harris, former House speaker and now a chief Talmadge lieutenant, asserted that Talmadge was "governor of Georgia and will be governor of Georgia for the next four years."

Harris declared that Arnall was making a "ridiculous spectacle of himself . . . turning out to be a soapbox orator." Sat. 1-18-47

Talmadge, 33, a lieutenant commander in the Navy during the war, managed the campaign of his father, the late Eugene Talmadge, who was elected for a fourth term as governor but did not live to begin it.

TALMADGE ATTACKS RULING AGAINST HIM

The Times

New York N.Y.

Judge Who Declared Election Invalid, Replies With Story About a Jackass

Sun. 2-9-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 8—Herman Talmadge alleged today that Judge Claude Porter of the Superior Court, in yesterday's decision holding that Mr. Talmadge's election to the governorship was invalid, violated all "existing legal precedents"; that it was written in advance of a hearing, and that the suit upon which the decision was based was "patently collusive."

Judge Porter held that Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson was the legal acting Governor of Georgia and that the Legislature exceeded its constitutional authority in electing Mr. Talmadge. The decision was in a suit in behalf of Mr. Thompson seeking to force members of the State Pardon and Paroles Board to turn over certain budgetary information to him as acting Governor.

Mr. Talmadge, in a written statement, declared the suit "was brought by friends, against friends, before friends and for friends."

Statement Recalls a Story

He said that he had been informed that "as soon as the case was presented to him and before a hearing from the alleged defendants, the judge reached in his pocket and pulled out an opinion he had already written and proceeded to read it."

Judge Porter, informed of Mr. Talmadge's statement, asserted:

"As for anything Mr. Talmadge says about the court, on information or otherwise, I recall this story: Sun. 2-9-47

"An Irishman was kicked by a jackass and someone asked him what he was going to do about it. 'Nothing,' the Irishman replied, 'I just consider the source.'"

It was suggested in some quarters that Mr. Talmadge might have subjected himself to contempt of court proceedings. On this point Judge Porter said:

"It may be that Mr. Talmadge's statement would warrant such action. But I do not propose to give Mr. Talmadge any more notoriety just now. I am not particularly concerned with what Mr. Talmadge says. I want the Supreme Court to decide who is Governor so that we can restore order in Georgia."

Mr. Talmadge's statement emphasized that "all Georgians, regardless of political allegiance, abhor star chamber trials," and added:

"M. E. Thompson, as plaintiff, filed a suit against his personal and political friends, Mr. Grover Byars and Mrs. Helen Coxon, seeking certain information which he already had from the Pardon Parole Board. He purposely omitted making Edward Everett, the chairman of the board, a party, although Mr. Everett. as chairman of the board, is custodian of the board's records." Sun. 2. 9. 47

The plaintiff and defendants thus were "selected," Mr. Talmadge alleged, and "what is more they selected the lawyers for the plaintiff and the lawyers for the defendants." He further stated that the suit was originally scheduled to be heard Feb. 12 but that it was conducted yesterday "without notice to anybody."

"Despite the fact that I was not a party to this suit, received no notice of the hearing and was not served with pleadings or represented by counsel," the statement continued, "the judge undertook to rule that M. E. Thompson was Governor of Georgia. This ruling was made strictly outside the record. This ruling was made strictly against all legal precedents."

A hearing opened yesterday at McDonough on a petition originally filed by former Gov. Ellis Arnall and amended in the name of M. E. Thompson, asking court adjudication of the Governorship dispute. It seeks an injunction restraining Mr. Talmadge from exercising authority as Chief Executive.

The first day was almost entirely taken up with pleas by Mr. Talmadge's counsel for dismissal of the suit on general demurrers. His attorneys contended that the courts were without jurisdiction to review the General Assembly's action in electing him; that Mr. Thompson had no right to intervene and that Attorney General Eugene Cook was without constitutional authority to represent Mr. Thompson.

Mr. Cook, in a legal opinion, has recognized Mr. Thompson as Acting Governor. Sun. 2. 9. 47

GOVERNOR FIGHT DIVIDES GEORGIANS

The Times

37(a)(2)

New York, N.Y.

Urban and Rural Districts Are for One Faction or the Other as in the Election

Sun. 1-19-47

By GEORGE HATCHER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 18—Georgia's gubernatorial fight involving Ellis Arnall, Herman Talmadge, and M. E. Thompson has sharply divided public opinion in the State.

Sentiment in Atlanta and other strong urban centers seems on the side of Mr. Arnall, but throughout the rural areas the son and political heir of the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, whose death twenty-three days before his scheduled inauguration produced the existing crisis, is looked upon with much favor.

The elder Mr. Talmadge was the winner in last summer's primary over an Arnall-endorsed candidate, James V. Carmichael, on a platform calling for restoration of the "white primary" and preservation of the county unit system.

Issues in Background

These issues have been somewhat shoved into the background by the series of recent startling developments, but they undoubtedly constitute a firm basis for Herman Talmadge's present support on the part of the people in the small counties and on the part of these counties' Representatives in the General Assembly who elected him. Sun. 1-19-47

He has repeatedly promised to fulfill his father's pledges. This was the basis of his campaign for election by the Legislature and it appears highly significant that Talmadge leaders, at the peak of this week's battle between the Governorship claimants, announced that a measure to restore the white primary would be introduced in the State Assembly Monday.

IN GEORGIA BATTLE

Ellis Arnall.

Associated Press

Herman Talmadge.

The primary laws would be repealed to circumvent a Supreme Court ruling that Negroes cannot be barred from participating in the State-held primaries or elections.

Constitutional questions in the present Governorship dispute revolve around diametrically opposing interpretations of provisions in the State Constitution, succession to the Governorship in the event of a governor-elect's death.

Procedure Lacking

There is no clearly defined procedure. One section instructs a Governor to remain in office until his successor shall be "chosen and qualified." Another provision requires the Legislature to determine whether an incoming Governor had a clear majority of votes and, if not, to choose by ballot between the two highest candidates. In the event of the death, resignation or disability of a Governor in office, there is a provision for the Lieutenant Governor to succeed.

The Talmadge forces based their recent campaign in the General Assembly on the contention that the Legislature could not determine that any person received a majority of the votes in the November general election, because Mr. Talmadge's father was no longer a person because of his death.

Therefore, it was contended, a Governor must be chosen from the two "highest" candidates whose names were written in by voters.

Mr. Arnall's followers have charged that a write-in campaign for young Mr. Talmadge was organized in November when it was apparent that his father was very ill. Furthermore, legal supporters of Mr. Arnall contend that the provision in the Constitution for the Assembly to choose a Governor from the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes applied only in the instance of a tie vote. Sun. 1-19-47

One of Mr. Talmadge's strongest supporters is Roy Harris of Augusta, former Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was at one time a leader in the Arnall political camp,

Meanwhile, as the tense, dramatic, explosive situation developed, Georgians for the most part, regardless of their sentiments, viewed the controversy with grave concern.

37a(2) 1947 Georgia (Governorship)

GEORGIA: AROUSED CITIZENS MEET AND A NEW CLAIMANT FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP

The News Birmingham Sun 1-19

Mayor Harvey J. Kennedy of Barnesville (standing, rear) addressing townsfolk at his home where indignation was expressed over the Gubernatorial tangle. They named themselves "The Aroused Citizens of Georgia, Lamar County Chapter," and urged others to join them in a movement demanding that the question be settled in the courts.

The News Birmingham Sun. 1-19-47

M. E. Thompson in Atlanta yesterday where he declared himself the acting Governor.

Associated Press Wirephotos

Arnall's Resignation and Farewell

The News

By The United Press.

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 18—The texts of the letter of resignation as Governor from Ellis Arnall to William Dean, president of the State Senate, and Mr. Arnall's radio address, in part, delivered today after his resignation, follow:

Birmingham Ala

LETTER OF RESIGNATION

Dear Mr. President and Members of the Senate:

On Jan. 11, 1947, I resigned as Governor of Georgia, effective immediately after the qualification of the Lieutenant Governor so that he would become invested with the executive powers of Government as provided by the Constitution of Georgia. Sun. 1-19-47

37a(2)

Since the General Assembly was not then in session, my contingent resignation was directed to the secretary of the Senate. On Jan. 18 at about 10:50 A. M. the Hon. M. E. Thompson, Lieutenant Governor-elect, took the oath of office as Lieutenant Governor and qualified for said office.

There is some legal argument as to whether my resignation should be addressed to the General Assembly now that it is in session, but in adjournment, until Monday, Jan. 20.

Although I consider that immediately after the Lieutenant Governor became qualified on this date my resignation as Governor became effective, nevertheless in order to complete the record I hereby resign the office of Governor, effective immediately.

RADIO ADDRESS

Tomorrow is the Sabbath Day. I hope the people of Georgia will pray for the welfare of our State and will pray that constitutional government will soon be enthroned in this State and will pray that Georgia and the people of Georgia will not give away to malice and hatred.

If this military coup d'état is successful, if this subservient Legislature succeeds in taking away your rights, as it is undertaking to do, I fear for your rights in the future. You did not elect representatives to come to deprive you of your right to vote on the Governor.

If Herman Talmadge, the pretender, is allowed to occupy the Governorship it will be four years before you will have the right to say who will guide the destinies of this State. I have confidence in the courts; I believe the courts will protect the people.

Yesterday Talmadge, the pretender, served notice on the people of Georgia that he was beyond the law; he said the courts have no authority to determine who is Governor.

Accuses Rival of Anarchy

He says that he plans to run the State Government by any source at his command. That, my friends, is anarchy.

We must not tolerate such dictatorship in Georgia. My fight has been for principles. I base my fight thereon and I leave it there. Throughout, I have insisted that I would resign as soon as the Lieutenant Governor was qualified. I have made my fight to see that the man the people chose is installed as head of the State Government.

Having done my Constitutional duty as Governor of Georgia, and the Lieutenant Governor having qualified, I resigned today as Governor of Georgia, effective after 10:50 o'clock.

I have confidence that the Lieutenant Governor will fight for your rights, that he will carry on this fight. I have confidence that he will not relent but will joyfully go forth to battle these forces that have fought to imperil you and the people of Georgia. I am confident that the action I have taken today will meet with your full approval.

Calls for Organized Groups

I want you to know that I have not tossed a hot potato to the people. The hot potato was tossed when thugs and ruffians descended on the people of the State. The hot potato was the time when I was barred from the State Capitol by a man who had no more right except for claim to pugilistic endeavors to usurp. Sun. 1-19-47

I want the people of Georgia to know that I fear no man, but as long as I was Governor of Georgia I had no right to sully that office. I hope you will organize groups. Tomorrow on the Sabbath Day I hope you will pray. I hope you will make your influence felt.

I have now effectuated my announced purpose to the people. I leave the Governorship with heartfelt and lasting thanks to all the people of Georgia for their goodness to me. I shall ever treasure and esteem my friends who have so loyally and steadfastly supported me as chief executive of the State.

I wish for Georgia and all her people progress, prosperity and happiness. I have opened law offices in Atlanta and Newnan and will be delighted at all times to see my friends and the people. Always I shall maintain an active interest in public affairs, standing ready as Private Citizen Ellis Arnall.

ARNALL STEPS OUT; THOMPSON CLAIMS GOVERNORSHIP POST

The News

Birmingham, Ala

37a(2)

Retiring Georgia Executive Resigns as Latter Is Sworn as Lieutenant Governor

OUSTER SUIT IS PUSHED

Sun. 1-19-47

New 'Governor' Will Call on Talmadge to Get Out—To 'Serve Till People Elect'

The text of the Arnall letter and radio address, Page 3.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Jan. 18—Ellis Arnall resigned today as Governor of Georgia in favor of Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson, who immediately took up the Governorship fight with Herman Talmadge by proclaiming himself acting Governor "until tuch time as the people themselves may elect."

Mr. Thompson said he would ask Mr. Talmadge to vacate the Governor's office and Executive Mansion "at the earliest possible moment."

Judge Hugh McIntyre of the Circuit Court of Appeals administered the oath of office to Mr. Thompson at 10:50 A. M. in the

State Senate chamber. He said the Attorney General had advised him to take office immediately instead of waiting until Monday as had been planned.

Soon afterward, Mr. Arnall, who has challenged the constitutionality of Mr. Talmadge's election as Governor by the Legislature, announced that his resignation was effective. Mr. Arnall had submitted his conditional resignation to the Secretary of State last week, with the provision that it be made effective as soon as Mr. Thompson had been sworn in as Lieutenant Governor and qualified to succeed him.

Says "Chaos" Must Be Ended

Declaring that he would promptly "assume and exercise the responsibilities of the Executive Department in the capacity of Acting Governor," Mr. Thompson added: Sun. 1-18-47

"I will assert in every way I know how that I am Governor of Georgia and the people ought to recognize that. Talking isn't the important thing now. It is now time for action.

"We must end the confusion and chaos that is existing in our State because of the dispute over the Governorship. I shall proceed as rapidly and effectively as possible to do just that.

"My first official act in that direction is an order instructing the Attorney General in my behalf as acting Governor to continue the suit against Herman Talmadge and take every step necessary to see that the people have the benefit of a prompt, final and orderly adjudication by the courts.

"I shall at the earliest possible moment ask Herman Talmadge to vacate the Executive Office and the Mansion. I hope to do it Sunday, certainly Monday."

Thompson Makes Appointments

The suit Mr. Thompson referred to was filed in Fulton County Superior Court by Attorney General Eugene Cook, at Mr. Arnall's direction, asking for a declaratory judgment and seeking to restrain Mr. Talmadge from exercising the powers of Governor.

Mr. Thompson announced appointment of Stonewall H. Dyer of Coweta County as State Revenue Commissioner and W. R. Neel of Fulton County as Director of the State Highway Department, two positions for which Mr. Talmadge also has named appointees.

Mr. Thompson at the same time said that twelve appointees as members of the State Highway Board had already accepted and would begin serving at once.

When newspaper reporters pointed out to Mr. Thompson that Mr. Talmadge would in all probability refuse to yield the Governor's offices and the Executive Mansion and asked what he would do in that case, he replied:

"Just yet I do not have a strong military force at my back so I am not in position to answer."

In a statement announcing that his resignation was effective, Mr. Arnall said: Sun. 1-19-47

"The insults and indignities which I have suffered were tolerated solely for the people of Georgia and to insure the constitutional and lawful operation of the will of the people."

He voiced confidence that his action would "meet with the approval of the people" and that "the courts will uphold the Constitution of Georgia and elections by the people."

"Democracy, law and order will be sustained," he declared.

Sun. 1-19-47

Citizens Plan Meeting

Attorney General Cook said he would recognize Mr. Thompson as Acting Governor. He will issue a detailed statement in that connection Monday morning, he added.

Mr. Talmadge said tonight that he had no comment to make on today's developments but that he probably would issue a statement tomorrow or Monday. Mr. Talmadge spent three hours this morning in the Executive Offices at the Capitol attending to what he termed "routine matters."

He left the Capitol shortly after noon and was in the Executive Mansion tonight.

Meanwhile, sentiment in the State on the side of Mr. Arnall and Mr. Thompson appeared to be mounting. The News

A group of twenty-five leading citizens, among them two college presidents, announced a public meeting would be held Tuesday night in the Atlanta Woman's Club auditorium and that Mr. Arnall would state the case "for orderly, constitutional government." Birmingham Ala

Bishop John Moore Walker will preside. Sponsors include Dr. J. R. McCain, president of Agnes Scott College; Dr. Philip Weltner, president of Oglethorpe University; Dr. E. G. Mackay, pastor of the Glenn Methodist Church and president of the Atlanta Christian Council; Mrs. Roff Sims, Atlanta's woman of the year in education, and Rabbi Jacob M. Rothchild of the Temple.

"This meeting is called by Georgians who are not concerned with political personalities but only with the preservation of orderly, constitutional government," a statement by the sponsors said.

"We are acting entirely as citizens independently of any business, professional, fraternal or trade affiliations. We invite all Georgians to attend."

Eighty-five citizens last night held an "indignation meeting" at Barnesville, Ga., and formed "The Aroused Citizens of Georgia, Lamar (County) Chapter." They adopted a resolution urging "both the Legislature and the claimants to office" to "recognize the power and authority of the courts to decide this issue." Sun. 1-19-47

A report was circulated today that the Talmadge forces in the General Assembly would move Monday to impeach Attorney General Cook, who has ruled that the Legislature had no authority to elect a Governor.

Mr. Talmadge said he had "not heard about it."

Today's events in the "battle of the Governors" brought to a climax a week of swift developments. The Legislature, after an all-night session, early Wednesday elected Mr. Talmadge in place of his late father, Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, who died twenty-three days before he was to have been inaugurated.

Mr. Talmadge campaigned for election by the Assembly on the basis of write-in votes he received in the November general election and on an interpretation of the Constitution which he said provided for the Legislature to choose one of the two highest candidates in case no person had a majority. He contended his father was no longer a "person" because of death.

The Arnall-Thompson forces opposed the election, insisting that the Lieutenant Governor was the "legal" successor, that the Legislature's sole duty was to canvass the November general election returns confirming the election of Eugene Talmadge as Governor and Mr. Thompson as Lieutenant Governor.

Mr. Arnall refused to give up his office and Mr. Talmadge, with the support of a small group of State troopers, seized the Executive Offices in the Capitol and the Executive Mansion.

Mr. Arnall, barred from the Governor's quarters, established himself in a makeshift office in the rotunda of the Capitol and yesterday was refused admission there by a Talmadge lieutenant.

He then transferred his "executive offices" to his private law office in downtown Atlanta.

Thompson to Set Up Office

ATLANTA, Jan. 18 (AP)—Mr. Thompson said that until he was granted access to the Executive Offices, he would occupy offices of the Senate President, just off the Senate chamber. There was no indication whether Mr. Talmadge would attempt to eject Mr. Thompson.

Public expression meanwhile took the form of anti-Talmadge meetings and resolutions in various parts of the State; the Gainesville Bar Association adopted a resolution charging Mr. Talmadge and his associates with having seized the Government by force and with "openly defying the courts and the orderly process of law."

The Bar Association condemned Mr. Talmadge's coup and said "we pledge ourselves to the use of all rightful means to save our State and our civilization, and we urge all other citizens to do likewise."

Another mass meeting was called at Valdosta "to protest the action of the legislature and the use of force and violence in the State Government," and in Decatur, Ga., a third mass meeting was called to protest the pro-Talmadge vote of Representative Pierre Howard of DeKalb County.

Mr. Arnall said he had turned over to Mr. Thompson $100,000 in executive department funds, previously in his care. Mr. Thompson said he would dispose of the money "in due course, in conformity with the constitution and the courts."

Doubts Need for Federal Step

As acting Governor, Mr. Thompson would serve until the next general election in November, 1948. Mr. Talmadge's spokesmen have declared he intends to serve the full four-year term of his father.

Both men are pledged to the "white supremacy" program of the late Eugene Talmadge, which was adopted as the platform of the Georgia Democratic party in convention last October. This includes restoration of Georgia's Democratic "white primary," perpetuation of Georgia's unique county-unit system of voting, and expansion of State services.

In reply to a news conference question, Mr. Thompson said he would not hesitate to call for Federal intervention if it became necessary, but he emphasized "I do not think that will be necessary."

Mr. Thompson, a Doctor of Philosophy and former educator, is a native of rural Jenkins County in central Georgia. He came into politics by the back door. He was appointed as a State school supervisor in 1933. He served there during the first and second administrations of Eugene Talmadge, and in 1937 became assistant State superintendent of schools.

He occupied this office until 1943, when Governor Arnall made him Executive secretary. Mr. Arnall elevated him to State revenue commissioner in August, 1945. He was elected as Georgia's first Lieutenant-Governor—the office was created when the State adopted a new constitution in 1945—without making a speech. Sun. 1-19-47

Mr. Thompson would have succeeded Eugene Talmadge automatically had the late Governor-elect died after inauguration.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Times

TALMADGE SIDE OF THE STORY

Editor, The Advertiser:

I was an eye-witness when at about 2:30 a.m., Jan. 15, 1947, the General Assembly of the State of Georgia completed canvassing the election returns for governor of Georgia in the manner prescribed by the new Constitution of Georgia recently ratified by the people of Georgia. The report of the canvassing committee was read to the General Assembly. It showed Hon. Herman Talmadge had received the most votes of any living man for governor of Georgia. Hon. James Carmichael received the second largest number. The president of the General Assembly called for nominations from the two highest candidates as required by the Constitution for election by the Assembly for the governorship of Georgia. Hon. Herman Talmadge was elected by 161 to 87. Thereupon a resolution was passed by the Assembly authorizing the inauguration and installation of the new governor forthwith. New York, N.Y.

In the presence of the General Assembly the inauguration proceeded and the oath of office was administered in a most impressive and dignified manner. In a moment's recess after the inauguration, hundreds of photographs were taken and a loud ovation was given the new governor. He responded with a brief speech of acceptance.

After a few minutes the Assembly was brought to order and a resolution was passed authorizing the president to appoint a committee of 17 members of the Assembly to escort the new governor to the governor's office, and to render him any assistance necessary. The committee left the General Assembly with the governor and proceeded to the governor's office. About 200 of the governor's friends followed the committee to witness the installation.

Governor Ellis Arnall and his aides were in their inner office and, upon being informed of the inauguration of the new governor, Governor Arnall said that he refused to recognize the authority of the General Assembly, and that he would not surrender the office to the new governor. Thereupon Mr. McCutcheon, the governor's secretary, became abusive to the committee of the General Assembly, whereupon someone struck him. Hon. Talmadge asked for order and obtained it. He then asked the committee of the General Assembly and his friends to retire from the governor's office, and he stated that he would put his desk in and transact his business from the reception room, until such time as Ex-Governor Arnall should see fit to vacate his former office.

Wed 1-22-47

Governor Talmadge then asked his friends to leave the Capitol as he had some business to transact from his desk in the reception room. This was done at once, and only a few persons and the two principals were left in the Capitol building.

I wish to say that I am amazed at the reporting of this affair which leads to the impression that Gov. Talmadge was installed by an "armed mob," whereas, he was actually installed by a committee of the General Assembly.

If the public is "guilty of criminal myopia" as stated in your editorial of Jan. 19, the situation is certainly not helped by the warped lens of reporting accorded this affair by the press. If you do not like the provision in the Constitution of the State of Georgia under which the General Assembly of Georgia canvasses the returns of the general election and elects the governor on the basis of these returns, I suggest that you attack this paragraph of the Georgia Constitution, rather than inspire disrespect for constitutional law in Georgia.

J. F. DUGGAR, JR.

Hope Hull, Ala.

(Editor's Note: Mr. Duggar is correct in pointing to the faulty constitution as a major factor in the Georgia mess. But there were orderly processes of law by which the contradictions could have been settled, and the real intent of the framers carried out. Instead, there was an armed seizure of state government, in the manner of Hitler. Reader Duggar would do well to show concern for that kind of "disrespect for constitutional law.")

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

Talmadge Name Off, Security Is Okayed

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 2-1-47

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook Friday approved the bond of Charles D. Redwine, Gov. Herman Talmadge's Revenue Commissioner, but State Treasurer George B. Hamilton stood fast in his refusal to recognize Redwine as the State's chief tax collector, thus failing to untangle Georgia's governmental finances.

Cook said he approved Redwine's $70,000 bond as to form and sufficiency after Talmadge's name was removed from the document and the bond was made payable to "the Governor and his successors in office," rather than to "Herman Talmadge, as Governor of Georgia."

"This act," Cook emphasized, "is definitely not a reversal of my original refusal to recognize Herman Talmadge as Governor of Georgia." He explained that he did not consider the legality of Redwine's appointment but felt that Redwine should be bonded, since he is receiving large sums of money.

Approval of Redwine's bond automatically eliminates one of seven lawsuits up for hearing next week in the governorship dispute—a mandamus petition brought by Redwine against Cook in Laurens County Superior Court to compel Cook's approval of the bond.

State Treasurer Hamilton said he had been advised by his attorneys that Cook's signing of the bond made no difference in his position. He added he would continue to decline recognition either to Redwine or Stonewall Dyer, Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson's Revenue Commissioner, pending settlement by the courts.

The State Treasurer has refused to accept tax collections from Redwine or disburse operating funds to that Department.

Talmadge displayed the bonds at his afternoon press conference. His only comment was in the form of a legal phrase: "Res ipsa loquitur," which means, he said, "The thing speaks for itself."

Hamilton originally based his refusal to recognize Redwine upon lack of the Attorney General's bond approval, but later took the broader view that a court ruling would be necessary. He also is refusing to recognize five other Departments for whose control appointees of Talmadge and Thompson are contesting. Hamilton's stand means that the main funds of six State departments apparently will remain frozen.

Old employes, however, are being paid by Atlanta banks upon the approval of State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, Jr.

Earlier Friday Talmadge leveled an attack at Cook with an executive order firing all the Attorney General's assistants except one, but Cook said the order was unconstitutional and his aides would remain in office and continue work on the lawsuits involving the governorship.

The Attorney General also blasted as unconstitutional a bill introduced in the House to strip him of his powers and reduce him to the status of a "law clerk and stooge of the Governor." It would also deprive him of any salary, Cook said.

Assistant Attorneys General ordered fired by Talmadge include L. C. Groves, Roy McGraw, C. M. Dobbs, Victor Davidson and R. Beverly Irwin, all of whom served under Cook during Arnall's administration and were reappointed by Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson.

The Talmadge order also named Dan Duke, R. U. Harden and C. E. Gregory, Jr., for discharge, but these three already have resigned. The only assistant not mentioned in Talmadge's order was Claude Shaw, who was appointed by Cook himself.

Branding the order as un-Constitutional, Cook declared, "the Constitution provides the officers of the Government now existing shall continue in the exercise of their duties until their successors are duly elected or appointed and qualified. Under the present law, he said, they must be approved by the Attorney General.

Cook said the House bill aimed at him by Talmadge leaders is "the beginning of a pattern to completely reorganize the State Government for the purpose of compelling State officers who disagree with the Governor or General Assembly to either accept their commands or resign."

He said the bill violates a Constitutional provision which says the Attorney General shall be the chief legal advisor to the Executive Department, and violates another provision that the Legislature cannot change the salary of an incumbent State officer during his term of office.

The measure, he said, "either erroneously, inadvertently or deliberately leaves the Attorney General without a salary." It also would allow the Governor to appoint the Assistant Attorney General assigned to the Executive Department, in violation of the Constitution, Cook added.

Cook pointed out that he was elected by the people, carried all but nine counties in the State and received 400,000 popular votes in the primary, and added, "If this bill is designed to intimidate the Attorney General, it will fail as far as I am concerned.

"This is not the first time similar action has been taken against an elective officer.

"I propose to remain here unless I am suspended or impeached."

The General Assembly, he said, has a right to suspend him.

Meanwhile, Thompson, at his press conference, asserted that the all-time-high, house-approved $116,000,000 appropriations bill "could well be a dodge" for not carrying out the promises of the late Eugene Talmadge.

He said that in the bill every expanded State service promised by the late Eugene Talmadge and the State Democratic platform was a "contingency," which was "contingent on getting the money."

Friday night both Thompson and Talmadge spoke over Statewide radio hookups.

Bank In Atlanta Moves To End Governor Row

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Seeks Early Court Ruling; Won't Honor Checks Of Claimants

ATLANTA, Jan. 24—(AP)—Uncertain over the release of executive funds it has on deposit, an Atlanta bank moved today to institute court action to adjudicate Georgia's gubernatorial squabble which has tied up state revenues.

The Fulton National Bank announced it would refuse to honor checks drawn by either claimant to the office, Herman Talmadge or M. E. Thompson.

Fri 1-24-47

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall had control of the fund of about $97,000 when he resigned last Saturday. He turned it over to Thompson when the latter was sworn in as lieutenant governor and became a claimant to executive authority as acting governor.

Talmadge, elected by the Legislature, has made no public move to gain control of the fund but said yesterday he would hold its custody in time to meet his Feb. 1 payroll.

* * *

THE BANK'S ANNOUNCEMENT did not say what course its appeal to the courts would take but financial circles said it probably would be a petition for a declaratory judgment filed in the Fulton Superior (Circuit) Court. Such a suit could be heard within 20 days and in all probability would be followed by a prompt appeal to the State Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, State Treasurer George B. Hamilton declared he had stopped disbursal of funds to the Highway and Revenue Departments and the acceptance of tax collections from the Revenue Commission because of the legal tangles over conflicting appointments by Talmadge and Thompson to fill the same offices.

* * *

THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE effect on the two departments but fiscal officials said any lengthy tie-up would cripple them and spread quickly to other state agencies.

The Legislature recessed for the week-end after hearing a budget message from Talmadge proposing a record annual outlay of $109,224,560 of which about $32,000,000 must be raised through new taxes. Of the increase, $14,000,000 would go toward maintaining a teacher salary increase.

Georgia's Legislature To Tackle White Primary

ATLANTA, Jan. 24—(AP)—Georgia's harassed Legislature plagued by controversy over rival governors, will tackle next week its toughest piece of legislation—the so-called "white primary" bill, to restore white supremacy in Georgia.

The intent of the bill is summed up in four words: "Keep Negroes from voting."

In effect, it will strike the word "primary" from every section of Georgia's election laws and repeal every type of regulation for primaries with exception of fraud statutes.

In place of statutory regulation, the Democratic Party will substitute rules of procedure from which there is appeal only to the party executive committee or—when it is in session—the party convention.

The party rules provide: "Only white persons who are Democrats and who are qualified to vote in the general election in the year in which the primary is to be held, and who in good faith will pledge themselves to support the Democratic candidates for all offices to be voted on during the year in which the primary is held, are hereby declared qualified to vote in said primaries."

Sponsors of the legislation, which parallels the "white primary" enacted in South Carolina, contend it will eliminate Negro voting by making the Democratic primary a private, club affair. In absence of state laws, the champions of "white supremacy" say the party would be able to exclude anyone it objected to, and thus would become sole arbiter of who was to be allowed to exercise the voting franchise in a Democratic primary.

ARNALL IS BARRED AT CAPITOL, MOVES TO HIS LAW OFFICE

New York Times

Sat 1-18-47

New York, N.Y.

There He Opens Up 'Governor's Quarters,' Appeals to People Not to 'Give Up the Fight'

TALMADGE DEFIES COURT

Says It Lacks Authority to Oust a Georgia Governor—U. S. Freezes Road Funds

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Jan. 17—Ellis Arnall was barred from his makeshift office in the rotunda of the State Capitol today and established new "Governor's quarters" in his downtown law office. In a radio address he appealed to the people of Georgia not to "give up for one moment the fight for decency, democracy, law and order."

Meanwhile, Herman Talmadge, who Mr. Arnall contends was illegally elected Governor by the General Assembly, declared that any court opinion or restraining order could not deprive him of his office.

"The Governorship is exclusively the province of the General Assembly," he said.

At the same time, he stated that he had assigned four State troopers to "protect" Governor Arnall on his visit at the capitol "in order that we may have no violence."

A complication in the operation of State affairs developed when the Federal Bureau of Roads announced that Federal highway funds for Georgia would be held up until the dispute over the Governorship and chairmanship of the State Highway Department, where both Talmadge and Arnall appointees are attempting to function, is settled. It is estimated that $15,000,000 in Federal funds

Public Feeling Mounting

B. P. McWhorter, division engineer of the public roads administration, announced the Federal stand.

Public feeling throughout the State continued to mount, with opinion in the urban centers appearing to be substantially on the side of Mr. Arnall and sentiment in rural areas apparently supporting Mr. Talmadge.

At Barbesville, Ga., Mayor Harvey J. Kennedy said he had called an indignation meeting "at the request of a number of citizens." Mayor Kennedy asserted that "the citizens here wish to express publicly their protest to the action of the Georgia Legislature in electing a person to the office of Governor instead of carrying out the expressed will of the people who selected a man to serve should the Governor-elect not qualify."

Mayor Kennedy said that the man chosen by the people was Lieut. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson. Mr. Thompson, whom Mr. Arnall has termed his "legal successor," is to take the oath as Lieutenant Governor on Monday.

Prior to this week's session of the Legislature, Mr. Arnall submitted his resignation to the Secretary of State, on the condition that Mr. Thompson be sworn and qualified to succeed him.

A Talmadge lieutenant this morning barred Mr. Arnall from his temporary quarters in the Capitol rotunda. Mr. Arnall took over the makeshift office yesterday, an enclosure normally used as an information booth, after Mr. Talmadge had seized the Governor's executive offices.

Talmadge Man Blocks Way

When he reached his makeshift office, Mr. Arnall found it occupied by Representative James Sykes, a 237-pound Talmadgeite.

"Would you like an appointment with the Governor?" Representative Dykes asked.

"I am the Governor," Mr. Arnall replied.

"Ellis Arnall," said Mr. Dykes, "you remind me of a hog. You got your head in the trough and you just can't stop."

"Have you taken my office?" Mr. Arnall queried.

"I have," replied Mr. Dykes. "I'm refusing to let you sit here. You have no more right to be Governor than I have."

Mr. Arnall then turned to a crowd of newspaper men and spectators, and said:

"I, as Governor of the State of Georgia, have been denied access to my office in the rotunda. Through my desire not to create a scene disgraceful to the people of Georgia, I am moving to my law office, 1407 Candler Building. There I will continue to function as the Chief Executive of the State.

"I feel certain the Constitution of Georgia cannot be bent to enforce violence and acts that bring disgrace on our State."

Mr. Arnall was both applauded and booed by onlookers. Representative Dykes, angered by repeated catcalls and some remarks on the part of spectators directed at him and the Talmadge administration, took off his coat and invited anybody who wanted to fight to step into the enclosure.

Arnall Talks Over Radio

From his downtown office, Mr. Arnall broadcast over radio station WSB his appeal for public support.

"I have suffered the indignities and insults hurled at me by those who believe in dictatorship, strong-arm tactics and military might for you—the people of Georgia," he said.

"I have been locked out of my executive office by storm troopers who operated under the cover of darkness; I have been locked out of my home, the Executive Mansion, by armed men who have stultified the uniforms they wore.

New York Times
Sat. 1-18-47
New York, N.Y.

"I call on the people of Georgia to discuss with the members of the Legislature their indignation of how the people have been robbed of their rights. I call on the people of Georgia to discuss this robbery with their friends. This is a warning to the people of Georgia that free elections by the people will be done away with unless you fight for your rights.

"Georgia will lose its good name, its good reputation if we sit idly by and allow a military coup d'état, thugs and ruffians to take over the State Government. It is your Government. It is your fight, it is your State. It is your future—my interest is unselfish. It is for you. I hope you will back me in your fight to the limit of your ability so that victory may be certain and positive."

Mr. Talmadge, at a press conference, said he had been served with papers in connection with the petition filed by Attorney General Eugene Cook, at Mr. Arnall's direction, asking the Fulton County Superior Court for a declaratory judgment and injunction. The court is asked to restrain Mr. Talmadge from exercising the powers of the Chief Executive.

Talmadge Denies Court's Power

Asked what he would do if the court ruled against him, Mr. Talmadge said:

1-18-47

"Nothing. The Governorship is exclusively the province of the general assembly. If the courts had authority to determine who is Governor, they would also have authority to determine who are the members of the General Assembly, and you would have the judiciary trying [illegible] the other two branches of government.

"Suppose some justice of the peace in Great Britain ruled that Attlee was not Prime Minister. Would that have any effect on the Premiership?"

New York Times
Sat 1-18-47

Mr. Talmadge was elected and inaugurated Governor by the General Assembly early Wednesday morning after an all-night session. He won election in place of his late father, Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, who died twenty-three days before he was to have been inaugurated.

New York, N.Y.

Conflicting interpretations of the Constitution brought about the present crisis. Mr. Talmadge was elected on the basis of his claim that the Assembly had the right to choose a Governor from the "two highest candidates" and that he was qualified because of 675 write-in votes he received in the November general election. 37a(2)

Mr. Arnall, backed by an opinion from the Attorney General, contends that the Legislature had no authority to elect a Governor, that its sole duty was to confirm the general election returns. He holds that Lieutenant Governor-elect Thompson is his rightful successor.

Talmadge Wins Point —But No State Funds

37a(2)
Montgomery Advertiser

ATLANTA, Jan. 31 (AP)—Herman Talmadge won a minor point today in his battle for recognition as governor of Georgia but a determined state treasurer still held public purse-strings tightly closed.

Sat. 2-1-47
Montgomery, Ala.

Talmadge announced that Attorney General Eugene Cook had approved a $70,000 bond of Talmadge's revenue commissioner, Charles Redwine, after 10 days of adamant opposition. But Cook immediately explained he had not undertaken to pass on "verity" of the commissioner's title, and merely had approved bond "for the protection of the taxpayers."

Meanwhile, State Treasurer George B. Hamilton sat tight in refusal to deal with the revenue commissioner or any other appointive state official whose title is in doubt.

ACTION THIS WEEK IN GEORGIA TANGLE

37a(2)

Injunction to Keep Talmadge From Office Will Be Heard With Two Other Suits

New York Times
Mon 2-3-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Feb. 2—After three weeks of turmoil legal lines were being formed today for Georgia's "Battle of the Governors" in the courts this week, when hearings are scheduled in three of six pending suits.

New York, N.Y.

The principal hearing is expected Friday in the Henry County Superior Court at McDonough on a petition seeking a declaratory judgment and requesting a permanent injunction to restrain Herman Talmadge, chosen Governor by the General Assembly, from exercising the powers of the office.

The suit was entered at the direction of former Gov. Ellis Arnall on Jan. 16, the day after Mr. Talmadge's "inauguration" and on the day the son and political heir of the late Eugene Talmadge seized the Executive Offices and Governor's mansion over Mr. Arnall's protests.

Following Mr. Arnall's resignation in favor of Melvin E. Thompson, the elected Lieutenant Governor, who mhe called his legal successor, the suit was amended in the name of Mr. Thompson.

Counsel for both sides today saw the possibility of a quick Superior Court verdict, a prompt appeal and final adjudication by the State Supreme Court within "thirty to sixty days."

Will Bow to High Court

Both Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Thompson have agreed to abide by the high court's decision.

Arguments will center upon interpretations of three sections of the State Constitution.

Former Governor Arnall, who insisted upon holding over as Governor four days after his term had expired until Mr. Thompson had been sworn as Lieutenant Governor "and qualified to succeed him," based his position upon an article of the Constitution which asserts:

"The executive power shall be vested in a Governor, who shall hold his office during the term of four years and until his successor shall be chosen and qualified."

Attorneys for Mr. Talmadge are expected to argue that the Legislature was required to elect a Governor in place of the late Gov. Elect Eugene Talmadge, who died twenty-three days before he was to have been inaugurated. The section of the Constitution upon which the Talmadge forces rest their claims declares:

"The members of each branch of the General Assembly shall convene in the Representative hall and the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall open and publish the [November general election] returns in the presence and under the direction of the General Assembly; an dthe person having the majority of the whol enumber of votes shall be declared duly elected Governor of this State; but if no person shall have such majority, then from the two persons having the highest number of votes, who shall be in life and shall not decline an election at the time appointed for the General Assembly to elect, the General Assembly shall immediately elect a Governor viva voce; and in all cases of election of a Governor by the General Assembly, a majority of the members present shall be necessary for a choice." Mon 2-3-47

Thompson View Outlined

Mr. Arnall and Mr. Thompson, backed by an opinion of Attorney General Eugene Cook, insist the Legislature was authorized to elect only in the case of a tie vote between two candidates. Their contention is that the Assembly's sole duty was to confirm the election of the elder Mr. Talmadge as Governor and the election of Mr. Thompson as Lieutenant Governor, thus making Mr. Thompson eligible to succeed to the Governorship upon his inauguration as Lieutenant Governor.

On Mr. Talmadge's side, the court will be asked to support the view that the late Governor-elect's majority was canceled out by death and that he no longer was "a person" at the time the Assembly's action was taken.

Counsel for Herman Talmadge may be expected to argue further that the Legislature was therefore required to choose one of two persons having the highest number of votes and that Mr. Talmadge qualified under this provision on the basis of the 675 write-in votes he received.

The third section of the Constitution expected to be cited to the court pertains to succession to executive power. As in the other two there is no specific provision as to the succession when a Governor-elect dies before taking office.

New York Times

The Arnall-Thompson contention, however, is that the section which says a Governor shall hold office until his successor shall be chosen and qualified could, in the case at hand, mean only until the Lieutenant-Governor-elect had been sworn.

Mon 2-3-47
New York, N.Y.

Provision of Constitution

The provision in the Constitution entitled "Lieutenant Governor, Succession to Executive Power," is as follows:

"There shall be a Lieutenant Governor who shall be elected at the same time for the same term and in the same manner as the Governor. He shall be the president of the Senate and shall receive the sum of 2,000 per annum. In case of death, resignation, or disability of the Governor, the Lieutenant oGvernor shall exercise the executive power and receive the compensation of the Governor until the next general election for members of the General Assembly, at which time a successor to the Governor shall be elected for the unexpired term;

"But if such death, resignation or disability shall occur within thirty days after the next general election, or if the term will expire within ninety days after the next general election, the Lieutenant Governor shall exercise the executive power and receive the compensation of the Governor for the unexpired term." 2-3-47

The next general election of Assembly members is in 1948.

There are five other suits, in which hearings are set for this month, affecting the Governorship tangle and the question of who shall control various State departmental funds.

White Primary Action Sought

ATLANTA, Feb. 2 (U.P.)—Senators supporting Herman Talmadge in the Governorship contest plan to [illegible] his write primary bill tomorrow from a committee almost completely favorable to M. E. Thompson.

New York Times
Mon 2-3-47
New York, N.Y.
37a(2) & 2b

The pro-Thompson special judiciary committee has set public hearings for four days this week on the measure to exclude Negroes from Democratic primaries.

GEORGIA RULING BARS GOVERNOR ELECTION

37a(2)
New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 4—The Georgia Legislature has no authority to try to elect anyone as Governor to succeed the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, State Attorney General Eugene Cook ruled today. Sun. 1-5-47

Despite the ruling it was predicted in political circles that Herman Talmadge would continue his fight for election by the Legislature as his father's successor and let the courts decide the issue if he should win.

The Attorney General also ruled that the law allowed Gov. Ellis Arnall to remain in office until a vacancy in the governorship was filled and that the incoming Lieutenant Governor, M. E. Thompson, was the only person legally qualified to succeed to the office.

Governor Arnall has stated that he plans to keep the governorship until Mr. Thompson is sworn in Jan. 14 and becomes eligible to succeed him.

Defining "The Old South"

37a(2)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Times

In your editorial Georgia Crossroads, in THE TIMES of Jan. 13, you say "Talmadge by inheritance and predilection represents the old South."

It is unfortunate that you use a term so uncertain in time and space as the "old South." If you are referring to the ante-bellum South, or to the South as typified by Lamar and Williams of Mississippi, Underwood of Alabama, White of Louisiana and Page and Glass of Virginia, and unknown millions like them, then you are dead wrong.

Fri. 1-17-47

On the other hand, if you mean by the old South the South that was controlled from Washington by the carpetbag politicians of the Reconstruction days, perhaps you are right. For essentially there is no difference between the politician who would exploit his hatred of the Negro and the politician who exploited his hatred of the Southerner.

The Times QUINTARD JOYNER.
New York, Jan. 13, 1947. New York, N.Y.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

37a(2)

Thompson Supporters

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: It seems that the people of Fulton County who are very bitterly and very much opposed to white supremacy and the county unit system are now the strongest supporters of M. E. Thompson. Yet, Mr. Thompson says that he believes in Talmadgeism, that he will support the white supremacy, white primary and county unit platform adopted by the Talmadge gang.

Why would they support Mr. Thompson? Do they believe him when he says he is for Talmadge's program, or do they feel that he is telling the people the truth?

FRED T. DEARING

College Park.

Jesse James Days

Editor Constitution: Is there anything brave and honest about a man that would force himself into the Governor's office? Tear off locks and use State Troopers. I think he is bringing back the Jesse James days. Wake up Georgia, we can't let him get away with this. MRS. ROY H. FRIX.

Chatsworth.

Goobernatorial?

Editor Constitution: Why don't they call it a goobernatorial election? Those ★•★•★ bloodsucking curmudgeons that just muscled in the State House are not playing for peanuts.

TIM O'MALLEY.

Atlanta

Grates

Editor Constitution: All right-thinking, honest Georgians are chafing under the ridicule and criticism being heaped on their State by newsmen, radio commentators, and comedians on the air and in the theaters all over the nation. The popular slogan "It's great to be a Georgian" might well be changed to read "It grates to be a Georgian" in times like these.

MR. and MRS. J. H. MILLER.

Atlanta

Lousiest State?

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: During my entire three and one-half years in the Army I was razzed by GIs from other States because I was from Georgia.

When the politicians got Charlie Trippi out of the Army to play football, the tempo was really stepped up—but, to be a Georgia GI now, boy, I'm glad I'm not?

Maybe the Yankees are right. Maybe Georgia is the lousiest State in the United States.

LEON F. PARRIS.

Clarkdale

Appreciation

Editor Constitution: I wish to express my appreciation to the Legislators who took a stand against the efforts of the State Legislature to elect a man who was not, and never had been a candidate for the office of Governor; who so far as I know, did not pay an entrance fee as a candidate, and who was voted for by people who bolted "the party" when they wrote in his name on the ballot in the General Election.

As to the Primary—if the present law is repealed, elections in Georgia will be a farce, as there will be no laws protecting them. A prominent lawyer in the State said: "If this bill is passed, God help us! The Supreme Court of Georgia would have no jurisdiction in the matter."

CORA L. JESSOP.

Columbus.

Law and Hysteria

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Mr. Arnall and those who helped him make the Constitution were not entirely wise. They left a hiatus which they did not attempt to fill. There was nothing left for the Legislature to do, except to elect a Governor, and whether or not these people who are afflicted with hysteria and have never read the Constitution, like it or not, it is now a matter for the courts. To disregard the law and override it will lead to anarchy and revolution. There are perhaps many thousands of people in Georgia, including lawyers, who have passed judgement on this situation, and come to the conclusion that the Legislature was right. Numbers that now rave hysterically in protest meetings do not know what they are protesting about.

We should at least give the Legislature credit for containing many honest men and some very fine lawyers. It has always been a very dangerous thing for any man or woman to enter a condemnation against a mass of people.

Mr. Arnall is a good politician, but not a great lawyer, and certainly not a Constitutional lawyer. The people should wait and take the law from the courts.

THOMAS J. SHACKELFORD.

Athens.

37a(2)

Afraid

Editor Constitution: Why not bring this thing out in the open? Acting Gov. Thompson declares that Talmadge is afraid to take the dispute into court and that his fear of the courts is a sign of his defeat. But when Thompson was asked to resign and run in a special election with Talmadge, he flatly refused. Why? Because he is afraid that the people who elected him Lieutenant Governor won't return him to the Capitol as Governor.

TRAVIS STEWART.

Atlanta

Georgia Stirs

The Times

37a(2)

After twelve days of turmoil in the State Capitol in Atlanta the question of who is to be the Governor of Georgia yesterday remained unanswered. The rivals are: *Herman Talmadge,* 33, son of the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, and Lieut. Gov. *Melvin E. Thompson,* 42, supported by ex-Gov. Ellis Arnall, who resigned in his favor eight days ago.

Despite differences in social and economic outlook, both men are pledged to the party platform. This is basically a Eugene Talmadge program, which includes the establishment of a white primary, under party control, by repeal of the election laws. Lieutenant Governor Thompson in his campaign last summer contended that the winning candidate for the Lieutenant Governorship should be in position to support the program of the man elected Governor, and, after the nomination of the elder Talmadge, pledged him his support.

New York N.Y.

Nevertheless, the record of Mr. Thompson as a liberal and the nature of his chief political support underscored important differences between the rivals. In the background of the fight is a long-drawn conflict between two factions in the dominant Democratic party in Georgia.

Sun. 1-26-47

lenged his rival to resign with him and let the "white people of Georgia" determine the outcome in a special primary. Mr. Thompson promptly refused.

On Thursday an Atlanta bank where State funds are deposited announced that it would not honor checks drawn by either claimant, and moved to bring its own court action to determine the Governorship. The Legislature adjourned for the week-end, with the pro-Talmadge Speaker of the House, Fred Hand, advising the members to "talk things over with the homefolks and see how they feel."

37a(2) Sun. 1-26-47

There were signs during the week that the Thompson cause was being strengthened by the active support of many Georgians who had become aroused over what they considered a threat to constitutional government. Disliking the notoriety the State was receiving, these apparently had come to the conclusion that it was time to take a stand against Talmadgeism.

Another Judge Rules Talmadge Claim Is Valid

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Sat. 2-15-47

Georgia Legislature's Appointee Now Leads 2 To 1 Over Thompson

37a(2)

McDONOUGH, Ga., Feb. 15—(AP)—Herman Talmadge won a second court decision Saturday, holding him to be Georgia's legal governor.

Superior Judge Bond Alman concurring in a decision earlier this week by a colleague, Judge Walter Hendrix, ruled Talmadge was properly elected by the Georgia Legislature Jan. 15.

The decision gave Talmadge access to approximately $95,000 in public funds, left in the executive department bank account by retiring Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Hendrix had ruled last Wednesday that Talmadge was the legal claimant to the office, and dismissed a suit by Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson, who sought to oust Talmadge.

Sat. 2-15-47

Saturday's ruling was on suit of the Fulton National Bank of Atlanta, which had enjoined both claimants from drawing on the executive funds until it was instructed which was legal governor.

* * *

THE HENDRIX DECISION was appealed Saturday to the Georgia Supreme Court by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, who represents Thompson.

The appeal was filed with the clerk of the Henry County Superior Court, who said it would reach the high court by Monday.

Talmadge's chief counsel, B. D. Murphy, said he hoped to argue the appeal at the earliest possible moment, and indicated both sides would ask the court to advance the hearing date.

Talmadge hailed Almand's decision as "just one more example of our legal contention."

"Judges Hendrix and Almand are two of Georgia's most able judges," Talmadge said. "I feel sure that their position will be sustained by any other court which rules upon the issue."

* * *

THOMPSON HAD ASKED a declaratory judgment against Talmadge, and a court order prohibiting Talmadge from exercising authority of governor.

The Thompson appeal thus will join another case pending review by the Supreme Court, in which Superior (Circuit) Judge Claude Porter, of Rome, ruled directly opposite to Hendrix.

Birmingham Ala.

Judge Porter ordered the State Board of Pardons and Paroles to give budgetary information to Thompson as legal "acting governor."

The News

He ruled the Legislature had exceeded it sconstitutional authority when it elected Talmadge to the term of his late father, Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge.

Sat. 2-15-4

Rival Is Blocked At Doorway In Dramatic Scene

News Sun. 1-16-47

Birmingham, Ala.

Sets Up Temporary Office In Rotunda Of Capitol Building

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16—(AP)—Secretary of War Patterson's office said today that the War and Justice Departments are consulting "on the whole matter" of the Georgia governorship dispute in so far as it relates to the National Guard.

37a(2)

ATLANTA, Jan. 16—(AP)—Ellis Arnall attempted to enter the governor's executive offices today but was stopped by the secretary of Herman Talmadge who has claimed the office.

Young Talmadge, elected by the Legislature, took physical possession of the capitol suite earlier with a statement "as governor of Georgia I have taken complete charge of the executive offices at the state capitol."

Arnall's entry to the offices was blocked by Benton Odom, secretary to Talmadge.

Arnall set up temporary offices in the rotunda of the state capitol building and at 1400 in the downtown Candler Building.

* * *

AS ARNALL ARRIBED in the ante-room which opens into his executive offices at the capitol, he was met by Odom and during a brie fexchange of words at the door Arnall continued to pound upon it demanding admittance.

From within the room guards stationed at the door refused to open and called repeatedly for "colonel." Finally

ned and Arnall forced his way

Arnall strode across the floor to door leading into the executive's private office where he was met by an aid of Talmadge who told him to have a seat when he said he desired to see Talmadge.

In a blunt question directed repeatedly at Odum, Arnall said dramatically: "Are you denying me the right to enter my office?"

ODUM INSISTED EACH TIME he was not denying Arnall entrance to "your office," but he would not permit him "to enter the office of Mr. Talmadge who is now the legal governor of the State of Georgia."

After continued futile demands to gain entrance, Arnall turned to the room, crowded with photographers, newsmen and Talmadge supporters and said:

"Last night a perfect panzer movement was executed which resulted in the removal of the locks from these doors by a military force from the Talmadge organization. . . A suit has been instituted in the courts of Georgia to sustain my position. . .

"I hereby place on order all department heads . . . and notify them henceforth they act at their peril unless expressly under direction from Ellis Arnall."

ARNALL, CONTINUING, said the attorney general had ruled he should remain in office until his successor is duly qualified and ready to assume office. Arnall repeatedly referred to Talmadge as "that pretender," and added that "I propose to continue to act as governor of Georgia until Gov. M. E. Thompson is sworn in and can take over. "The issues now involved transcend personalities and involve themselves into the question of whether the people of Georgia shall rule and democracy prevail or whether the state will give way to rule by force and. barbarism." Arnall strode from the room directly to an information booth enclosure in the rotunda where he seated himself at a desk.

Earlier, a spokesman had told newsmen Arnall would not be permitted "to enter." 37a(2)

The spokesman, who declined to permit use of his name, indicated Arnall would be carried out bodily if he appeared at the executive offices where they shared facilities yesterday.

Young Talmadge, elected by the Legislature after his father, Eugene Talmadge, died 23 days before inauguration, said 'as Governor of Georgia I have taken complete charge of the executives offices at the State Capitol."

The youthful claimant to the executive chair said it would be "ridiculous to have two governors sitting in the capitol" and said flatly there "would be but one."

Talmadge took over Arnall's inner office promptly at 9 a.m. after aids had ordered the locks changed during the night. Uniformed state police stood at the entrance of the private office and only news photographers and close political friends were allowed to enter. News

Gladys Creel, private secretary to the late Eugene Talmadge and now private secretary to his son, said Talmadge forces had moved into the executive offices "unopposed" around 7:30 or 8 o'clock this morning and found all desks cleared and empty. 1-16-47

* * *

Sun.

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook yesterday filed a petition with Fulton Superior Court Judge Walter C. Hendrix asking for a declaratory judgment to settle the governorship.

Cook also sought to have the court issue a permanent injunction against Talmadge restraining him from assuming any of the powers of a chief executive.

The earliest possible date at which the courts could take any steps toward solution of the problem is Feb. 7, date set by Judge Hendrix for a hearing.

Under the declaratory judgment statute, 20 days must elapse from the time the judge affixes his signature to the petition until the case is heard. The statute is designed to speed problems involving the constitutional interpretation to the Supreme Court by making it unnecessary for the lower courts to become involved in too lengthy hearings. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

IF THERE WAS ANY DOUBT in the minds of Talmadge or Arnall as to their rights, it failed to manifest itself yesterday. Both occupied offices opening on the same reception chamber; both carried on governmental functions.

Both men sought, almost immediately after Talmadge's election became known, to gain control of the state's armed forces.

Talmadge named Marvin Griffin as adjutant general, while Arnall countered, naming Col. R. W. Collins. Then Talmadge issued an order dissolving the State Guard on the grounds it had served its purpose and its functions could now be assumed by the National Guard.

* * *

ARNALL VESTED COLLINS with "complete, full and absolute" authority over both the State and National Guards.

Talmadge also named Lt. Paul Smith, 39, to head the State Highway Patrol. Smith moved into the office of his former superior, Maj. William E. Spence, and presented his credentials, but Spence refused to recognize them.

Talmadge also swore in three persons elected to constitutional offices. They were Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder, Comptroller General Zach D. Cravey and Labor Commissioner Ben T. Huiet.

Secretary of State Ben T. Fortson announced he had sidestepped the question of the governorship and had been sworn in by Judge Hugh J. MacIntyre of the Court of Appeals. Ga. (Gov.)

* * *

ARNALL, MEANWHILE, WAS swering in members of the Board of Education, commissioners of various counties and justices of the peace. News 1-[illegible]-47-Sun.

George B. Hamilton, treasurer, was in the same position as two other constitutional officers who declined to be sworn in yesterday. 1-16-47 Hamilton said, "My bond is in the governor's office in proper form. My commission says that I hold over until my successor is elected and qualified." Birham, Ala.

Arnall Runs Own Capitol Downtown

37a(2) Ga. (Gov.)

The Advertiser

Brands Talmadge's Entry 'Coup d'Etat, Engineered By Thugs' Takes It To Radio

Montgomery, Ala.

Sat. 1-18-47

Herman Avers Court Is Without Power To Oust Him From Governorship

ATLANTA, Jan. 17—(AP)—Ellis Arnall lost his temporary offices in the statehouse rotunda today as rival governor claimant Herman Talmadge took charge and Arnall promptly set up a capitol of his own in a downtown office building. The Advertiser

Arnall was barred from his rotunda office, established yesterday after Talmadge seized control of the executive offices which Arnall had occupied for the past four years, by a Talmadge lieutenant when he showed up for work this morning. Montgomery, Ala.

Reiterating his claims that he is the "legal governor" and that he was ousted from the statehouse by a "military coup d'etat," the 30-year-old Arnall said he would function from the business section office building "until the courts remove the pretender who by force and storm troopers" denied him a desk at the capitol. Sat.

Talmadge, 33, a former lieutenant commander in the Navy, made no comment on Arnall's charges at a news conference but asserted "everything is quiet." He said earlier that four state troopers were assigned to Arnall on his capitol visit today because "the temper of the people is such anything might happen." 1-18-47

Arnall to Radio

After being frozen out there Arnall in a radio address urged the people of Georgia to discuss the gubernatorial issue with legislators who elected Herman early Wednesday, declaring that they had "been robbed of their rights."

"Free elections by the people will be done away with unless you fight for your rights," he said.

Representative Jimmy Dykes, a Talmadge aide, blocked Arnall from the rotunda desk set up yesterday when Arnall was denied entry into his former offices.

"Jimmy, I'm governor," Arnall said as he asked for the desk.

"You remind me of a hog," Dykes retorted. "You got your head in the trough and you just can't stop." The Advertiser

"You have no more right to be governor than I have," Dykes replied when Arnall asked "Have you taken my office?"

Hisses and cheers echoed through the corridors when Arnall, speaking to the crowd that surrounded him, declared he was moving downtown "to function as chief executive" in order "not to discredit the people of Georgia and to create a disturbance."

"I'm sure the courts will uphold me as legal governor and not the forces bent on violence," he said. Montgomery, Ala.

Arnall's reference was to the suit he instituted in his contention that the legislature is not empowered to elect a governor. The assembly elected young Talmadge to fill the office to which the fiery Eugene Talmadge, his father, was named in the general election but died 23 days before inauguration. Sat. 1-18-47

Give Over To Thompson

Arnall, completing a four-year term, said he would resign when M. E. Thompson, first lieutenant governor under the new constitution, "is qualified to exercise the executive powers." Arnall said he had no personal interest in Thompson, who takes his oath Monday, and did not vote for him in the general election.

"The only statement I am making is that when the State Senate reconvenes Monday, I am going to take the oath of office," Thompson said. 37a(2) Sat. 1-18-47

Meanwhile, Division Director B. P. McWhorter of the Public Roads Administration said his office was not going to authorize any new work" on federal and highway projects in the state until the controversy was settled. Talmadge had appointed a State highway director but the Arnall incumbent has refused to relinquish the post. Ga. (Gov.)

"At present we don't know yet who to deal with," McWhorter said. The Advertiser

After leaving the capitol, Arnall told newsmen "the Talmadge crowd wants to shut me up but I have just begun to fight." He added he "might" return there.

Determination of whether Arnall or Talmadge holds the State's purse strings may come up tomorrow when 28 minor capitol employes are due wages from the executive department fund. Arnall had their checks drawn but the bank said it would not comment until they are presented.

Dykes Plays Governor

Before Arnall's appearance at the capitol, Dykes had told P. T. McCutchen, Arnall's secretary, that he would be denied the desk.

"I'm going to play governor today," Dykes said to McCutchen.

The Talmadge victory in the rotunda, with troopers obeying his orders, gave him a clean sweep in the fight for state property. Locks were changed on the executive offices in pre-dawn hours yesterday with Talmadge aides holding command and his family moved into the executive mansion minutes after troopers denied Arnall's entry for a sandwich luncheon. The Arnall family vacated the premises last week.

Attorney General Tom C. Clark indicated in Washington that Georgia would be left to settle its own squabble. "I'm a states rights man myself," Clark told newsmen when asked what he was going to do about the argument. Montgomery, Ala.

No Jurisdiction

Talmadge reiterated today that the courts had no jurisdiction in the gubernatorial issue.

"The governorship is exclusively the province of the general assembly," he told newsmen. "If the courts had authority to determine who is governor, they would also have authority to determine who are the members of the general assembly, and you'd have the judicial trying to run the other two branches of the government." Sat. 1-18-47

Governor Fight Moves To Court

37a(2) Ga.

Judges Will Decide Who Gets Office

ATLANTA, Feb. 2.—(AP)—Georgia's disputed governorship moves into the courts this week for a start on its adjudication.

Montgomery Advertiser

Mon. 2-3-47

Montgomery, Ala.

Three of the six legal actions, any one of which might conceivably provide the legal answer to the knotty problem, are set for original hearings before the week's end.

For them and their certain appeals to the State Supreme Court will come the judicial decision between Herman Talmadge, elected governor by the Legislature, and Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson, executive claimant as acting governor.

A petition by Talmadge for a writ of mandamus to force State Treasurer George B. Hamilton's recognition of Talmadge appointees as legally qualified State officials is set for Thursday in the Fulton Superior Court at Atlanta. Hamilton has refused to deal with any appointive department head whose title is in doubt until protected by a court decision.

On Friday the legal battleground will shift to McDonough in the Henry County Superior Court where two suits are scheduled for the same day.

One is an action brought by the Fulton National Bank against Both Talmadge and Thompson seeking to determine who is the legal governor and specifically which one is entitled to draw against an executive department account on deposit in the bank.

The other is a suit by Thompson seeking to have Talmadge show cause why the latter should not be enjoined from exercising executive authority as governor.

Other legal actions will follow later in the month.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

37a(2)

SEVEN?

(Quitman Free Press.)

The Neill Primary Election Law was designed to protect the ballot from bossism and corruption and if the Legislature repeals this law in our opinion it will be too big a price to pay for a "white primary." Just remember the parable of the house that was cleansed and seven devils entered in.

REFUND DUE?

(Omega News)

We bet that the U. S. Navy is very proud of Herman Talmadge. They went to a great expense to make an "officer and a gentleman" out of him and spent much time teaching him that power grabbers always lose. Due to his actions here lately we believe that Herman owes the Navy a refund.

WOULD RENOUNCE GEORGIA

Atlantan Asks Tuck if He Can Claim Virginia as His State

37a(2)

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 21 (AP)—A "disillusioned, disheartened Georgian" wrote to Governor Tuck asking if he might claim Virginia as his State "until the present Hitlerian fascist regime is driven from power in Georgia."

The letter was dated Jan. 18 and signed by R. D. Adams of Atlanta but bore no street address.

"Doubtless you have read," the letter stated, "press reports of the seizure of Georgia's capital by a man who claims to be Governor, although he has never been a candidate for that office, and thus obviously could not have been elected by the people. Wed. 1-22-47

"If it is possible, I should like to claim Virginia as my state until the present Hitlerian fascist regime is driven from power in Georgia. The State that gave birth to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Robert E. Lee, all men who would hold the deepest loathing and contempt for this usurpation of power, would do me great honor were she to agree to adopt this disillusioned, disheartened Georgian."

37a(2) 1947 'Georgia (Governorship)

The News Birmingham, Ala

37a(2) Pa.

ONE JUST OUT, ONE JUST IN—Ellis Arnall (center, above), former governor of Georgia, yesterday visited Alabama's new governor, James E. Folsom (right, above), at the state capitol in Montgomery. Shown with them is Atty. Gen. Albert Carmichael (left, above).

Arnall Meets Folsom, Says Talmadge Losing

37a(2) Pa.

The News

Birmingham, Ala

Former Governor Declares 'Goose-Stepping' Activities Have 'Vigorously Aroused' People

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 24—A flat prediction that Herman Talmadge's efforts to take over the government of Georgia "by force" will lose out was made here yesterday by former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Friday-1-24-47

In a joint press conference with Alabama's new Gov. James E. Folsom, Arnall asserted that the Georgia Legislature was "goose-stepped" into electing Talmadge governor, but the people now are "very vigorously aroused" and Talmadge is certain to lose out.

Arnall predicted that the State Supreme Court will decide against Talmadge's claims to the governorship, with a special election to be held to fill the office.

"The people are masters of government, not slaves," he asserted. "We are trying to eradicate Hitlerism in Georgia. They have stolen away the people's rights and as soon as the people realize their government has been taken from them by force and fraud, Talmadge will lose. In fact, the 'young pretender' already has begun to lose position."

A CHARGE THAT Talmadge and his backers had made a deal with railroad officials to stop Georgia's suit filed in the U. S. Supreme Court over railroad freight rates also was made by the former Georgia chief executive.

"This scheme (to get Talmadge in as governor) was hatched in the office of railroad lawyers, realizing that Georgia's suit must be stopped. If the late Gene Talmadge had lived, it is reported he had promised to dismiss the railroad suit and if Herman got in as governor, he would do likewise," Arnall declared.

Discussing national political affairs, Arnall said that, unless the Democratic Party becomes more liberal between now and the 1948 elections, "we won't have a look-in." He asserted that he didn't think President Truman was liberal enough, but explained that this did not mean the president did not have a chance to be re-elected.

* * *

GOV. FOLSOM ANNOUNCED, meanwhile, that Alabama would petition the U. S. Supreme Court for permission to intervene in the anti-trust suit filed by the State of Georgia against 19 Southern and Western railroads. Folsom had said previously that Alabama would join Georgia in the suit, but whether iit would be by intervention or by separate litigation was not made known until yesterday.

Alabama Seeks Part In Anti-Trust Rail Suit

The News

Birmingham, Ala

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 24—(AP)—The state of Alabama will petition the U. S. Supreme Court for permission to intervene in the anti-trust suit filed by the state of Georgia against 18 Southern and Western railroads.

Fri 1-24-47

In a formal statement yesterday, Gov. James E. Folsom said he had instructed State Atty. Gen. Albert A. Carmichael to file the petition and Executive Secretary O. H. Finney, Jr., said the action would be taken "within the very near future." Gov. Folsom's announcement came after a visit of Ellis Arnall who instituted the suit while he was governor of Georgia.

Governorship Cases Combined In Georgia For Appeals Hearing

The News

Birmingham, Ala.

Wed. 2-19-47

ATLANTA, Feb. 19—(AP)—Three cases involving the governorship of Georgia have been consolidated, and the State Supreme Court has agreed to advance its hearings of appeals to March 6.

37a(2)

The appeals are from one decision favoring Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson and two others favoring Herman Talmadge.

Previously the ruling for Thompson, handed down in Rome, Ga., had been set for review March 10 and the two for Talmadge, appealed from Henry County Superior Court at McDonough, for March 12.

Wed. 2-19-47

The Supreme Court will give one controlling decision for all three cases on a single question: whether the Georgia Legislature had constitutional authority to elect Herman Talmadge one month ago to the four-year term of his father, the late Eugene Talmadge.

Thompson contends he became acting governor upon the resignation of former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

* * *

ONLY ONE FINAL hurdle stood today between the white primary bill, a must on the Talmadge program, and legislative enactment.

That barrier was in the Georgia Senate where bitter opposition brewed against House refusal to accept a sweeping Senate amendment against election frauds. Even the most optimistic backers of the amendment, however, had scant hope of marshalling enough votes to sustain it and prompt enactment of the bill, without the amendment, was an almost foregone conclusion.

* * *

THE SENATE, by agreement between opposing sides, attached the amendment before passing the House bill 36 to 15 yesterday. The House promptly accepted four other Senate changes but threw this one out by a 101 to 81 vote and tossed the measure back to the senators.

The News Wed.

House opponents of the amendment argued that it would defeat the purpose of the white primary measure by retaining on the statute books laws regulating the primaries. That, they reiterated, would lay the white primary plan wide open to attackers under federal laws guaranteeing the Negro the right to vote.

2-19-47

Birmingham Ala

Talmadge Ruled Legal Governor By Georgia Court

The News

Birmingham Ala.

Wed. 2-12-47

Decision Contradicts One Previously Given By Another Judge

37a(2)

BY ROMNEY WHEELER

McDONOUGH, Ga., Feb. 12—(AP)—Herman Talmadge was declared Georgia's legal governor today by Superior Court Judge Walter Hendrix in a suit brought by Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson, who challenges Talmadge's right to the office.

Thompson's attorneys announced immediately that they they would appeal the decision to the State Supreme Court. A Superior Court in Georgia is similar to a United States District Court, but appeals on matters concerning interpretation of the state constitution may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

* * *

IT WAS THE SECOND decision within a week on the controverted governorship. Superior Judge Claude H. Porter had previously ruled at Rome, Ga., that Thompson was the acting governor. Talmadge was not a party to this suit, however. It was brought by Thompson to force members of the Pardons and Parole Board to give him certain budgetary information as acting governor.

Talmadge charged that the Rome decision was "patently collusive" and that he had no knowledge that it was being called for hearing. It has already been appealed to the State Supreme Court and a hearing set for March 10.

The News Birmingham Ala.

THOMPSON HIMSELF brought the case before Judge Hendrix here. Both he and Talmadge were represented at hearings which were concluded Monday.

Wed. 2-19-47

In addition to the two cases already decided, another has been taken under advisement by Superior Judge Bond Almand, who promised a decision Saturday. This case, brought by the Fulton National Bank, asks the court to determine who is legally entitled as the state's chief executive to draw on Executive Department accounts in the bank.

37a(2) Pa.

* * *

TALMADGE, WHO based his claim to the office on his election by the Legislature to the term his father, Eugene Talmadge, was prevented by death from serving, was jubilant over today's court victory.

Thompson said the next decision remained with the State Supreme Court and "the people are entitled to the earliest possible decision."

In Salt Lake City, Ellis Arnall, who as governor first challenged Talmadge's right to the office, and later resigned turning the office over to Thompson, said the affect of the Superior Court decision "is not important." He added that he was stil convinced the Supreme Court would uphold Thompson.

A 2,000 word decision Judge Hendrix said the Legislature was within its constitutional rights when it elected Talmadge Jan. 15 to the four-year term of the late Eugene Talmadge, his father.

The court sustained demurrers of Herman Talmadge and dismissed a suit of Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson which had asked a declaratory judgment ousting Talmadge from the governorship.

* * *

THE JUDGE SAID "IT IS CLEAR that the General Assembly has the right to decide when there was no election by the people. It did decide that on account of the death of the governor-elect there had been no election by the people. In our opinion the constitution put the duty and responsibility on it to elect and install a governor. This duty and responsibility it decided as it saw fit. When it (the Legislature) acts within its authority, courts cannot interfere."

Judge Hendrix's decision was rendered before about 200 spectators in Henry County's rural courtroom.

* * *

BEFORE THE COURT'S decision Lt.-Gov. Thompson authorized the following comment, which he said "stands as my comment before the decision, and which will still be my comment after the decision." Said Thompson: "Both Judge Hendrix and Judge Porter are honorable men and highly respected as judges throughout the state. The next decision rests with the state Supreme Court. The people are entitled to the earliest possible final decision on this issue."

Talmadge, when informed at Atlanta of the decision by The Associated Press, said he was not surprised. He added that he had felt confident from the start that the decision would be in his favor inasmuch as "many of the lawyers of Georgia had taken the same position."

* * *

HE SAID HE now hoped "those who have been obstructing our program in the General Assembly would now join forces with us" to carry out the program laid down by his father, whose death precipitated the gubernatorial succession controversy.

Counsel for Thompson said a bill of exceptions would be filed as quickly as it could be prepared—possibly within 24 hours—and would be carried immediately to the high court.

'Surrender' Of Talmadge To Be Asked

Advertiser

Wed. 1-19-47

37a(2)

Thompson Says He Will Make His Demand As Successor To Arnall

Montgomery, Ala.

He Indicates Action

Herman Is Ready To Step Aside If Court Decides He Can Not Hold Office

ATLANTA, GA., Jan. 18.—(AP)—Lieut.-Gov. M. E. Thompson announced today he had taken over as acting governor of Georgia, following resignation of Ellis Arnall, and would demand that Herman Talmadge surrender the governor's office and executive mansion.

Later Talmadge said that if Georgia courts hold he is not entitled to the governorship to which the Legislature elected him, he will abide by the decision.

He reiterated, however, his contention "that the courts do not have jurisdiction" over the controversy which has resulted in three rival claims to the executive office in the past five days.

Talmadge, elected by the Legislature in the early hours of Wednesday after a tumultuous 16-hour session, took physical possession of the Capitol and mansion Thursday after ousting Arnall. The retiring governor, who rejected Talmadge as "that pretender" and accused him of seizing the government with "storm troopers, thugs and ruffians," later set up temporary executive offices in a downtown office building.

Thompson, former educator and doctory of philosophy, took his oath of office at 10:50 a.m. in the almost deserted Senate chamber. Immediately afterward, Arnall announced that his conditional resignation, filed previously with the secretary of state, had become effective. 1-19-47-Wed.

Will Follow Up Demand

Thompson said he would confront Talmadge Monday in the executive office and demand that he surrender the governorship. "If I do not see him then," continued Thompson (Monday is Robert E. Lee's birthday and a legal holiday in Georgia) "I will see him Tuesday, and if not then, then at the earliest possible opportunity."

Asked at a press conference if he could evict the rival governor, Thompson replied: "Just yet I don't have a strong military at my back, but I shall follow up my demand."

Thompson said until he was granted access to the executive offices, he would occupy offices of the Senate president, just off the Senate chamber. There was no indication if Talmadge would attempt to eject Thompson.

Thompson said his first official act was to direct the attorney general to continue suit to enjoin Talmadge from exercising authority of governor. The litigation was filed originally in the name of Arnall, as governor.

Names Arnall Aide

At the same time, Thompson announced appointment of Arnall's former law partner, Stonewall Dyer of Newnan, as state revenue commissioner, and W. R. Neal of Atlanta as director of the State Highway Department. Dyer will challenge Talmadge-apointed Charles Redwine of Fayetteville, and Neal will take office in conflict with James L. Gillis of Soperton, both confirmed by the Senate last Friday.

Thompson also announced a complete, new, 12-man highway board, which he said had already accepted appointment. The acting governor said Phillip Landrum of Gainesville would be his executive secretary. Talmadge appointed Benton Odum, of Newton, to the same position.

Arnall disclosed he had turned over to Thompson approximately $100,000 in executive department funds, previously in his care. Thompson said he would dispose of the money "in due course, in conformity with the constitution and the courts."

37a(2)

As acting governor, Thompson would serve until the next general election in November, 1948. Talmadge's spokesmen have declared he intends to serve the full four-year term of his father.

Pledged To Talmadge Program

Both men are pledged to the "white supremacy" program of the late Eugene Talmadge, which was adopted as the platform of the Georgia Democratic Party in convention last October. This includes restoration of Georgia's Democratic "white primary," perpetuation of Georgia's unique county-unit system of voting, and expansion of state services.

In reply to a news conference question, Thompson said he would not hesitate to call for Federal intervention if it became necessary, but he emphasized "I do not think that will be necessary."

Arnall, in a letter to W. T. Dean, president of the Georgia Senate, drew attention to his resignation of Jan. 11 "effective immediately after qualification of the lieutenant governor." He said he considered this sufficient, but since the Legislature had not been in session he now renewed his resignation, "effective immediately." Advertiser

Thompson said he would again take the oath "as lieutenant-governor and as acting-governor" when the Senate convenes at 11 a.m. Monday. Montgomery, Ala.

Will Assert Authority

From this hour forward, he continued, he plans "to assert in every way I know that I am acting governor of Georgia." He said he would call on every elected and appointed State official to recognize his claim to the governorship, and reject that of Talmadge.

Arnall, in announcing his resignation in favor of Thompson, appealed to the people of Georgia to carry on the fight.

Said Arnall: "Georgia will lose its good name, its good reputation if we idly sit by and allow a military coup d'etat, thugs and ruffians to take over the State government. It is your government, it is your fight." Then he concluded: 1-19-47-Wed.

"The issue now is whether the people are going to assert themselves. I hope you will organize clubs, and I hope tomorrow, on the Sabbath, you will pray."

Referring to pending litigation, challenging Talmadge's right to the governorship, Arnall said "the pretender has served notice on the people that he regards the courts as being without jurisdiction."

Added Arnall: "That, my friends, is anarchy."

Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke, who won National recognition as prosecutor of the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians, Inc., declared:

He Fears Bloodshed

"If Talmadge should ignore an adverse decision of the courts, there will be bloodshed in Georgia."

Public expression meanwhile took the form of anti-Talmadge meetings and resolutions in various parts of the State. One mass meeting was held last night at Barnesville, and today the Gainesville Bar Association adopted a resolution charging Talmadge and his associates with having seized the government by force and with "openly defying the courts and the orderly process of law."

The bar association condemned Talmadge's coup, and declared "we pledge ourselves to the use of all rightful means to save our state and our civilization, and we urge all other citizens to do likewise."

Another mass meeting was called at Valdosta "to protest the action of the Legislature and the use of force and violence in the state government," and in Decatur, a third mass meeting was called to protest pro-Talmadge vote of Representative Pierre Howard of DeKalb County.

Talmadge was unavailable, but his executive secretary, Benton Odum, said "no comment" on Thompson's statement.

Must Await His Turn

Asked what would be done when Thompson demands the executive offices, and Odum replied:

"There's a rule that any citizen wishing to see the governor may leave his name with the receptionist and await his turn."

In his first proclamation as "governor of Georgia," Talmadge today declared Monday an official holiday to commemorate the birthday of Robert E. Lee.

The proclamation, however, will not affect the scheduled session of the General Assembly inasmuch as the House of Representatives and the Senate set their own meeting dates. It will be a holiday for state offices banks and schools.

White Supremacy Bill

A "white primary" bill will be introduced in the House of the Georgia General Assembly Monday, Roy V. Harris, Talmadge leader and former legislator, said today.

The bill was urged by the Democratic convention in Macon and would for all practical purposes bar Negroes from a participation in the primary, which is the real election in Georgia, and would leave regulation of the primary in the party's hands.

Harris said the bill would be introduced when asked in Augusta for comment on the swearing in of Thompson, the resignation of Arnall as governor, and Thompson's claim to the governorship.

Said Harris, who was defeated

Drew Pearson

News 1-30-47-Th.

Ellis Arnall Grows In Stature

37a(2)

Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON—The one Georgian who increased his stature in the current undemocratic political tug-of-war now raging over the state capitol in Atlanta is Ex-Gov. Ellis Arnall. News 1-30-47-Thurs.

Only a handful of people know it, but Arnall was almost lynched the night Herman Talmadge staged his power "putsch." Arnall knew his life was in dan… to call for help. For four … quietly in a tiny corner offi… rejecting pleas that he call ou… protect himself. Arnall had only … with him in his office to ward o… mob of howling Talmadgeites callin… his head. Once they burst in the door, got their hands on his clothes, sought to jerk him out of the room. Calmly, Arnall persuaded them to go back. Finally, Asst. Atty. Gen. Dan Duke and State Guard Comdr. Collins urged Arnall to send for the troops.

"No," replied Arnall. "This thing cannot be decided by force. The people are the only ones who can decide it. It may take some time before the people learn the truth about what's happening here tonight, but learn it they will. If we use troops there'll be bloodshed and that will play into 'the pretender's' hand. It will bring shame on the people of Georgia." Birmingham, Ala.

Those who were with Arnall consider it a miracle that he wasn't subjected to physical violence. His own secretary wound up in the hospital after fighting off the Talmadge hoodlums. Next day Arnall's friends tried to assign bodyguards to protect him, but he rejected the offer.

"I'll walk with the plain people on the streets of Atlanta," he said. "I've nothing to fear from them. I'm one of them. The plain people always help each other."

Georgia Tragi-Comedy

It is something more than pretense which Herman Talmadge now exhibits. Though dubbed "The Pretender" by Ellis Arnall, Herman is well entrenched in the governor's chair, with suitable perimeter defenses outlying. He has staggered his foxholes with strategic insight. Herman's stage is secure, and if it be play, then in Georgia it appears that the play is not only the thing, it is the real thing. Let one and all forgive Sen. Claghorn for his prompt observations of the South—"two possums in every pot, two governors in every state." The dart is deserved by those who live under the aegis of Oglethorpe, though the rest of the South must also suffer the sting. 37a(2) ([illegible])

Perhaps most significant of latest developments is Herman's assertion that he will respect any decision of the Georgia Supreme Court on the matter. But he refers to the court "assuming" jurisdiction. Will he really give in, should Georgia's highest court bid him take up his troops and walk? One wonders; but perhaps even a pledge by Herman, in this case, is sufficient basis for hope. If it is not, then law-abiding people have nothing to look forward to in the state of Georgia. Birmingham, Ala.

Lt. Gov. Thompson has taken the brand from Arnall. Despite some slight indications over the week-end that Mr. Thompson might try a drastic maneuver against the Talmadge position, the beginning of the week saw him discussing with a good deal less heat than had Arnall the problem of who is to be governor. Talmadge dealt moderately with Thompson; he agreed to let the lieutenant governor maintain a desk in the Senate offices. Doubtless he feels this can be done without danger; for Thompson will at least be the duly-elected lieutenant governor, a man whom even Herman the Pretender might cultivate just a little. Jan. 21-47

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

Talmadge In Full Charge Of State Capitol Building

Birmingham News - Fri. 1-17-4-

Arnall Denied Desk In Rotunda; Does Business Downtown

HERMAN TALMADGE MOVES INTO ARNALL'S OFFICE—Herman Talmadge, claimant to the Georgia governorship, sits in the executive office of Gov. Ellis Arnall Thursday after moving in and announcing: "As governor of Georgia, I have taken complete charge of the executive offices at the state capitol." During the night Talmadge's aids had ordered the locks changed on Arnall's office. (Associated Press photo.)

EXECUTIVE MANSION CLOSED TO ARNALL — Ellis Arnall (left), rival of Herman Talmadge in claiming the governorship of Georgia, is turned away from the front door of the executive mansion in Atlanta which he occupied during his four-year term as governor. Sgt. J. Frank Davis and Trooper J. T. Jones of the State Highway Patrol, are telling him he can't enter. Arnall had sought to go into the mansion with a group of newspaper men. (Associated Press photo.)

ATLANTA, Jan. 17—(AP)—Herman Talmadge seized complete control of Georgia's Capitol today and forced Ellis Arnall to move to a downtown office building.

Birmingham News 1-17-47 Birmingham News

Arnall, who has been governor for the past four years and claims he is still the state's legal executive despite the state Legislature's naming of Talmadge, announced his intention to establish the Arnall capitol downtown after a brief encounter with a Talmadge lieutenant at the state house.

The Talmadge, lieutenant, State Rep. Jimmy Dykes, earlier had seized the desk in the Capitol rotunda which Arnall occupied yesterday after being excluded from the executive chambers.

* * *

ARNALL WALKED JAUNTILY up the marble steps and entered the capitol door at 10:16 a.m. He headed directly for the capitol rotunda where he occupied temporary offices yesterday. Strode up to Rep. Dykes' desk and said "Jimmie, I'm governor."

Dykes interrupted to say "Ellis Arnall, you remind me of a hog. You got your head in the trough and you just can't stop."

Arnall asked "Have you taken my office?"

Dykes replied "I have. I'm refusing to let you sit here. You have no more rights to be governor than I have."

Arnall retorted "Well let's see."

* * *

THEN, TURNING TO THE PRESS, and speaking into a radio microphone, Arnall said "To the people of Georgia—as governor of Georgia, I have been denied access to the State Capitol Building. . . ."

Dykes shouted "That's a lie."

Arnall continued: ". . . Today, denied access to my office in the rotunda of the capitol. In order not to discredit the people of Georgia and to create disturbance, I'm moving to 1407 Candler Building (in downtown Atlanta) there to function as chief executive.

"I am sure the courts will uphold me as legal governor and not the forces bent on violence."

Arnall went directly to the office of Secretary of State Ben Fortson, Jr., where he signed a document and before presenting it to Fortson announced:

"This is another evidence of the fact that I have this day continued to function as governor of Georgia. I am leaving this document with the secretary of state as a written testimonial of that."

Its contents were not disclosed immediately.

Arnall then shook hands with Fortson, a constitutional officer, and announced that he was leaving for his law offices downtown where "I will continue to do business as the governor." 1-17-47

* * *

WHILE THE ARNALL-DYKES exchange was going on, Talmadge in the nearby executive chambers met newsmen for his second news conference of the day. Beside him was his military commander, Adjt. Gen. Marvin Griffin.

The clashing cheers and boos of Arnall-Talmadge friends outside echoed into the conference. Talmadge announced he had been served with court papers ordering him to show cause why he should continue as governor, but did not know whether he would answer it. The suit was filed by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook at Arnall's direction.

Birmingham News 1-17-47 Birmingham, Ala.

37a(2)

Talmadge described the suit as "an attempt to create more confusion." He closed the conference by assuring newsmen that "everything is quiet."

During the exchange with Arnall, Dykes, a hefty former high school football star offered to take off his coat and fight anyone in the house. There were no takers.

Six state troopers, acting under Talmadge orders, stood guard in the executive chambers at the Capitol.

* * *

IT APPEARED CERTAIN THAT the contest between the two men for the governorship would continue at least until Monday when Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson has announced he will take his oath of office, a new one under Georgia's recently enacted constitution.

* * *

ARNALL DESCRIBED HIS OPPONENT'S tactics as a "perfect panzer movement" and said it gave control to "storm troops," a reference on which Talmadge declined comment.

Mrs. Herman Talmadge and her two young sons were escorted into the mansion by patrolmen. Later, a friend said the Talmadges were "well established" in the mansion and had dinner there last night.

* * *

TWO MINOR INCIDENTS yesterday created flurries of excitement among capitol workers and visitors.

First was the release of a small amount of some eye-irritant gas in the governor's reception hall. It brought some tears but was not sufficient to warrant clearing the room.

Late in the afternoon, a firecracker was exploded under the capitol rotunda. The loud reverberations throughout the long, high-ceiled corridors indicated a more serious explosion until its source was found.

37a(2)

HERMAN TALMADGE GOT ELECTION 'TIP'

Store Manager Warned Him of Events if Father Died, and Write-Ins Were Result

New York Times Mon 1-6-47 New York N.Y.

ATLANTA, Jan. 5 (AP)—If Herman Talmadge is elected by the Legislature next week as Governor of Georgia, he can thank the manager of a five-and-ten-cent store in Monticello, Ga.

Gibson Ezell, the manager, read the State Constitution. He is no lawyer, but he read it closely enough to begin asking questions, and the questions alarmed associates of ailing Eugene Talmadge, father of Herman.

That is how Herman Talmadge came to get some 700-odd write-in votes on which he now claims legislative candidacy for a four-year term as Governor. His father, the Governor-elect, died on Dec. 21.

On election morning, Mr. Ezell telephoned Herman Talmadge.

"Have you read the State Constitution?" he asked.

Mr. Talmadge, who is an attorney, replied that he had reasonably good knowledge of it.

"Well," said Mr. Ezell, "somebody had better get busy, because if anything happens to Eugene Talmadge, you may have a Republican Governor of Georgia."

Then he read the sections dealing with the canvassing of votes by the General Assembly, and with legislative election of a Governor if no person "still in life" has a majority. D. Talmadge Bowers of Elberton, a Republican, then was the only announced candidate other than Eugene Talmadge.

A few key Talmadge lieutenants were hastily summoned and in turn they called leaders in strategic Talmadge strongholds. 1-6-47

The orders: "Have as many voters as possible scratch the name of Eugene Talmadge and write in the name of his son, Herman."

Talmadge supporters were rushed to the polls to follow instructions, and at least 700 write-in votes were cast for Herman. They might never be needed, but they were the insurance policy in case Eugene Talmadge died. And he did.

Thompson of Georgia

Melvin E. Thompson, former secretary and political protégé of Georgia's liberal ex-Governor, Ellis Arnall, last November at the age of 42 was elected Georgia's first Lieutenant Governor under the new State Constitution. A friend of Henry Wallace as well as of Mr. Arnall, he had been closely identified with the liberal faction of the Democratic party which had held power for four years in Atlanta's State Capitol.

However, in last fall's election, Mr. Thompson ran on the same ticket as Eugene Talmadge, candidate for Governor and bitter foe of Mr. Arnall. Mr. Thompson promised to support the Talmadge program. Last December Mr. Talmadge, who was elected Governor, died before inauguration. The office of Governor was claimed by his son, Herman Talmadge, on the basis of some 600 write-in votes in the November election. The Georgia "battle of the Governors" resulted. This was the sequence of events:

On Jan. 14 the Talmadge-dominated Legislature convened and named Herman Talmadge Governor, claiming that under the new Constitution the situation threw the election into the Legislature. Governor Arnall refused to give up the Governorship until Mr. Thompson was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor and filed suit to determine the succession. On Jan. 18, Mr. Thompson was sworn in and Mr. Arnall resigned. The battle continued between Herman Talmadge and Melvin Thompson.

Legal Contest

Last month three Superior Court judges passed on cases involving the Governorship. Two ruled for Mr. Talmadge, one for Mr. Thompson. The question went to the State Supreme Court.

Last week this highest of Georgia tribunals handed down a majority opinion (7 to 2) that put Mr. Thompson securely in the Governor's chair. The 9,500-word decision held that the Legislature had exceeded its powers in naming Mr. Talmadge and that the succession must pass to the duly-elected Lieutenant Governor. 3-23-47

Herman Talmadge promptly surrendered the Governor's office, but his followers indicated that they will resume the fight later. Speaker of the House Roy V. Harris, credited with being the "boss" of the Talmadge machine, said that young Talmadge would run for Governor next year.

Mr. Thompson in his inaugural address served notice that he intended to press for revocation of the Ku Klux Klan charter, an action started by Governor Arnall, and bitterly assailed Herman Talmadge's "white primary" bill. Mr. Arnall's comment on the verdict was: "Stealing is still unlawful in Georgia." Most Georgians seemed relieved that the situation, which had held their State up to ridicule, was at last settled.

New York Times

The Georgia Governorship

37a(2)

Legislature Has No Authority to Elect a Governor, It Is Said

Times New York, NY

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Your editorial on "Georgia's Two Governors" was distressingly confusing. To one who is very concerned about democracy in the South your call for Governor Arnall to withdraw from the struggle seems to be even worse than a counsel of defeatism.

I am afraid that you have not the full facts before you. You say that Talmadge, senior, was elected "by the people, or the only politically effective minority of the people." In fact Talmadge did not get a majority of the votes in the Democratic primary. But even if he had, and your thesis were true that the voters in Georgia favored "white supremacy and general reaction," there is no more reason why Talmadge, junior, should be Governor than the Grand Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan. Wed 1-22-47

There is no authority in the Georgia Constitution for the Legislature to elect the Governor. The best legal authority on the whole question until the court itself speaks is the Attorney General of Georgia, an elected official. He was re-elected last November. He says that Governor Arnall is taking a correct legal position. Times

It seems to me presumptuous beyond the ordinary call of duty for THE NEW YORK TIMES to assume that it knows more about the laws and the people of Georgia than the Attorney General of Georgia. Governor Arnall is fighting for democracy against one of the most sinister fascist threats that this country has yet experienced. In doing so he is fighting for THE NEW YORK TIMES as well as for the people of Georgia.

CLARK FOREMAN,
President, Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
New York, Jan. 17, 1947.

Not the Choice of People

To the Editor of The New York Times:

THE TIMES editorial page of Jan. 16 presents the unedifying spectacle of America's greatest newspaper advising the Governor of Georgia "to give up the fight he has fought so well against all the forces of evil in that State and surrender his office to a well-known "white supremacy" advocate of the most undemocratic type who is not by the wildest stretch of the imagination the choice of the people of Georgia.

I heard Governor Arnall on the radio, sane and fearless; and I now read your advice to him to exercise "political wisdom." I recommend to you a quotation from Paradise Lost:

"But all was false and hollow; though
his tongue
Dropp'd manna, and could make the
worse appear
The better reason."

WILLIAM ROSE BENET.
New York, Jan. 16, 1947.

Talmadge Raps Court Decision

Montgomery Advertiser
Sun. 2-9-47

Hits Ruling For Rival As 'Vest Pocket' Edict

37a(2)

ATLANTA, GA., Feb. 8—(AP)—Herman Talmadge today assailed a ruling of a Georgia judge, which held that Talmadge illegally claims the office of governor, and accused the judge of rendering a vest-pocket decision without hearing both sides.

The decision, made yesterday at Rome, Ga., was in a suit brought against the Pardons and Paroles Board by Lieut.-Gov. M. E. Thompson. The action sought budgetary information from the board. Talmadge was not a party, and is not presently affected by the decision.

Superior (Circuit) Judge Claude Porter held Thompson was legal acting governor, in succession to Gov. Ellis Arnall, resigned, and held the Georgia legislature exceeded its constitutional authority when it elected Talmadge for the four-year term of his father, the late Eugene Talmadge.

Talmadge charged that the suit was "patently collusive," and was "brought by friends, against friends, before friends and for friends." 2-9-47

The decision, due to be speeded to the Georgia Supreme Court next week, indirectly affects other pending litigation, including a direct challenge of Talmadge's title by Thompson, which began yesterday at McDonough, Ga.

Thompson Asks Talmadge To Let Votes Settle Row

Birmingham Ala.
Tues. 1-21-47

Tieup In Operations Threatens; Students Ready For Protest

37a(2)

ATLANTA, Jan. 21 — (AP) — Herman Talmadge offered today to meet "any candidate for the governorship in Georgia in a Democratic white primary" after the Legislature completes its session.

ATLANTA, Jan. 21 — (AP) — Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson today challenged Herman Talmadge to "contest with me before the voters of this state for the governorship."

Thompson in a prepared statement handed newsmen at a morning news conference said he would become "a candidate for governor at the earliest time that an election for governor by the people can be held under the constitution."

Thompson made no mention of a date, but the condition provides if the lieutenant governor becomes acting governor upon a vacancy in the executive office, a new governor will be named in the next general election. This in Georgia is in 1948.

Thompson contends that he is the acting governor by virtue of the resignation of Ellis Arnall. Talmadge, elected governor by the Legislature, had no immediate comment on the Thompson challenge. Tues. 1-21-47

THOMPSON IN HIS STATEMENT also urged the State Legislature adjourn until the present controversy over the executive office can be adjudicated by the courts.

First threat of a tieup in state operations arose when W. N. Pate, state supervisor of purchases, announced he considered Thompson acting governor and would not honor requisitions for supplies from state officials appointed by Talmadge.

Thompson said Roy Harris, former speaker of the State House, was "trying to become dictator of Georgia" and dominating every move of Talmadge.

In connection with his election statement, Thompson said a bill had been introduced in the House by Speaker Fred Hand, a Talmadge supporter, to prohibit the state commissioner of revenue from seeking other political office within 12 months after relinquishing his post.

THOMPSON WAS COMMISSIONER OR REVENUE until he became lieutenant governor last week, and said the bill was aimed at preventing him from becoming a candidate for governor should the Legislature find a legal means of holding an election within the next 12 months.

The Legislature was called into joint session to hear an address by Talmadge, while student groups marshaled their forces for a march on the state capitol to ask him to "step down."

37a(2)

Sponsors of the march said "hundreds" were expected to participate. James Clark, of Emory University, temporary chairman, suggested they "corner" Talmadge and declare, "We disagree with what you have done. Why don't you step down?"

The march if carried out will be the second time since 1941 students have paraded against a member of the Talmadge family. They once hung Herman's father in effigy on the capitol steps while the elder Talmadge was governor, charging "dictatorship" in educational affairs.

Dispute over control of a portion of state revenues also appears headed for the courts. Assistant Atty. Gen. Dan Duke said he was informed a group of taxpayers planned to bring suit against tax collectors of several counties to enjoin them from paying funds to Talmadge-appointed Revenue Commissioner Charles Redwine. The suit has not been filed.

* * *

THOMPSON HAS ANNOUNCED he would seek to tie up state funds not urgently needed for schools, old age pensions and other essential services.

Meanwhile, Talmadge was without funds to operate the governor's office. Approximately $100,000 alloted for this purpose for the first quarter of 1947 was in the hands of Arnall when he resigned and is to be turned over at his direction to Thompson.

A spokesman for the state treasurer's office said no demand had been made by Talmadge for funds. It was generally understood the treasurer would refuse warrants drawn by either claimant until the courts determine the issue.

* * *

THE MARCH AGAINST HERMAN'S father came after the elder Talmadge demanded resignations of several members of the board of regents of the University System of Georgia, eliminated two others on technical grounds and appointed successors who voted to dismiss two prominent state educators. Talmadge had charged the educators with advocating racial co-education.

National accrediting agencies dropped the Georgia schools, and students marched against Eugene Talmadge in protest.

> GOD BLESS 'EM ALL
>
> MARIETTA, Ga., Jan. 21—(AP)—The Rev. J. C. Collum opened Superior Court yesterday with the usual prayer for Divine guidance of the leaders of the nation and state. Then in conclusion he added:
>
> "And God bless all our governors!"

Thompson Ruled Legal Governor

37a(2)

But Talmadge Isn't Told To Give Up Office

Montgomery Advertiser
Sat. 2-8-47
Montgomery Ala.

ATLANTA, Feb. 7—(AP)—Lieut. Governor M. E. Thompson was declared Georgia's legal chief executive today in the first court decision directly involving the State's controverted governorship, but Herman Talmadge was not ordered to relinquish the office.

The decision, by Superior Judge Claude H. Porter, came on a plea by Thompson that members of the Tate Pardon and Parole Board be forced to turn over to him budget information. Judge Porter ordered the information given Thompson as "acting governor."

In his written order, however, Judge Porter said the State Legislature had no power under the State Constitution to elect Talmadge governor, and that Thompson became acting governor upon the resignation of Ellis Arnall

Parole Board attorneys announced an immediate appeal.

Judge Porter's action came while principal interest was concentrated on the court house at McDonough, where Superor Judge Walter Hendrix was hearing a plea by Thompson for the courts to bar Talmadge from office.

Thompson was jubilant over Judge Porter's decision. Talmadge said he was surprised at the Porter decision.

OUSTER OF TALMADGE HELD SPUR TO NATION

The Times
37c(3)

New York, N.Y.
Fri. 3-21-47

customed to discount the people of Georgia realized their mistake when the elected Supreme Court of Georgia ruled against Herman Talmadge, the pretender," Clark Foreman told the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at a luncheon yesterday in the Murray Hill Hotel, 112 Park Avenue.

Mr. Foreman, a native of Georgia said that the action of the Georgia court was "a very real contribution to this country at a time when needed and a vindication of the State." He said that this action was a part of the "uprising of the common people of Georgia."

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

For Miss Mitt

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: It seems to me the impasse could quite simply and adequately be disposed of with great saving of face to all present contestants by the appointment, selection, election, or whatever means may be necessary of the late Governor-elect's wife, "Miss Mitt." Atlanta, Ga.

According to the articles appearing in The Constitution at the time of Talmadge's death, "Miss Mitt" has long been the guiding light behind her husband's various administrations. It has been stated that she was chiefly responsible for whatever "good works" were performed during his various terms of office and that only when he disregarded her advice did he stir up animosity and opposition for himself and for the State. Consequently, it would appear that "Miss Mitt" is eminently capable and qualified to sit in the Governor's chair. Wed. 1-1-47

It is obvious from the last election that the majority of the counties in the State desired that the State be run for the next four years by a Talmadge administration. In fairness to the electorate, therefore, a Talmadge-ite should hold the office. I believe that the opposition to the young Talmadge succeeding to his father's office—an opposition which is most pronounced—would be easily dissipated were Mrs. Talmadge given the honor.

The present contestants—all being gentlemen of the finest type—could with grace and honor to themselves make way for the lady. Young Herman, even were he not a gentleman—and I feel sure he is one—could hardly contest the office with his own mother.

Finally, the elevation of "Miss Mitt" would certainly be following in the typical Southern tradition that usually sends the widows of Congressmen to Washington to fill the unexpired terms of their husbands. The Constitution

Georgia, I believe, could profit much from having a woman Governor. 1-1-47 ISAAC C. GREGORY.
Hapeville. Atlanta, Ga.

For Election

Editor Constitution: A lot of talk has been going around that Herman Talmadge should be our next Governor. Well, his father was the people's choice but not he.

If Herman is elected by the General Assembly there is one very important thing that will have been violated and that is that the government of the State of Georgia will not be a "government for the people, by the people." I am in no position to say who should be Governor but if Herman is elected it certainly should be left up to the people he will be representing, the people of Georgia. I can't see how the General Assembly can take the power to appoint a man who was not even on the ticket for the last election. It is true enough that we want to uphold the things Eugene Talmadge stood for as Governor, but we elected a Lieutenant Governor. He was to be our Governor in case of emergency. In my way of thinking, if we had wanted Herman we would have elected him to Thompson's place.

I was very glad to read that Herman was in favor of being elected by the people, which is the only way he should be made Governor.

W. H. GUNN.
Atlanta.

Herman Eligible?

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: If no one ever contends that Mr. Herman Talmadge has not met the initial requirements for the Governorship of Georgia, he may become the next Governor without having met those requirements. Wed. 1-1-47

The several candidates in the past gubernatorial election were required to qualify and be certified as "a candidate for the Governorship of Georgia." Mr. Herman Talmadge has never been so qualified, or at least "certified as a qualified contender" for the Executive post. Atlanta, Ga.

Might it not follow then that the sections of the State Constitution so extensively quoted during the past few days refer specifically to persons, still in life, who received the second and third highest number of votes, and who met the initial requirements of registering and being certified as possessing the minimum requirements for the Governorship, as otherwise provided by State law?

To examine Mr. Talmadge's qualifications now certainly could not be for the purpose of certifying him for an election which has passed. If a person can become Governor of Georgia in complete disregard for the laws governing the qualifying procedure, then those laws are invalid.

Are they?

THOMAS E. WATSON.
Atlanta.

L-S-M-F-T

Editor Constitution: My New Year's resolution: The Constitution

L-S-M-F-T! L-S-M-F-T!
Lord save me from Talmadge!
Lord save me from Talmadge!
Lord save me from Herman Talmadge! Atlanta, Ga.
L-S-M-F-T! L-S-M-F-T!

Wed. 1-1-47 GRIFFIN J. DAVIS.
Atlanta.

Ruling Put Off On Talmadge Ouster Action

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Feb. 2-11-47

Edict Due Tomorrow On Thompson Plea For Governorship

McDONOUGH, GA., Feb. 10.—(AP) — Superior (Circuit) Judge Walter C. Hendrix deferred judgment today on litigation seeking to oust Herman Talmadge from the governor's chair of Georgia.

The Atlanta jurist, substituting for Judge Ogden Persons of the Flint Circuit who disqualified himself, announced he would deliver his verdict at 10 a.m., Wednesday.

The delay will permit opposing counsel to argue another case tomorrow—a suit by the Fulton National Bank, of Atlanta, seeking direction as to which claimant to the governorship may draw on executive department funds.

Arguing that the will of the people "is the fundamental and basic issue," the attorney general of Georgia asked Hendrix today to nullify the Legislature's action in electing Talmadge as governor.

Cook Aids Thompson

Eugene Cook, the attorney general, appeared in Henry County's rural courthouse as counsel for Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson, rival claimant of the governorship, in support of a petition for declaratory judgment to oust Talmadge from the office. The Advertiser

Counsel for Talmadge, headed by B. D. Murphy, of Atlanta, opposed the petition and asked its dismissal. They argued the courts have no jurisdiction to review a sovereign action of the Legislature, and contended Thompson had no right to bring the suit because the basis for action "died" when Gov. Ellis Arnall resigned. Montgomery, Ala.

Today's arguments had no connection with a decision last Friday of Superior Judge Claude Porter at Rome, Ga., in which Porter ruled that the Legislature had exceeded its authority when it elected Talmadge. Feb. 2-11-47

Governor Succession Snarls Legislature

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

ATLANTA, Feb. 10 (AP)—Legislative proposals to select a Georgia governor in case the successful candidate should die before his inauguration threw the House of Representatives into confusion today with three proposals going down to defeat. Feb. 2-11-47

The House lost itself for three hours in a labyrinth of substitutes and amendments to the succession bill. The Senate cleared its decks for an expected battle tomorrow on the white primary bill. The bill was given a second reading today and will come up in the Senate for final debate and action tomorrow.

In the argument over gubernatorial succession, the House had before it the following recommendation for a constitutional amendment: The Advertiser

An original resolution calling for a special election, a committee substitute elaborating on the original and another substitute providing for the inauguration of the lieutenant-governor-elect as acting governor. Montgomery, Ala.

After heated debate that brought three additional amendments, the House at last voted on the committee substitute which failed to receive the required two-thirds vote and was therefore lost. Tues. 2-11-47

The original proposal would provide, if approved later by the General Assembly and the people, for a special election called by the Legislature in case a governor-elect should die or become incapacitated between the general election and the time of his inauguration.

Thompson Backs Labor Legislation,

The Courier-Journal

Atlanta, Jan. 6 (AP)—Lt. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson promised today to carry out Gene Talmadge's white-supremacy program "without changing the single dotting of an 'I' or the crossing of a 'T.'" Louisville, Ky. Tues. 1-7-47

Rejecting the contention of Herman Talmadge that his father's program would be sabotaged unless the Legislature next week elects Herman to a four-year term as Governor of Georgia, Thompson declared there must be "orderly succession" of a lieutenant-governor pending a general election in 1948 serving the white primary and the County-unit system and in expanding State services."

He added, "I will specifically dispense with the services of those whom Governor Talmadge received a mandate to dismiss from office." Tues. 1-7-47

Herman Talmadge, commenting on Thompson's pledge, said: "This statement is nothing but an effort of a drowning man to grab at straws. He knows that I now have 175 pledges and will be elected Governor. So he throws overboard his own friends and tries to bid for some of mine." The Courier-Journal

with a specific promise to carry out Talmadge's entire program. Referring to bills which he said he helped Talmadge prepare, Thompson said: The Courier-Journal

"I shall insist on the Legislature passing these laws without changing the single dotting of an 'I' or the crossing of a 'T' as approved by Governor Talmadge before he died." Louisville, Ky.

Talmadge Assails Statement.

Moreover, he promised, "I shall appoint only those people to public office, during the time I am performing the duties of Governor, who sincerely believe in pre-

He made three points:

1. That there was no contention that Thompson become Governor—merely that he would act as Governor until an election provided by law.
2. That succession of the lieutenant governor is the quickest way to give the people an opportunity to vote (at the 1948 general election). Tues. 1-7-47
3. Departure from an orderly succession would invite litigation and dispute which would delay the enactment of Talmadge's program.

Thompson then went on record

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

The Constitution

Against Harris

Editor Constitution: Every voter knew when he cast his vote that the man elected Lieutenant Governor was to become Governor if the Governor should die or resign. This fact cannot be denied. Atlanta, Ga.

The late Eugene Talmadge was elected Governor and Mr. Thompson was elected Lieutenant Governor. The only reasonable attitude for the people of Georgia to take is that Mr. Thompson now becomes Governor.

For Roy Harris to try to evade all reason and have the Legislature elect Herman Talmadge or any other man is to disfranchise every voter in Georgia.

Roy Harris and his gang do not believe in the people electing their Governor and if the people of Georgia let the Roy Harris crowd take over the task of electing Governors there will never be another Governor elected by the people in this State. Thurs. 1-2-47

Roy Harris is now ready to set up a dictatorship in Atlanta. He will appoint Governors from now on. Let the people demand a halt now. Let orderly law prevail. Let our people be free to vote. They voted for Thompson. Let Thompson be Governor.

JOHN QUINLIN JENKINS.
Rt. 1, Columbus.

Dynamic Action

Editor Constitution: For 100 years we did without a Lieutenant Governor, but in order to be "dynamic" we put a new, unnecessary officer on the State at a salary of $2,000 a year, and think of all the confusion we have. Is it not time to cease being "dynamic" and begin to adhere to the old principles established by Ben Hill, Alexander Stephens, Charles

J. Jenkins, etc.?

R. C. THOMPSON.
Atlanta.

Thompsonize?

Editor Constitution: One thinks that Mr. Herman Talmadge should offer for any public office subject to the suffrage of the electorate, in the next general election, instead of trying to FORCE himself on the people of Georgia and as his father's "heir." Let's be

"Thompsonized" for a while, Crackers, we probably will feel cleaner once more, and not have our Georgia made the "butt" for the ridicule of the entire U. S.

JOHN D. WEBB.

Atlanta.

For Harris

Editor Constitution: Since the general election has never been considered an election in Georgia, what the framers of the Constitution must have intended, if they intended anything, was that the person receiving the second highest number of votes in the primary election should be named Governor in case of an emergency should as exists.

But why all the furor? Since democracy in Georgia is a joke anyhow, because a large segment of we voters (white that is), have no voice in the state elections, and since the Supreme Court of the U. S. has consented for this joke to be perpetuated, let's dig up Hitler, apologize to him, and let the legislature name Roy Harris (Herman's Edgar Bergen), who would be Governor in fact if Herman is named. R. T. PENTECOST.

Atlanta. Thur. 1-2-47

Disqualified?

Editor Constitution: M. E. Thompson cannot be the presiding officer of the Senate until after the election and qualification of a Governor to succeed Gov. Arnall. The new Constitution of Georgia, in part, is as follows: "A Lieutenant Governor shall be elected at the general election in 1946, and shall be qualified at the same time as the Governor." This means that Thompson cannot be the presiding officer over the Senate until he shall have been qualified at the same time as the Governor who shall succeed Arnall.

The person the General Assembly shall elect will qualify at the same time the Lieutenant Governor qualifies. Therefore, there is no chance for the present Governor to resign and turn over the Governorship to the recently elected Lieutenant Governor, unless he was one of the two highest, next to the late Hon. Eugene Talmadge.

In Article V, Section I, Paragraph VII, recites how and when the Lieutenant Governor shall qualify—"at the same time as the Governor." THAD. L. BYNUM.

Clayton.

Faltering?

Editor Constitution: The Constitution has always fought for the will of the people of Georgia. Why is it faltering in this discussion of the Governorship? Even the headlines seem designed to stir us into believing that a few corporations which invested in the campaign last Summer can change the expressed will of the people. The "Talmadge campaign" headline Friday was only one.

The people of Georgia voted to establish an office of Lieutenant Governor for one purpose. We had a man to preside over the State Senate, so it was not for that purpose. It was so that the people would have a chance to vote on the person who would become Governor if a vacancy should occur. Thur. 1-2-47

Then the people again voted for the selection of a Lieutenant Governor. They voted for M. E. Thompson and they intended that he take office if a vacancy should occur. They did not vote to hand the office of Governor over to the "next of kin." They did not vote for Arnall or Carmichael to take office as Governor if a vacancy should occur. They voted for Thompson and the fact that a 21-day technicality exists has nothing to do with it except in the minds of a few big interests that want to get their money back that they put into the campaign.

The Lord and the people have spoken. Don't let the Legislature or the courts go against those wills. CHARLES OWEN, JR.

Barnesville.

(Editor's Note—The Atlanta Constitution does not presume to interpret the State Constitution.)

For Thompson

Editor Constitution: We have made a survey of the rural folks and asked who they thought should be Governor since the passing of Mr. Talmadge.

Six percent were of no opinion, and 85 percent were in favor of M. E. Thompson.

Thirty-two of this number were Talmadge supporters.

Nine percent said we should call an election and get a good man to run and thought between Ed Rivers and Roy Harris that one of them might run if drafted and enough pressure was put on.

BILL FLYNN, SR.,
Director Institute of Rural Public Opinion,
Greenville.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Obey Law

377a (2)

Editor Constitution: The provisions in our State constitution for electing a Governor are so plainly stated that anyone with small knowledge of the English language cannot fail to understand its meaning. The Constitution

It is significant that most of those attempting to prevent or advising the Georgia Legislators not to do their duty imposed upon them by the State constitution to elect a Governor, do not claim the Legislators lack power to elect a Governor. Their main argument is that the people in electing a Lieutenant Governor expected him to step into the Governor's chair if the person getting most votes for Governor in the November election was unable to take office. Some voters not being familiar with laws governing election of a Governor may have thought this.

With such arguments, it is clear these persons are trying to disregard laws of electing a Governor and electing one of their choice by their own methods. Atlanta, Ga.

When anyone advocates disobeying the laws in the constitution of the State or nation, that person is doing something dangerous, and may establish a precedent leading to the downfall of our Government. That is the way to bring about crime and mob rule. 1-5-47

Sun JOHN W. GOOLSBY.

Washington.

No Obligation?

Editor Constitution: In the last primary I voted against Eugene Talmadge. In the November election I voted for him because I understood that I was at least morally obligated to support the nominee of the primary.

Am I to understand from the position now taken by Mr. Roy Harris and Mr. Herman Talmadge that I was under no obligation in the general election to support the nominee of the primary—or is that only the privilege of those gentlemen and the few persons selected and designated by them to carry out a secret plan based on their inside knowledge of the condition of the health of Mr. Eugene Talmadge, which was not made known to the general public?

W. D. THOMSON.

Atlanta.

Another Election

Editor Constitution: Talmadge gave his life fighting for what he believed in, but it does not mean that he was right, nor that he should be immortalized simply because his believers are now frightened that the plans they have made may not be possibly carried out. The Constitution

Georgia is already the target of much criticism and ridicule because of the atrocities of Walton County and because Georgia obviously is not interested in bringing the perpetrators to justice; also because the wrangle over who shall be Governor shows that Georgia still wants to flout all the human laws of decency and tolerance. Atlanta, Ga.

This State has been in the limelight unfavorably for a long time and it does seem that the people of the State would want some good publicity since it seems that publicity it must have. Sun 1-5-47

Another election is the only way to get this mess straight. All the people should have a chance to say who shall be Governor, and I hope that whatever happens, it will be for the good of all the people of Georgia, white and colored alike. G. M. LEIGH.

Atlanta.

Vote on It

Editor Constitution: The selection of a Governor for the State of Georgia should be by vote of the people of Georgia.

Georgia law should allow the State Legislature to call for or announce a special election for the purpose of electing a Governor for the State of Georgia by vote of the people. According to the reading of the law it is my opinion Gov. Arnall is not eligible to serve another four years as Governor until there has been a lapse of four years from date of expiration of his elected term of four years and as he and his administration in writing the new constitution did fail to word it in such manner as to take care of the present unfortunate situation brought about by the death of the Governor-Elect before taking the oath of office the least Gov. Arnall and the State Legislature can do is to do the reasonable thing and arrange for a special election at the earliest possible date and it is my oponion that two months would be plenty of time for preparation for the special election and let the people settle the matter by vote.

L. C. ROBINETTE.

Atlanta. The Constitution

Walton View?

Editor Constitution: I see there is quite a controversy over who shall be our next Governor, and as a citizen of Walton County, a farmer, and a man who has always tried to do the right thing, I feel that the people in electing Mr. M. E. Thompson as Lieutenant Governor thoroughly understood that in case of a vacancy either by death or any other cause, that he would be the Governor of Georgia. Atlanta, Ga.

I feel that I am expressing the sentiments of the majority of the farmers of Walton County.

Sun. 1-5-47 J. M. DURDEN.

Monroe, RFD.

Nation 3-1-47-Sat. New York, N.Y.

HERMAN TALMADGE, GEORGIA'S PRETENDER, plows ahead in his efforts to set back democracy's clock in the face of rising popular protest. His signature to the White Primary bill converts the Democratic Party of the state into a private club. The constitutionality of such action and all "Humman's" other actions in his role of governor will be tested when the decisions of three Superior Courts come up for review before Georgia's Supreme Court late this month. Some twenty members of the House and three members of the Senate, making their own estimate of the way the wind is blowing, have left the opposition and jumped on to the Talmadge bandwagon. The most important single defection is that of Ben Fortson, Secretary of State, who in happier days managed Ellis Arnall's campaign. But though the fair-weather boys have jumped quickly, the majority of Georgia's aroused citizens have hardened their determination to win back their rights and the reputation of their state. The Reverend Joseph A. Rabun, marine veteran and minister of Talmadge's own church, continues his outspoken condemnation of Talmadge; letters pour into the newspapers; editorials in journals large and small point out that the issue is a moral one transcending in its importance the eventual decision of the Supreme Court. The students on Georgia's campuses remain in ferment. In a recent poll of 300 students from 99 Georgia counties taken at the University of Georgia, 67 per cent expressed themselves in favor of M. E. Thompson and only 28 per cent for Herman Talmadge; 66 per cent said they would join a new party, if necessary, for the purpose of defeating Talmadge. In a one-party state this last is significant, particularly since eighteen-year-olds can vote in Georgia. So the fight goes on. As Lillian Smith wrote in last week's *Nation,* "We've whispered so long in Georgia, it's wonderful to be able to shout aloud for democracy."

Nation 3-1-47-Sat. New York, N.Y.

GEORGIA GOVERNORSHIP CLAIMANT HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

M. E. Thompson (left) talking with newspaper men in Atlanta yesterday. At desk is E. D. Rivers, former Governor of the State, and reclining at right is R. W. Collins, named acting Adjutant General.

Halt on Talmadge Spending Is Ordered by Georgia Rival

The Times

New York, N.Y.

37a(2)

Thompson Instructs State Attorney General to Act—Plans to Go to Executive Offices Today and Demand Governorship

Mon. 1-20-47

Special to THE

ATLANTA, Jan. 19—Carrying on the fight against Herman Talmadge for the governorship of Georgia, M. E. Thompson, in the role he has assumed as Acting Governor, instructed the State's Attorney General today "to take proper legal steps and bring suits to protect the funds and property of the State and each and every agency and department of the State Government."

Mr. Thompson took the oath of office yesterday as Lieutenant Governor and proclaimed himself successor to Ellis Arnall, who resigned as Governor in his favor.

Today he declared that he would appear at the Governor's executive offices at 9 A. M. tomorrow and demand that Mr. Talmadge surrender the governorship to him.

If Mr. Talmadge refuses to yield, as expected, Mr. Thompson asserted, he would promptly set up his executive offices in the senate president's quarters at the Capitol and would "go through the orderly process of taking the office through the courts."

Mr. Thompson was chosen Lieutenant Governor at the general election and claims the Governorship because of the death of Eugene Talmadge before he could take office after being elected Governor. Herman Talmadge is the son of Eugene Talmadge.

He did not elaborate on his instructions to the Attorney General, but it was predicted that injunctions would be sought to restrain Mr. Talmadge and his appointees from paying out State funds and to restrain banks from honoring their signatures. Mon. 1-20-47

Attorney General Eugene Cook said tonight that he had not yet received Mr. Thompson's instructions and declined to comment. He has held that the Legislature had no authority to elect Mr. Talmadge and has pending in the Fulton County Supreme Court a petition, filed at Mr. Arnall's direction, asking for a declaratory judgment and an injunction to prevent Mr. Talmadge from exercising the powers of the office of Governor.

Hearing on the petition has been set for Feb. 7 in the Henry County Superior Court, since Mr. Talmadge lives in that county.

Alleges "Stacking" Boasts

The Times

Mr. Thompson has asked Mr. Cook to see that his name is substituted on the petition for that of Mr. Arnall.

37a(2)

Herman Talmadge charged tonight that his opponents were boasting that the Georgia Supreme Court of seven members was "stacked" with four Arnall appointees and others named by Gov. E. D. Rivers, an Arnall-Thompson supporter. New York N.Y.

Mr. Cook was asked to comment on the possibility of Federal intervention in the light of Mr. Thompson's statement of yesterday that he would "not hesitate to seek Federal aid if necessary."

Such intervention could be brought about only "as the result of a riot," Mr. Cook stated.

In the event of actual physical combat between the contesting sides, he continued, he would, as attorney general, have the authority to call upon the President of the United States for assistance.'

He added that such aid could be obtained under the section of the United States Constitution which provides that the Federal Government "shall guarantee every State a republican form of government."

"Even some of the newspapers on the other side are boasting of the fact that Ed Rivers and Ellis Arnall have so fixed and stocked the Supreme Court of Georgia that they will control the decision if the lawsuit ever gets to the Suprme Court," Mr. Talmadge declared.

"In the first place this is a matter solely and exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Legislature. The courts have no legal jurisdiction. However, if the case should ever reach the Suprme Court I have no fear of its outcome.

"Our legal position is correct and members of the Supreme Court are honorable men." Mon. 1-20-47

He denied that he had used force to take over the governorship. He executed no military coup d'etat, as charged by Mr. Arnall, he asserted, but was legally elected by the General Assembly "as provided by the State Constitution."

Legal observers said that it probably would require months for the courts to reach a final decision on the Governorship dispute.

There is a possibility that the Henry County Superior Court will issue a restraining order against Mr. Talmadge and his appointees after the Feb. 7 hearing. An appeal by Mr. Thompson or Mr. Talmadge to the State Supreme Court would have to be filed before Feb. 19 to have the case heard at this term.

The Supreme Court, however, could keep its docket open and receive the case at any time if the emergency was deemed to warrant such action. Mon. 1-20-47

Judicial Time Factors

If the Superior Court hearing lasts beyond the deadline for filing an appeal to the Supreme Court the case, under normal conditions, would automatically be scheduled for the next Supreme Court term, and the justices would have until Dec. 5 to hand down a decision.

The Supreme Court has within its province the determination of the length of time required to reach a decision. The court's rules are flexible and a decision conceivably could be announced the day of the hearing. It is generally agreed, however, that the justices would devote considerable study to the arguments of both sides before announcing an opinion.

At a press conference this afternoon Mr. Thompson announced appointment of R. W. Collins as his adjutant general and also named five assistant attorneys general.

He appointed H. E. Nichols of Rome as secretary-treasurer of the State Highway Department and Charles Morgan as State parks director. Mon. 1-20-47

He said that he would ask the Senate to confirm his appointments within the next two or three days. The Senate already has confirmed several Talmadge appointees for the same offices.

A measure to fulfill the pledge of Eugene Talmadge to restore the white primary in Georgia will be introduced when the Legislature reconvenes tomorrow, Talmadge leaders said.

Since he was elected Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with Eugene Talmadge Mr. Thompson is also obligated to carry out the party platform, including the white primary proposal.

Treasurer Ties Funds, Asks Georgia Court Action On Governors

The News

37a(2)

Birmingham Ala

ATLANTA, Jan. 27—(AP)—Georgia faced today a threat of slow strangulation of governmental functions through lack of funds unless its two rival governors go to court promptly with their dispute.

Meanwhile, the General Assembly returned to work with a "white primary" bill as the first order of business in the House where Speaker Fred Hand was expected to ask an inquiry into allegations that bribes were offered to influence assembly votes on the night Herman Talmadge was elected governor by the Legislature.

Sunday State Treasurer George B. Hamilton flatly informed both gubernatorial claimants he was shutting off disbursals to any appointive department head until he was "protected by a Supreme Court decision." Mon. 1-27-47

He asked both Talmadge and his rival, Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson who claims executive authority as "acting governor," to bring a consent mandamus suit against him to settle the issue.

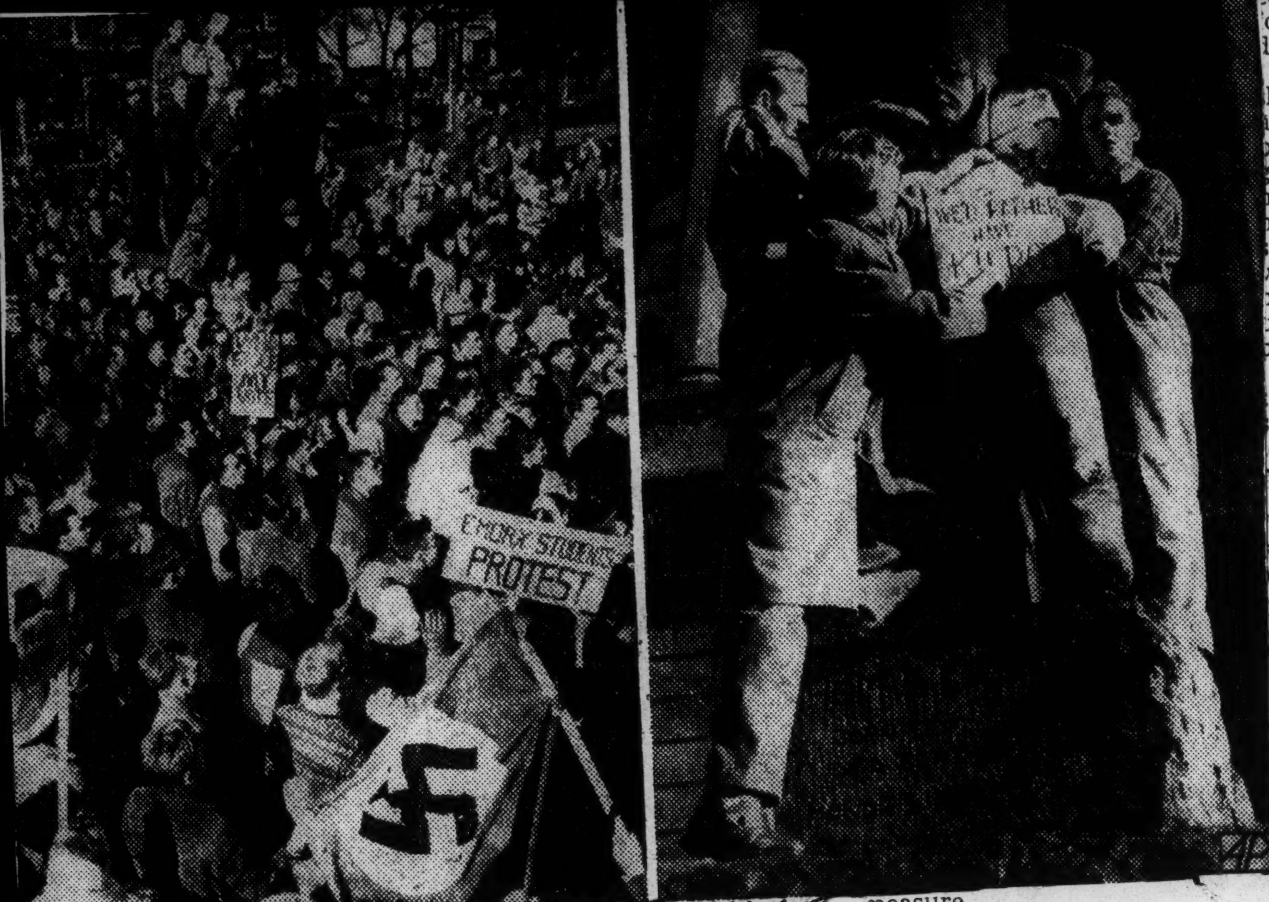
Hamilton said he had informed them he refused to recognize appointment of either, whether Senate-confirmed (as Talmadge's have been) or not.

Moreover, he said, he would accept no tax collections from Talmadge's revenue commissioner, who already has turned in a total of $4,749,886.87 in checks now lying uncashed in the treasurer's vault.

State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, Jr., described the fiscal situation as "critical" with only enough funds on hand to operate four weeks.

Talmadge had no comment on Hamilton's action and declined to speculate whether his lawyers would bring suit. Mon. 1-27-47

Thompson said he had not conferred with State Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, but doubted whether he could sue since his appointments lacked Senate confirmation and have been barred from office by Talmadge guards.



The Advertiser Montgomery A

STUDENTS STORM CAPITOL, HANG TALMADGE IN EFFIGY—Students from Georgia colleges swarm around the capitol in Atlanta in on unsuccesful effort to obtain Herman Talmadge's immediate resignation as governor. Many of them mockingly gave the Nazi salute and some carried Nazi swastika emblems in decrying the manner in which Talmadge seized possession of the governor's office. Right: Three of the students climb onto the Tom Watson monument in front of the Capitol and hang Talmadge in effigy. The sign on the dummy reads "We'd Rather Have Kilroy." (AP Wirephoto.)

Talmadge Tastes Defeat First Time

The Advertiser

Montgomery Ala.

Legislature Is Shaky As Pressure Is Applied For Court Decision

Thur. 1-23-47

Thompson Elated

Attorney General Cook Challenges Claimant To A Quick Court Test

ATLANTA, Jan. 22.—(AP)—Herman Talmadge's legislative forces went down to defeat for the first time in the nine-day-old session today as new pressure was applied for a speedy court ruling on whether he or Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson is the real Governor of Georgia.

The Talmadge House Bloc which a week ago rolled up a 127 to 70 vote for him as Governor split wide open in the face of a winning drive to delay action on its No. 1 Plank—The White Primary. Rep. J. Robert Elliott, Talmadge leader, sought vigorously to bring the measure up for action tomorrow but gave in when his support waned.

Commenting on the house developments, Thompson said "I don't think the House is going to be dictated to much longer by an ex-speaker." He said his reference was to former Speaker Roy V. Harris, high in the Talmadge councils. Thur. 1-23-47

Both Talmadge and Thompson favor legislation for a white primary. Rep Walter Harrison, Thompson supporter arguing for delay, said, however, that "I am for a white primary but I want to know what kind of a White Primary it is. I don't want it crammed down my throat without a public hearing."

"I want to know whether it is the Huey Long kind in Louisiana or whether it will protect my people in Jenkins County," Harrison said, asserting that members had not been given time to read and study the lengthy Talmadge measure.

Assembly Shaky

Not risking a test vote, Elliott himself asked—and received—unanimous consent to delay action until Monday. Thompson backers hailed the house stand as "open rebellion" against its Talmadge leaders.

They likewise were jubilant at Senate action in balking twice on proposals backed by Talmadge supporters. The first was refusal by a 27-27 tie vote, in which presiding officer William T. Dean ruled himself eligible and participated, to expunge Thompson's oath as acting governor from its journal.

Then behind closed doors, the Senators, who earlier confirmed three Talmadge appointments, delayed action on another sealed message from him, the usual form for transmitting appointments. President Pro-Tem Dean Informed reporters "nothing was considered" and the message would be taken up again Monday in executive session.

Cook Challenge

Before the legislative sharpshooting began, anti-Talmadge Attorney General Eugene Cook challenged the gubernatorial claimant to a quick court test. Cook said Talmadge could put the issue before the State Supreme Court within 20 days if he would instruct a solicitor general appointee to bring ouster proceedings against a rival claimant named by Gov. Ellis Arnall before he resigned in favor of Thompson.

Talmadge's only immediate comment was that "I am informed by the press that Mr. Cook does not represent me."

Cook has refused to recognize the legislative election of Herman as the successor to his red-suspendered father, Gov. Elect Eugene Talmadge, who died before he could take office. Young Talmadge's election was on the strength of 675 general election write-in votes—votes which his political enemies charge were cast by "bolters" from the Democratic party. Thur. 1.23.47

Thompson claims that his election as Lieutenant Governor by some 161,000 votes entitled him to the governorship, when Arnall resigned.

Joining Harrison the the House fight for delay in acting on the white primary bill, Rep. Sam Matthews said there might be something in it that would cause the voters to shun the party's primaries.

"I don't know," he shouted, "but what it might produce another party in Georgia."

Talmadge Called Bolter; Summons Friends Here

Atlanta Con. Sat-1-11-47

Atlanta Ga.

By M. L. ST. ST. JOHN

A follower of the late Eugene Talmadge has branded Herman Talmadge as a "party bolter" disloyal to his own father and the Democratic Party, and Herman Talmadge has called upon all his friends to come to Atlanta next week and "remain here until we elect a Governor." 1-11-47

These were the highlights last night of the now-bitter gubernatorial struggle which will reach a climax when the General Assembly convenes next week.

Meanwhile last night Rep. Walter Harrison, of Jenkins, declared he would demand public canvassing of the votes for Governor when the Legislature opens the sealed General Election returns from Georgia's 159 counties. The votes usually are canvassed by a joint committee from the Senate and House. Harrison said he would ask that a committee comprised of three pro-Thompson and three pro-Talmadge solons count the votes in the presence of the joint session of the Senate and House.

Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson, who claims the office of Governor now that Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge is dead, will speak over WSB at 6:45 p. m. today. D. Talmadge Bowers, who is asking election by the Legislature as the "only bonafide write-in candidate," will speak over WSB at 6:15 p. m. today. Herman Talmadge asks election by the Legislature as a "write-in" candidate who, being the son of the late Governor-Elect, is "best able to carry out the party platform."

Legislators will pour into Atlanta today and Sunday preparatory to opening of the 1947 session Monday.

Sol. Gen. Ralph Dawson, of Ludowici, last night said "it is almost beyond comprehension of any true Democrat to realize that this independent candidate and bolter of the Democratic Party who secured write-in votes while honor-bound to support the Democratic ticket, is no nother than the son of one of the greatest statesmen of our time." Dawson said he had always supported the late Eugene Talmadge and it was his understanding that Eugene Talmadge had been elected Governor for the fourth time last November at the same time other Democratic candidates were approved in the general election. Dawson said Lt. Gov.-Elect Thompson should become acting Governor until the next general election.

Talmadge lashed Thompson as a stooge for Gov. Arnall and called upon those "who fought alongside me for a free, white Democratic Georgia in the July Democratic primary" to fight alongside him for the same platform now.

Atlanta Con

1-11-47

Talmadge said he was amazed at the hypocrisy of those who fought the white primary and county unit system last Summer even into the United States Supreme Court now trying to profess loyalty to the Talmadge platform. He said backers of Thompson and Talmadge are as far apart right now as the Ellis Arnall group and the Eugene Talmadge group were last Summer.

Atlanta Con

1-11-47

Atlanta Ga.

D. D. Veal, of Eatonton, Chairman of the Putnam County Democratic Executive Committee, termed Herman Talmadge's efforts to claim the Governorship on "write-in" votes as the "most dangerous threat our State's one-party government has faced since the days of reconstruction when the scallawags were in control."

He said if this "grab" for the Governorship is successful it will destroy the force of a Democratic nomination for office, both State and local, in the general elections, and that it would lay the foundation for eventually depriving the people of the power they now have to elect their Governor by their own direct vote. 1-11-47

Six legislators yesterday pledged their support to Talmadge in public statements. They include Grady Ramey, of Chattooga; Herschel Lovett, of Laurens County; Ben T. Willoughby, of Clinch; C. O. Walker, of Ben Hill; Maynard Higgs, of Atkinson; F. H. Sills, of Candler, and Wilton Bostwick, of Early.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

HAROLD MARTIN

The Constitution 37a(2)

All the Papers Talked of Georgia

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 1-19-47

NEW YORK—This is, I think, the worst torture I have endured in quite some time. Ordinarily you give a reporter an assignment to do a story in New York and he feels as cheered as if you had bestowed upon him the Pulitzer prize, or something. He tears out of the office, pausing only long enough to draw more expense money than he needs, flings his other shirt into a satchel and is on his way to Gotham with his eyes bright and his heart beating in gay anticipation. The only problem then is to get him back home, for he always manages to stay until his money runs out and he ends up tipping the porter at Brookwood Station with his last nickel, so that he does not even have enough to catch a bus to the office.

Headlines For the first two days of this trip, I am as happy as is normal in such cases. And then what happens. Well, every paper in New York starts screaming in big black headlines, and sometimes even in red headlines, about the great battle which is raging between the Governors in Georgia. It is all over the front of The Times and The Tribune and The Telegram. The Mirror and The News give it their entire first page. Every paper you see is yelling the story of what goes on in Georgia. It is the biggest news in the United States at the moment, and here I am merely reading about it.

The pictures make it worse. For who do you see peering from the front pages of all the papers in pictures smeared five columns wide but my old pals of the working press who are right in the thick of the fracas, covering the news. There is the big picture of Talmadge and Arnall confronting each other and right in the middle of this picture is William Howland, of Time Magazine, making notes furiously. And who peers out from the lower part of the picture but Jack Tarver, looking somewhat like an agitated chipmunk as he speaks into a telephone the immortal words of Arnall and Talmadge as they glower at each other? In the big picture of the fist fight, one of the main figures is my old pal, Ed Bridges, of the United Press, rapidly taking notes so he can give a blow-by-blow account. And what shows up in The World-Telegram the next day but Bridges' story of the fray, with a big black byline.

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RALPH McGILL

Tues. 3-25-47 37a(2)

The Constitution

Hot Spots on The Thermometer

Atlanta, Ga.

At a time when Georgia and Alabama are merely the hottest spot on the national political and social welfare thermometer, which registers disturbances, it may be well to think in terms of government.

Just as it always has puzzled me that we have given so much lip service to our teachers, with a consequent reduction of the teaching profession to a shambles, when the very bedrock of what we call the American system depends on the intelligent support and development of that system, so the problem of social welfare has made me wonder.

Let us take the Southern politicians of this generation who have been rather generally labeled political demagogues, as illustrations.

When one thinks of Huey Long one thinks of two of his phrases, "Share the Wealth" and "Every Man a King."

In Georgia politicians have revolved about two men for a period of almost 20 years, the late Eugene Talmadge and E. D. Rivers. The first is remembered chiefly, by his masses of followers, for one single act—a $3 automobile tag. E. D. Rivers is remembered as the man who actually produced free school books.

Theodore Bilbo, with almost no Jews and Italians, and few Catholics, as voters in Mississippi, vented his political spleen on these people and at the same time castigated the Negro, who was a political threat. He was all for the Ku Klux Klan and scared his red-neck followers with "foreigners" and the Pope.

Conservatives in Alabama denounced tall Jim Folsom as a demagogue, but he was swept into office on a platform which called for expanded social services, increased pay for teachers, and augmented old-age pensions. The Constitution Tues. 3-25-47

There are many other examples, and there are many other factors involved. I do not wish to oversimplify. But the facts are that all these men have answered something in the hearts of too many persons in each State who feel that government is for the few and the privileged and that they receive little, if any, benefit from it. So, they remember a $3 automobile tag. They remember free schools books. They know what it means for grandma, or an ailing aunt or aged parents, to get the "help" of an old-age pension.

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I am against the demagogic appeal, methods and aims.

But, it took me a long time to see that what usually passes for good government in this country is merely good administrative government. And, most of our reforms are administrative reforms.

The cold, and uncomfortable, "worrysome" fact is that very few of the "reforms" in various "good government" administrations, actually reach down to the people. Tues. 3-25-47

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M. L. ST. JOHN

The Constitution

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Atlanta, Ga. Wed 1-1-47

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Wed. 1-1-47

That is a clear-cut division between young Talmadge, who wants to fill the term to which his father was elected, and Arnall, who has announced he could hold the office another four years and that he will hold it until the Lieutenant Governor can take office.

Choose Up Again? There is no doubt that Arnall selected his slate at a time when he thought of holding office for a while, at least, himself and without conferring with Thompson. Because look how Thompson's friendships cut across the Talmadge-Arnall line: The Constitution

Thompson has the friendship of Durden and Smith, who were on the slate of Eugene Talmadge. The other Talmadge-indorsed candidate, Hand, wants a special election. And, of course, he has the announced backing of the entire slate picked by Arnall, now that Arnall has announced his intention not to compete with Thompson for the Governorship. If Thompson wanted to indorse a slate, he would have to choose from among friends for every post: Gowen. who is actively supporting him, or Hand, who is noncommittal (seeking a special election), for the Speakership; Smith or Evitt for Speaker Pro Tem, and Durden or Harrison for Floor Leader. One reason Thompson has the friendship of the Talmadge slate is that he indorsed this slate before the death of Eugene Talmadge. The other slate was handed to him. Atlanta, Ga.

If Herman Talmadge wanted to indorse a slate, he might decide against taking the one indorsed by his father and Thompson in view of new developments. He undoubtedly would keep Hand at the top of his ticket, but Hicks might be favored for Speaker Pro Tem, and someone other than Durden might be sought for Floor Leader. Wed. 1-1-47

While some candidates may withdraw in order to clear the field, it is possible that new ones may enter and make it a wide open race in the House as it is in the Senate (where four men without alignments in the present situation are running for President Pro Tem). It is our prediction, however, that Talmadge and Thompson are so busy seeking the Governorship themselves that they won't have time to indorse a slate of officers and won't wish to endanger their own support among various factions by trying to tell the Legislature whom to choose as its leaders.

Influence Wanes The Constitution There are two interesting sidelights to the control of the new Legislature. The influence that retiring House Speaker Roy Harris (who is managing Herman Talmadge's campaign) might have on the General Assembly was weakened considerably when Arnall got Gowen in the race for Speaker. Harris' work had been carried out in past sessions by three bosom friends, Gowen, Hand and Durden. Atlanta, Ga. On the other hand, if retiring Gov. Arnall anticipated influencing the new Legislature, this will be weakened by the fact that both Herman Talmadge and Thompson are pledged to the same program 1-1-47

Thompson, Talmadge

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Radiating Optimism

Fri-1-3-47

37a(2)

By JOHN COURIC

The contest of political claims and counter-claims continued yesterday as Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge jockeyed for the lead in Georgia's gubernatorial derby.

Both Thompson, who says the General Assembly should permit him to become the next Governor because Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge is dead, and Herman Talmadge, who wants the Legislature to elect him, radiated optimism.

Talmadge yesterday claimed 169 solons have promised to vote for him and elect him Governor, more than enough to declare him Chief Executive.

Thompson declared "more than half of the members of the House of Representatives and more than half of the members of the Senate have directly informed me they have committed themselves to vote to sustain the legal right of the Lieutenant Governor to succeed to the Governorship until the General Election next year." 1-3-47

The Lieutenant Governor-Elect contends the Legislature should declare the winning candidate is dead, thus permitting Gov. Arnall to continue as Governor because he would have no successor. Gov. Arnall has promised to resign and permit Thompson to succeed him.

Earlier yesterday Talmadge issued a statement declaring: "When I announced as a candidate for Governor, the opposition made a public statement it would not make a fight in the Legislature because the Lieutenant Governor-Elect was already Governor. After two days time, the opposition changed its view and attempted to block my election by the Legislature. This is conclusive evidence the opposition recognizes the fact that the Constitution of Georgia requires that the Legislature elect a Governor from the two highest candidates in life when the Governor-Elect died before assuming office." The Constitution

Thompson released statements from two Representatives who are supporting him, while last night a judge and a local attorney went on the air in support of Talmadge's candidacy.

Rep. R. M. Nicholson, Oconee County, said he could not "conscientiously" do otherwise than "vote to uphold the constitutional right of the Lieutenant Governor to act as Chief Executive until the General Election is held next year."

Nicholson said he was withdrawing his support of Talmadge after studying the State Constitution, rather than because of personal opposition to Talmadge, whom he believes to be a "fine young man."

Rep. M. F. Clark, Jr., of Liberty County, also announced his support of Thompson.

Judge T. Hicks Fort, of Columbus, spoke for Talmadge, devoting part of his speech to the legal aspects and part to personal commendation of Talmadge and his father. Atlanta, Ga.

Judge Fort quoted various legal opinions upholding Talmadge's contention. Fri. 1-3-47

The other speech, supporting Talmadge, was made by B. D. Murphy, attorney, and Talmadge leaders called it "so important" they made plans to mail a copy until the General Assembly published the returns and declared the result. The Supreme Court upheld this contention of Mr. Arnall. The same rule obtains in every jurisdiction where the question has been decided." The Constitution

Thompson's headquarters said to each member of the Legislature.

Murphy repeated the contention that a gubernatorial election is not completed until the Legislature "opens and publishes the returns, and declares who is the duly elected Governor, or itself elects a Governor. Fri. 1-3-47

"This," he continued, "has been decided by the Supreme Court of Georgia in Wood vs. Arnall, 189 Ga. 362. In that case, Gov. Arnall, who was then Attorney General, contended that the contestant for that office, Wood, was not entitled to the office, even though he had received a majority of the votes cast at the June General Election of 1938, because the Constitution required that the Attorney General be elected in the same manner as the Governor, and the election was not complete

Superior Court Judge Dave S. Atkinson, of Savannah, member of the committee which drafted the new State Constitution, would speak in the Lieut.-Governor-Elect's behalf at 6:45 p. m. today over Radio Station WSB. Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 1-3-47

Against Thompson

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 1-3-47

Editor Constitution: M. E. Thompson speaks of the people of Georgia electing him to the office of Lieutenant Governor, to fill an office for Governor, as if the people knew there was going to be a death when they elected Eugene Talmadge Governor. If it was possible today by law to have another election for Governor I doubt seriously if Thompson would carry five counties in this State.

I have read excerpts from the new State Constitution and it plainly says that in case of a death before a Governor-Elect is inaugurated, a Governor shall be chosen from the two candidates in life having the highest vote in the general election, and if one should reject the office, then from the next two highest that yet liveth one shall be chosen.

Now how can Mr. Thompson be elected Governor when no Governor has died while he was in office, because he has never served in the office of Lieutenant Governor.

HIRAM DUNN.
East Point.

37a (2)

Puzzling

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I do not understand your editorial "Concerning the White Primary" which appeared in your Dec. 20 issue. Who are the people? The editorial states that "the people undeniably signified their desire for a white primary in the victory accorded Gov.-Elect Talmadge." Is it not true that more than half of the votes cast in the primary were against the Governor-Elect? Who are those who voted for the three defeated candidates who had a combined vote considerably larger than the Talmadge vote? Carmichael alone got more popular votes than the Governor-Elect. Who are the people of Georgia?

There is another statement in this editorial which puzzles me. I quote: "The people of Georgia having voted for a white primary a white primary they should have." I hope The Constitution is not saying that it is all right for Georgia to disregard the decisions of the Federal Courts, including the United States Supreme Court, and that it is all right to deliberately set about to circumvent that decision. If this is what is sanctioned, we have fallen upon evil days and integrity in Government has fallen to a new low. If we cannot respect the highest law of the land, where are we? 1-3-47

Fri. BENJAMIN E. MAYS,
President Morehouse College.

Draft Carmichael

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: May I, through Pulse of the Public, suggest the only plain and logical solution of the Governor's selection? Atlanta, Ga.

Through the voice of the public, who gave Jimmie Carmichael a majority vote of the State, urge and draft, if necessary, him (Carmichael) to accept qualification as Governor. Then, if he so desires, he can resign and let Thompson become Governor. Fri. 1-3-47

This would give the people first and second choice and do away with the fight contest that is just ahead.

Let's get busy and act before it is too late.

L. R. BRYSON.
Jefferson.

For Convention

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Over 300,000 Georgians voted against Talmadge. Do you think those 300,000 voters would be satisfied to have a Talmadge-packed legislature elect Herman Talmadge Governor of Georgia for the next four years? Elect him just because he is the son of his father? Ridiculous! Why that is monarchy. Are the Arnall friends, followers and supporters going to permit this to take place? Atlanta, Ga.

If any body of voters—outside of a called election—should elect Talmadge's successor it should be an elected convention. 1-3-47

Fri. MRS. E. J. DUTTON.
Atlanta.

Special Election

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: In this free country of ours the average citizen has the "liberty" of expressing himself, but unless he is influential no attention is paid to it.

The death of Gov.-Elect Talmadge has caused an emergency—an unusual one. No man, be he kin, or a leader of any clique, should be "appointed or given" the important position of Governor until he has been chosen by popular votes of the people of Georgia. An election, by all means, is the only fair way. For one to be "voted" in by a small number of legislators who favored the father, overlooking absolutely the lack of necessary experience of the son, and for another hoping to get in on a technicality, seems like a "slap" at the voters of the State. All my life I have heard and read of this great country of ours—and I still believe it is the best in the world—where the sovereignty of people—"by the people, and for the people" is law, and enjoyed by Americans. By all means let us hope no "set" of politicians, regardless of their ability to "maneuver" or "phrase' act take away the right of the people of Georgia to have a Governor of their choice Fri. 1-3-47

Atlanta, Ga. J. U. HORNE.
Atlanta.

For Thompson

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: It is indeed regrettable that Mr. Talmadge passed on before he was due to take office as Governor but since this is the circumstance it certainly must be obvious to all intelligent people that the voters intended for Thmopson to succeed the Governor under such circumstances or they would have not elected him Lieutenant Governor.

I trust that when the General Assembly meets in January they will see fit to set Thompson up as oGvernor. By so doing they will certainly be carrying out the mandate of the Georgia voters.

There is a principle involved and no one in authority should be influenced by technicalities. The will of the voters should be respected. Atlanta, Ga.

C. A. COOK.
Bainbridge. Fri. 1-3-47

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

Many Fantastic Angles Developed in Georgia's Gubernatorial Mixup

37a(2) The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md

Sat. 2-1-47

Any Group Could Have Named Own Governor Had It Been Politically Alert, Says Matthews

By RALPH MATTHEWS

ATLANTA — (AFRO National Bureau)—The irony of the Georgia gubernatorial situation is that the same trick which the supporters of Herman Talmadge used to put over their "white supremacy" doctrine could have elected a colored governor.

Herman was elected by the Legislature on the basis that he polled the highest number of write-in votes during the general election.

Aware that the elder Talmadge was ailing and might not survive the election, the campaign directors orderd a large number of their followers to cut the ticket and write in the name of the son—just in case the father could not serve.

It required only 670 votes for the Legisdlature to declare Herman governor in spite of the fact that more than half a million people will be affected by his administration. One need not mention the influence he will have on the nation and the world.

Kilroy Also Ran

While the Talmadges were in dead earnest about the write-in proposition, the rest of the State took it as a huge joke.

Some who could not stomach old Gene himself but wanted to vote for the rest of the ticket, scratched his name out and wrote in such fictitious names as Kilroy, Mickey Mouse and others.

Less than one thousand colored voters, by substituting the name of their choice, could have piled up a majority and elected anyone they decided upon.

Not only did Georgia present the nation with the executive monstrosity of three governors in one week, but their fervor for race hate led them to a legislative performance which violated all the rules of democratic procedure.

Bill Introduced by Outsider

In their mad rush to force through the white primary law they could not wait for the backwoods hillbillies to study the legislation.

Instead, they allowed Roy Harris, a lawyer, who drew up the measure, but was not elected to any office, to appear on the floor of the capitol and introduce the bill himself.

Acting as a "friend of the Talmadge party, but as a private citizen," Harris read and explained his bill to the Assembly and called for immediate passage.

This unorthodox procedure was equivalent to a lobbyist for the Manufacturers' Association introducing a bill in Congress on the assumption that the representatives wer too dumb to understand what it was all about.

Passage Barely Prevented

Only the force of circumstances under which the warring factions of Georgia fell out among themselves prevented the bill's adoption by assent. Sat. 2-1-47

The opponents are more concerned over preventing the Talmadge gang from getting too much credit for protecting white supremacy than they are in upholding the principles of democracy by which all people are entitled to the franchise.

Talmadge Tanned

Although he has set himself up as the champion of white supremacy, Herman Talmadge is of swarthy, dark complexion, and is much darker than many colored leaders like Walter White, Adam Powell and Mrs. Thomasina Johnson.

He would be right at home at a Washington society dance without anybody suspecting he was anything but colored.

Old Dixie Trick

Right in the middle of the political upheaval, Atlanta was subjectd to one of those incidents which, under the stress of racial antipathies stirred up by the demagogues, could have touched off a riot.

Police staged a manhunt throughout the poolrooms and other public places, searching for a culprit who allegedly kidnaped two white women after a robbery.

Bloodhounds were used in the search, the provocation of which seemed fantastic.

Daylight Coup, They Said

Two women who had become involved in an automobile accident in which a number of other cars were sideswiped declared they were not driving but were the victims of a kidnaper who had forced them into the car and driven them through the city in broad daylight.

The women told a bizarre story of how the man had robbed their home and then forced them to get into the roadster of one of the women at the point of a gun.

After the traffic collision, they charged, "the colored man" had leaped out of the car and escaped, leaving them holding the bag.

It wasn't until after police had

Logical Question at Last

It wasn't until after police had searched the area with bloodhounds and spread a reign of terror throughout the colored ghetto that people began to ask questions as to how the alleged kidnaper was able to drive through downtown traffic, shifting gears, and still hold a revolver on two women passengers.

The mystery was not cleared up at week's end, as the search for the man continued with true Dixie vigilance.

REVOLUTION IN GEORGIA

Chicago Defender

Sat. 1-25-47

The drama that is unfolding itself in Georgia over the issue of gubernatorial succession should be of great concern to the American people as a whole.

Some of the aspects of the struggle have a dash of humor a la southern style, nevertheless the political implications are too obvious to be missed. Here where two men are contending for the governorship and where one, Mr. Talmadge, has already used force to carry out his intentions, the issue transcends local interest. This was a coup d'etat in which the legitimate and peaceful processes were ignored.

The accession of Herman Talmadge to office was in effect a revolution which carries out a very dangerous precedent. Other states where democracy is a mere word, may attempt the same putsch. Such method is in keeping with the fascist technique of dictatorial ursurpation and a means resorted to by renegade claimants to hereditary monarchial thrones.

The ambiguities of the executive succession in the Georgia constitution have given rise to this farcical yet dangerous situation. 1-25-47

No, this conflict is by no means the first of the kind in American history. It is, however, the first recurrence of a state revolutionary turmoil since the Goebel-Taylor case of 1900 in Kentucky. While we are interested in the legal issues from the point of view of the science of government, we are more concerned with the personalities involved in the conflict. Chicago, Ill

Herman Talmadge, the pretender, has pledged to ban Negroes from voting in Georgia's Democratic primary elections and in his inaugural address Wednesday (January 15) he declared that he would ask the legislature to take steps immediately to restore the white primary. Here we have the son of the late Eugene Talmadge who died before he took the oath of office as governor carrying out the Ku Klux Klan program of his father. 1-25-47

We had hoped that Eugene Talmadge's death would have brought saner and brighter days to Georgia, but our hopes were quickly dashed to the ground by the recent events in Atlanta. It is by now clear if Herman Talmadge is to remain the chief executive of the state, Negroes of Georgia may as well move out of the state so far as their constitutional rights are concerned. The indications are also incontrovertible that the spirit of Ku Klux Klanism will more than ever permeate the atmosphere and guide the political destiny of the state of Georgia.

Chicago Defender

The resignation of Governor Ellis Arnall has destroyed the last vestige of redemption. Now that Lieutenant-Governor M. E. Thompson has announced himself as acting governor, the situation is still muddled. For, if he is committed to the state Democratic platform as adopted in Macon recently, the choice between him and Talmadge is no more attractive than swapping the devil for the witch. This platform calls for a white Democratic primary. We were hoping that Arnall would remain in office until his successor had been duly elected by the people for he represents the type of liberal so much needed today for freeing the South from the shackles of backward and ante-bellum traditions. Were this to happen, the sun would shine brighter for even the moonshiners in the backwoods of Georgia.

1-25-47

Georgia: No. 1 U. S. Embarrassment

37a(2)

The disgraceful bickering over the governorship o
Georgia is causing the United States Government no en
of embarrassment. Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Coming at a time when the Administration is speed
ing up its de-Nazification and democratizaton program
in occupied European and Asiatic countries, the Tal
madge-Arnall fracas makes this effort more ridiculou
than ever. Sat. 1-25-47

How can the United States lecture the Poles, Ger
mans, Japanese, Koreans, Spanish, Argentinians and oth
er people about democracy and how it should functio
while giving the whole world a concrete demonstratio
of how it should NOT function?

In an election in which nearly a million persons voted
and one candidate, Carmichael, received the majority o
the votes, another candidate, Eugene Talmadge, won th
election although only a minority of the ballots were cas
for him.

This strange result was explained away as just a
old Georgia custom known as the Unit System by whic
one vote in one county is worth three votes in another

The Lord in his infinite wisdom removed Governor
elect Eugene Talmadge from this mortal coil before h
could be sworn in, which heavenly decision threw Georgia
politicians into great quandary, to put it mildly.

Governor Arnall, who had won reputation throughout the country as that **rara avis**, a Liberal Southern politician, maintained that he was Governor although his term had expired, and would not give up his office until the Lieutenant-Governor-elect was sworn in, since Herman Talmadge, 'Gene's son, was claiming the office on the basis of less than 700 votes cast for him in the election.

However, the Georgia Assembly, pro-Talmadge, unconstitutionally proclaimed Herman Talmadge as Governor, and the latter used forced to take over the office which Arnall refused to relinquish.

The Federal Government which is controlled by the Democrats announces that it has adopted a hands-off policy, even though it would seem that it should be interested in determining whether the National Guard of Georgia (which it helps support) is under the command of the right governor or a usurper.

The Supreme Court of Georgia has been called upon to determine who is the legal governor, through a suit instituted by Arnall, but for some reason it is unable to meet and thrash out this weighty problem until Feb. 7.

Now, all of this smacks of political skullduggery in some Caribbean, Latin-American or Balkan country rather than a commonwealth of the world's greatest democracy which is out to teach erstwhile totalitarian states how a democracy should be run.

No wonder the whole world is snickering and no wonder Uncle Sam's face is red.

We are paying a high price in world respect for tolerating totalitarianism at home while preaching democracy to the world. Sat. 1-25-47

Incidentally, the Georgia mess woud have been even worse if 1,000 Negroes had written in the name of a colored man instead of voting for Carmichael!

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

OLLIE REEVES

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Just a Rhyme a Day

Mon. 2-3-47

"I am a native Georgian, now removed, but I am ashamed to admit I am from such a backward and politically fouled-up state."—Excerpt from "Indignant Reader" letter.

Let us put on our thinking-caps and stimulate the mind,
Ten million mysteries, perhaps, are here for us to find,
Great problems have remained unsolved, the way was never clear,
While through the timeless space revolved this old and troubled sphere.

The torture-trails great men have found to reach the tallest heights
Led upward from the lower ground and casual delights,
And, heartened by the finer scene, they beckoned to us all
But, in the main, we're base and mean and heeded not the call.

Though some await the coming dawn and seek the shining goal,
We must not place our faith upon the people as a whole,
The greatest good a man can do most often starts and ends
Amidst that all-too-precious few . . . the circle of his friends.

Let missionaries go afar, let earnest teachers teach . . .
The closest or the brightest star is much beyond our reach . . .
Things will be better in the land and what they ought to be
When we have learned to take in hand the fellow known as "ME."

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Jackasses

Editor Constitution: Some 50 years ago Sam Jones was holding a meeting in Texas in a town that was a famous market for jackasses. A friend in Cartersville wrote him: "Please buy and ship to me a pair of fine jackasses; I want to raise some mules." Sam Jones answered: "Why don't you buy 'em nearer home? Let me remind you that the Georgia Legislature is now in session. Go down to Atlanta, and up on Capitol Hill is the greatest assortment of jackasses in the nation. And some of 'em can be bought cheap."

What would Sam Jones say were he alive today? Tues. 2-4-47

H. A. ETHERIDGE.

Atlanta.

Good Man

Editor, Constitution: Though we are only high school students, we're old enough to know a good man. We think Herman Talmadge is a fine man. A man who loved his father. The father who loved Georgia and had fought for Georgia for many years. Why should H. Talmadge want to give up fighting?

It will be a great loss to Georgia if the Supreme Court rules against H. Talmadge. He is a fine intelligent young man that the world will be looking to in a year.

EMMA CAMPBELL.
Stephens, Ga.
ELIZABETH LUNCEFORD.
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Bairdstown, Ga.

Why Hullaballoo?

Editor Constitution: Both Talmadge and Thompson have agreed to abide by the decision of the courts. Surely both men must think they are right. It seems to me that all of the uprising and accusations are out of order. Shall we not wait for the courts or whatever it takes to settle this controversy? And send up a united prayer that we may have a righteous verdict?

REV. R. E. CHAMBERS.

Atlanta.

Encouraging Hate

Editor Constitution: I am writing in the interest of the primary I am opposed to the so-called "White Primary" and the methods being used for political control. It not only denies the Negro his citizenship rights but the whites, too.

If Legislature goes headlong into this thing. I hope it results into a two-party system which we need in the South. I'll certainly work for that end.

If there has to be discrimination made, it should be on qualification rather than color. North Carolina has given the Negro his right to vote for many years.

If the Legislature passes this bill then they are encouraging hate organizations. We have certainly had enough against us in Georgia. Why add more?

Yours for a better Georgia.

EULA B. DRAKE.

Atlanta.

Tues 2-4-47

Sovereign Body

Editor Constitution: It is indeed a tragedy that our people are becoming alarmed over the condition of our governing body. It seems to me that when we elect our Representatives that we put in their hands our governmental problems and since they have decided in favor of Herman Talmadge, then since the General Assemly is a sovereign body, then we ought to have let things be as they say. REV. L. P. SHAW.

Valdosta.

Austria Example?

Editor Constitution: I have been a devoted citizen of our beautiful Georgia and hope you do not let happen here what happened in my native country of Austria back in 1938!

MRS. ERVIN S. STANTON.

Atlanta.

Races in Georgia

Editor Constitution: In view of the fact that Georgia politicians are getting into the habit of injecting racial questions into every political campaign it behooves us as thinking citizens to seek actual facts from nonpartisan sources as to the actual degree of menace presented by any racial group.

The writer, after hearing the argument for and against what some of us choose to call tolerance, went to the 1940 Census records to determine exactly what kind of people make up the population of our State.

Here are the actual figures in percent of total population:

White (native born)	64.6
Negro (native born)	34.5
Jews	0.77
Born in Austria	0.00008
Born in Czechoslovakia	0.00001
Born in Denmark	0.00002
Born in England	0.0003
Born in Finland	0.00002
Born in France	0.00008
Born in Germany	0.0004
Born in Greece	0.0003
Born in Ireland	0.0001
Born in Italy	0.0001
Born in Norway	0.00001
Born in Poland	0.0003
Born in Russia	0.0006
Born in Sweden	0.00006

Our politicians are well acquainted with the above figures and it is the basis of their agitating the "white supremacy" discussion every time they come before the people. They know that we who are white and born in Georgia comprise 64.6 percent of the total vote. They sometimes make this appeal to us so strong that we are blinded to the fact that they have no experience and that their ideals of democracy do not coincide with those of the majority of our people.

We can and will have native born, Protestant, white supremacy in Georgia . . . for the simple reason that we can outvote all other minorities by nearly two to one. However, we should be careful of any candidate whose sole reason for existence is to "protect" us from what feeble opposition we might get.

J. PAUL ALEXANDER.

Covington.

Special Governor Election Urged by Youthful Solons

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 1-7-47

By JOHN COURIC

A group of youthful State Legislators yesterday launched a drive for a special gubernatorial election designed to prevent "factional strife and discord" which they believe will result if the Legislature, and not the people, selects the next Governor.

Basing their proposals on a portion of the State Constitution, the young solons stole the spotlight from Herman Talmadge and Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson who continued their battle of statements over their respective gubernatorial chances with the new Legislature, convening Jan. 13.

Authority for the special elections, the solons declared, is found in a portion of the State Constitution which reads: 1-7-47

"The General Assembly shall have power to provide by law for filling unexpired terms by special elections, except as provided in this Constitution."

Rep. Pierre Howard, of DeKalb County, a spokesman for the special election group, asserted the Constitution does not clearly and specifically provide a way to solve the present dilemma.

"Besides," he declared, "I don't believe there are 15 men in the Legislature who would deny the people a chance to name a Governor."

Hurling a challenge at Thompson and Talmadge, the petition called upon them to state publicly whether they would abide by the results of a special election.

Talmadge previously said he ordinarily would welcome such an election but declared it would not be legal in this instance.

The legislators circulating the petition said a special election could be called by the Legislature, which must appropriate money to finance the contest. It could not be held less than 21 days after the Legislature approves the plan. The Constitution

A plurality and not a majority of popular votes would be necessary for election. The county unit vote system prevails only in primaries. Atlanta, Ga.

No party designations are allowed in special elections, Rep. John J. Flynt, Jr., of Spalding, said. Tues. 1-7-47

The brief for a special election is contained in a petition now being circulated. Those who already have signed it include, besides Howard, John J. Flynt, Jr., of Spalding; Rhodes Jordon, of Gwinnett; County John-son of Lowndes; L. (Bob) Adderton, of Spalding; Benjamin B.

Tues. 1-7-47 Atlanta, Ga.

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Why Hullaballoo?

Editor Constitution: Both Talmadge and Thompson have agreed to abide by the decision of the courts. Surely both men must think they are right. It seems to me that all of the uprising and accusations are out of order. Shall we not wait for the courts or whatever it takes to settle this controversy? And send up a united prayer that we may have a righteous verdict?

REV. R. E. CHAMBERS.
Atlanta.

Encouraging Hate

Editor Constitution: I am writing in the interest of the primary I am opposed to the so-called "White Primary" and the methods being used for political control. It not only denies the Negro his citizenship rights but the whites, too.

If Legislature goes headlong into this thing. I hope it results into a two-party system which we need in the South. I'll certainly work for that end.

If there has to be discrimination made, it should be on qualification rather than color. North Carolina has given the Negro his right to vote for many years.

If the Legislature passes this bill then they are encouraging hate organizations. We have certainly had enough against us in Georgia. Why add more?

Yours for a better Georgia.

EULA B. DRAKE.
Atlanta.

Tues 2-4-47

Sovereign Body

Editor Constitution: It is indeed a tragedy that our people are becoming alarmed over the condition of our governing body. It seems to me that when we elect our Representatives that we put in their hands our governmental problems and since they have decided in favor of Herman Talmadge, then since the General Assemly is a sovereign body, then we ought to have let things be as they say.

REV. L. P. SHAW.
Valdosta.

Austria Example?

Editor Constitution: I have been a devoted citizen of our beautiful Georgia and hope you do not let happen here what happened in my native country of Austria back in 1938!

MRS. ERVIN S. STANTON.
Atlanta.

Races in Georgia

Editor Constitution: In view of the fact that Georgia politicians are getting into the habit of injecting racial questions into every political campaign it behooves us as thinking citizens to seek actual facts from nonpartisan sources as to the actual degree of menace presented by any racial group.

The writer, after hearing the argument for and against what some of us choose to call tolerance, went to the 1940 Census records to determine exactly what kind of people make up the population of our State.

Here are the actual figures in percent of total population:

White (native born)	64.6
Negro (native born)	34.5
Jews	0.77
Born in Austria	0.00008
Born in Czechoslovakia	0.00001
Born in Denmark	0.00002
Born in England	0.0003
Born in Finland	0.00002
Born in France	0.00008
Born in Germany	0.0004
Born in Greece	0.0003
Born in Ireland	0.0001
Born in Italy	0.0001
Born in Norway	0.00001
Born in Poland	0.0003
Born in Russia	0.0006
Born in Sweden	0.00006

Our politicians are well acquainted with the above figures and it is the basis of their agitating the "white supremacy" discussion every time they come before the people. They know that we who are white and born in Georgia comprise 64.6 percent of the total vote. They sometimes make this appeal to us so strong that we are blinded to the fact that they have no experience and that their ideals of democracy do not coincide with those of the majority of our people.

We can and will have native born, Protestant, white supremacy in Georgia . . . for the simple reason that we can outvote all other minorities by nearly two to one. However, we should be careful of any candidate whose sole reason for existence is to "protect" us from what feeble opposition we might get.

J. PAUL ALEXANDER.
Covington.

Special Governor Election Urged by Youthful Solons

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 1-7-47

By JOHN COURIC

A group of youthful State Legislators yesterday launched a drive for a special gubernatorial election designed to prevent "factional strife and discord" which they believe will result if the Legislature, and not the people, selects the next Governor.

Basing their proposals on a portion of the State Constitution, the young solons stole the spotlight from Herman Talmadge and Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson who continued their battle of statements over their respective gubernatorial chances with the new Legislature, convening Jan. 13.

Authority for the special elections, the solons declared, is found in a portion of the State Constitution which reads: 1-7-47

"The General Assembly shall have power to provide by law for filling unexpired terms by special elections, except as provided in this Constitution."

Rep. Pierre Howard, of DeKalb County, a spokesman for the special election group, asserted the Constitution does not clearly and specifically provide a way to solve the present dilemma.

"Besides," he declared, "I don't believe there are 15 men in the Legislature who would deny the people a chance to name a Governor."

Hurling a challenge at Thompson and Talmadge, the petition called upon them to state publicly whether they would abide by the results of a special election. Talmadge previously said he ordinarily would welcome such an election but declared it would not be legal in this instance.

The legislators circulating the petition said a special election could be called by the Legislature, which must appropriate money to finance the contest. It could not be held less than 21 days after the Legislature approves the plan. The Constitution

A plurality and not a majority of popular votes would be necessary for election. The county unit vote system prevails only in primaries. Atlanta, Ga.

No party designations are allowed in special elections, Rep. John J. Flynt, Jr., of Spalding, said. Tues. 1-7-47

The brief for a special election is contained in a petition now being circulated. Those who already have signed it include, besides Howard, John J. Flynt, Jr., of Spalding; Rhodes Jordon, of Gwinnett; Country Johnson of Lowndes; E. L. (Bob) Addleton, of Spalding; Benjamin B.

Tues. 1-7-47
Atlanta, Ga.

Constitution

Garland, of Butts.

"The best interest of Georgia can only be served at this critical time by the calling of a special election by the General Assembly at the earliest possible moment," the petition states. "If any other course is followed and if either Thompson or Talmadge assumes the governorship, it is our opinion a vitally needed legislative program will be stalemated for at least two years and Georgia will be plunged into a period of factional strife and discord unparalleled in our history.

"The Georgia Constitution is not clear as t who shall succeed to the governorship in such acontingency as now confronts us. The are at least three conflicting sections in our present Constitution. The Constitution

"One section (Art. V, Sec. 1, Par. 1) provides that the executive power shall be vested in a Governor, Atlanta, Ga. who shall hold his office during a period of four years, and until his successor is elected and qualified.

"Another section (Art V, Sec. 1, Pars. 3and Tues. 1-7-47 4) provides in substance that in the event no person shall receive a majority of the votes cast in the General Election, then the General Assembly shall immediately elect a Governor from the next two highest persons then in life and who shall not decline an election.

"Still another secti tion makes a provisio for the election of a lieutenant governor who shall, in the ever event of the death, resignation or disability of the Governor, exercise the executive powers until the election of a Governor.

"Under the sections referred to above, there is no one sectio to which an unprejudiced and unbiased person can point and state unequivocally t that section clearly takes precedent over all others.

"There is, however, one section of our Constitution which is clear and unmistakable and upon which all of our democratic institutions rest and depend. That section is found in Art. 1, Sec. 1, Par. 1, under the general heading of Bill of Rights:

"Par. 1: Origin and foundation of Government. All government of right originates with the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the people and at all times amenable to them." The Constitution

The petition also provides that "should Atlanta, Ga. the General Assembly in joint session de- Tues. 1-7-47 termine that it does not have the power an constitutional author ity to call such a soecial election, then, in such case, we believe that it shall be incumbent and mandatory upon the General Assembly The Constitution to elect a Governor" Atlanta, Ga. by legislative vote. Howard said many feel the Legislature Tues. 1-7-47

Georgia Mob Nearly Lynched Ellis Arnall

The Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Thurs.

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

1-30-47

By Drew Pearson

Washington.

THE one Georgian who increased his stature in the undemocratic political tug of war now raging over the State Capitol in Atlanta is ex-Governor Ellis Arnall.

Only a handful of people know it, but Arnall was almost lynched the night Herman Talmadge staged his power "putsch." Arnall knew his life was in danger, yet he refused to call for help. For four hours he remained quietly in a tiny corner office of the Capitol, rejecting pleas that he call out the troops to protect himself. Arnall had only seven people with him in his office to ward off an angry mob of howling Talmadgites calling for his head. Once they burst in the door, got their hands on his clothes, sought to jerk him out of the room. Calmly, Arnall persuaded them to go back. Finally Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke and State Guard Commander Collins urged Arnall to send for the troops. 1-30-47 Thurs.

"No," replied Arnall. "This thing cannot be decided by force. The people are the only ones who can decide it. It may take some time before the people learn the truth about what's happening here tonight, but learn it they will. If we use troops there'll be bloodshed and that will play into 'the pretender's' hand. It will bring shame on the people of Georgia." The Courier Journal

Those who were with Arnall consider it a miracle that he wasn't subjected to physical violence. His own secretary wound up in the hospital after fighting off the Talmadge hoodlums. Next day, Arnall's friends tried to assign bodyguards to protect him, but he rejected the offer. Louisville, Ky.

"I'll walk with the plain people on the streets of Atlanta," he said. "I've nothing to fear from them. I'm one of them. The plain people always help each other."

Here's Complete Chronology In Gubernatorial Dispute

Constitution 3-20-47-Thurs.
Atlanta, Ga.

Here is the chronology of Georgia's governorship dispute:

Dec. 21, 1946: Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge dies after prolonged illness.

Dec. 24, 1946: Gov. Ellis Arnall announces he regards Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson as rightful successor, and will resign in favor of him when Thompson takes office.

Dec. 25, 1946: Associates of Eugene Talmadge call on Legislature to elect Herman Talmadge to carry out "white supremacy" platform.

Jan. 4, 1947: Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook renders opinion that Ellis Arnall must hold over. 3-20-47-Th.

Jan. 13: General Assembly convenes.

Jan. 15: Herman Talmadge is elected Governor. Ellis Arnall refuses to surrender office, and files suit to void Talmadge's claim.

Jan. 16: Talmadge seizes physical possession of Executive Office and Governor's Mansion. Constitution

Jan. 17: Arnall is barred from Capitol rotunda; retires to temporary "executive office" in downtown building.

Jan. 18: Thompson takes oath as Lieutenant Governor, and Arnall announces his resignation is effective. Atlanta, Ga.

Jan. 20: Talmadge rejects claim of Thompson.

Jan. 25: Fulton National Bank of Atlanta asks courts to decide who is Governor.

Jan. 30: Thompson sues State Pardon and Parole Board for budgetary information.

Feb. 7: Superior Judge Claude Porter rules Thompson is rightful Governor of Georgia; holds him entitled to budget figures.

Feb. 12: Superior Judge Walter Hendrix rules Talmadge is legal Governor.

Feb. 15: Superior Judge Bond Almand concurs in Hendrix decision.

March 6: Supreme Court hears arguments on governorship dispute.

March 19: Supreme Court rules 5-2 in favor of Thompson.

JACK TARVER

A Slight Misunderstanding

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

With characteristic logic, Rep. Walter Harrison has proposed a splendid solution to Georgia's dual governorship dilemma.

Rep. Harrison would merely have the Legislature pass a resolution ordering the Supreme Court to rule in Herman's favor on any and all issues brought before it. This not only would clarify the current confusion, but also result in the saving of considerable time and money. Thur. 2.6.47

Those who stand upon the letter of the law, of course, will doubtless argue that the General Assembly does not have this authority. In answer to which I will merely point out that the Legislature is a sovereign body. . . . Hath not Herman told us so?

A bill to tell the Supreme Court what to do would be just as legal as those hamstringing the Attorney General, the Secretary of State and the State Treasurer, all of whom are elective, constitutional officers, having received between three and four hundred thousand votes.

These are drastic measures, to be sure, but then these are critical times: The enemy is in our midst. Uncle Tom is at our door. Life as the Cracker Party has known it is threatened.

Incidentally, Cooper Etheridge, who runs **THE HOUSTON HOME JOURNAL** *down in Perry, thinks there has been a misunderstanding on the White Primary Bill.* Thurs. 2.6.47

"Roy told Herman to say 'We are going to keep Georgia white,'" writes Etheridge, "when what he actually meant was: 'We're going to BLEED Georgia white.'"

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Likes Herman

Editor Constitution: The Legislature that convenes next week will elect a Governor of the State to fill a vacancy caused by the lamentable death of Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge. It is my hope and belief that Herman Talmadge will be the successful candidate for the place to which his distinguished father had been elected for the fourth term. His qualifications: Sun. 1-12-47

He has a broad view of economy; he is of mental competency, without egotism; no one questions his ethical culture He is a Democrat, in line with home traditions; a Georgian to the manor born; an American who has shown his patriotism by heroic service on the field of battle. He loves the loyal people of the State of his birth, of whom he is a fit type; he is true to the home of a gracious family, and a shining example of his distinguished father's creed of State.

Young, alert, industrious, faithful, he will make a Governor of whom the people of Georgia will be proud.

BENJAMIN M. BLACKBURN.
Atlanta.

Favors Thompson

Editor Constitution: There is a lot being said and done about who is going to be our next Governor of our beloved State of Georgia. There is just one right thing to do and that is for M. E. Thompson to succeed Eugene Talmadge.

I canvassed my district before the primary last Summer for M. E. Thompson and told the voters that if the man elected as Governor should not be able to hold the office in any way that the man elected Lieutenant Governor would become Governor of Georgia. Sun. 1-12-47

M. E. Thompson carried my district and my County (Gordon) with the understanding that if anything should happen to the Governor he would become Governor of Georgia.

And when it comes to Herman Talmadge, he is no more entitled to the office of Governor than any other lawyer in Georgia.

I hope that our lawmakers will see that M. E. Thompson becomes our next Governor and right will be done.

MYRTON M. SCOTT, J. P.
1CS/5 Dist. G. M. Gordon Cnty.

For Talmadge

Editor Constitution: Please allow me a few lines in the Pulse of the Public regarding the selection of our next Governor.

The friends of the late Hon. Gene Talmadge are seeking a successor to him for Governor not in an illegal way but in accordance with the Constitution of Georgia.

The Legislators are sworn to uphold and protect our Constitution and if they are not intelligent enough to understand the Constitution, they should resign and go home where they can be shielded from the dangers of the world.

I see no legal way for the Legislators to vote to seat M. E. Thompson as Governor over D. Talmadge Bowers or Herman Talmadge.

Personally I am for Herman Talmadge. Sun. 1-12-47

MARION BENTLEY.
Thomaston.

Arnall Promises

Editor Constitution: After spending thousands of dollars to revise the Constitution of Georgia, Arnall spent thousands more trying to get the Legislature to change it so he could run again. Failing in this scheme, he spent thousands more through the Georgia Citizen Council and the Public Welfare Department to nominate a "Me Too" candidate to succeed him in office. The voters of Georgia overwhelmingly repudiated this type of "good government."

The people's Governor-Elect having died before taking office, he (Arnall) now calls himself the sole interpreter of the Constitution, his theory being for him to stay in office (against the will of the people) for another four years with his own unlimited personal privilege of resigning at any time he desires and let the Lieutenant Governor take over. You can imagine the many commitments that the Lieutenant Governor would have to make to entice him to resign. He further promises the people of Georgia that he will tie up the State in legal entanglements from now on unless his wishes are granted. The financial influence of the backers of his theory of society and government for Georgians seems to be unlimited. What will he try next?

FLORA NELLE WHITMIRE.
Atlanta.

Sun. 1-12-47

King Herman?

Editor Constitution: I wish the Legislature would make young Talmadge a king so all his sons (if he has any) can follow suit. That will end any more election fussing.

C. H. MERRELL,
Roopville.

RALPH McGILL

With My Tub and Lantern

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

I am not at all sulking in my tent.

I am sitting in front of my tub with a lantern. The fact that no one as yet has said, "Hello, Diogenes," is not my fault. I can't help it if no one recognizes a cynical philosopher. Sun. 1-26-47

I prefer the tub and the lantern to the tin armor, the broken lance and the donkey of Don Quixote. I am as good a windmill fighter as anyone else, but I prefer real fighting and not exhibitionism or loud, pious screams. So, for the nonce, I am a cynic. I will get over it. In fact, I can feel the virus of buoyancy moving about in my veins even now, albeit a bit sluggishly.

So, sitting in front of my tub, lifting my lantern and peering into the faces of those who pass by, I would like to go on with my story.

Georgia While the political barkers, Mr. Roy Harris and Mr. E. D. Rivers, were barking in front of their tents, crying their wares in the form of pledged legislators, I assumed that everyone knew what they were crying.

The Harris plan, hourly-announced, was to elect Herman Talmadge Governor of Georgia. The Rivers plan, likewise poured into the ears of the public, was to prevent it.

Both Mr. Thompson and Mr. Talmadge were then pledged, as they are this very day, to the identical platform and program.

There was no issue there. One had to choose between the personalities, or one had to go along on the issue of what the writers of the State Constitution meant to say, but didn't.

The program was one which had been submitted to the people in the Summer primary. I labored in the vineyard of that primary, working overtime hours against that program. I sweated as much as anyone else I saw at work. I got licked and I never swallowed a more bitter pill. I can still taste it. It still tastes bitter.

As a party man I bowed, although it hurt my back, to the decision of the Party. So did my candidate.

Trick All the time the political barkers were crying their wares, the Talmadge tent was shouting that they were proceeding on the theory that since their man had died, he was no longer in life and that the next candidate receiving the greatest number of votes in the general election—not the primary—would be their man.

They had accomplished this by a trick.

It was, in a sense, an unscrupulous trick. Call it a low political trick, if you wish. It would not be wrong.

But, let the cynic remind you that politics is a struggle for power, and that on the night the election came about the leader of the other faction, Gov. Ellis Arnall, thought so well of the same trick that when it looked as if his candidate might be able to use it, he attempted to do so. Sun. 1-26-47

Low I think it was perfectly politically proper for him to do so, even though I thought it was not good judgment. Had he succeeded, the Talmadge people would have regarded it as a low, scurvy trick. And they would have been right, just as the others are right in viewing it so as it stands. But keep in mind, too, that had the contradicting factors of the State Constitution been discovered by the other faction in time, they would have employed it—as they sought to do the night of the election.

So, much of the pious whooping, if you will pardon me, makes me sick to the stomach.

And, while I think the Talmadge people badly needed a good press agent the night of the elevation to prevent their failure to hold in check the rowdy element in their midst, the facts are there was no violence at all in connection with the actual election, and there was no trickery and no use of the military. That many members were over-persuaded is true, but they voted on their own.

The aroma of it was bad and it was a political—not a military—coup d'etat. I didn't like a lot that went on and don't now. I think the intent of the writers of the Constitution was to have the Lieutenant Governor serve, but unfortunately they didn't so write it.

It is a matter for the courts.

And until the courts decide, you will pardon me if I sit in front of my tub with my lantern.

The Wish of the People

The Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Wholly aside from the controversy over the governorship, the Atlanta Constitution believes the Legislature should adjourn and go home until the courts, which now have four suits on the subject before them, reach a decision.

Legislative members must agree on a tax program to bring in an estimated $32,000,000.

Such a plan necessitates great research and study. What is just as important is that it will require debate of a constructive nature. Sun. 1-26-47

There are other important measures which are entirely for the good of the State and are not at all partisan, or factional measures.

They, too, deserve calm consideration.

It is evident from the passions and acrimonious positions of the rival legislative factions, that they will concern themselves only with the controversy over the office of Governor until it is settled by the courts. This feeling extends to every measure introduced. It makes impossible any rational or calm consideration of State affairs.

Any tax bill and the necessary appropriations patently would be impossible in the present state of mind of the Legislature. It would become so involved and complicated by the dominating controversy of the moment that it would be forever snarled and tangled.

It is for this reason, chiefly, that we earnestly recommend to the Legislature what we believe to be the wish of the people—that it go home and remain there on call until the courts have determined the issue at stake. Sun. 1-26-47

All good Georgians will accept the decision. Both principals in the controversy have so pledged.

Let the Legislature, therefore, go home pending a court decision and the return of order and sanity.

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Courier-Journal

By Drew Pearson

Washington.

NOT many of them will admit it, but it was the powerful backstage support given Herman Talmadge by Georgia big business that really boosted him up the steps of the State Capitol. Fri. 1-24-47

One Georgia businessman franker than the rest is genial Chip Robert, ex-Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and engineer for some of the biggest Army-Navy construction jobs. Chip candidly admits that he pulled all the wires possible to put the Cracker Dictator on the throne of Georgia.

Chip is not so frank, however, about one hitherto undisclosed brush he had with retiring Governor Ellis Arnall which may shed light on his love for Talmadge.

Some time ago Governor Arnall called at the White House and invited President Truman to visit Georgia, the second home of Franklin Roosevelt. Truman tentatively accepted, though plans were left indefinite. Louisville, Ky.

Shortly thereafter Chip Robert went to the White House and also invited Truman to come to Georgia. And, unlike Arnall, who had said little to the press, Chip gave out a detailed statement of his plans for entertaining the President of the United States.

Back in Atlanta, Governor Arnall read Chip's ornate entertainment schedule in the morning paper. Immediately he picked up the telephone and called Mr. Robert.

"Chip," said the Governor, "I see you have invited the President to come to Georgia. That's fine. I also note that you've arranged for him to have breakfast at the Driving Club, a luncheon at the City Club, and a reception at the Atlanta Biltmore. That's fine, too. We Georgians are hospitable.

"But I think you should also know that at the same time you're inviting Mr. Truman to breakfast at the Driving Club, I'm inviting him to breakfast at the Governor's Mansion. And at the same time you say he's going to be lunching at the City Club, I'm inviting him to lunch with me. And at the time you're inviting him to a reception at the Atlanta Biltmore, I'm inviting him to Warm Springs. Fri. 1-24-47

"And," concluded Arnall, "the President is going to have to choose between Chip Robert and the Governor of Georgia.

Mr. Robert immediately dropped his plans for entertaining President Truman. Instead, he began laying plans to put Talmadge in the Governor's Mansion.

Defending Georgia

By John Temple Graves

News + Courier

"Thou would's't be great, art not without ambition, but without The illness should attend it."

Some people have the sufficient illness. Last week The Chicago Tribune carried on its front page a cartoon in which Georgia was pictured as a drunken farmer looking at a two-headed governor entitled "Arnall-Talmadge." The jug from which Georgia was drinking and which was to blame for the double vision was entitled "Years of Disregard for Law and Order." With Al Capone tenderly attended in every detail of wealth and ease at Palm Island his city of Chicago where a very science is made of disrespect for law and order was being told to look down in scorn upon the land where disrespect is an often passion but not, at least, cold-blooded. Charleston, S.C.

Not even Ellis Arnall could have been pleased with this cartoon, for evidently The Tribune did not consider him the hero of the situation as most people outside the South do. There was no hero, only a villain — Georgia, drunk with "years of disrespect for law and order."

I hold no brief for our law-abiding in the South. It could be immensely improved. Because Chicago's could, too, doesn't excuse us. Neither did I ever hold a brief for Old Gene, and if Herman is a carbon copy that is all I want to know about Herman. But I can't go on traveling this country, reading and hearing how "disgracefully" Georgia is behaving, and then come home and find so many home people chiming in, without being bitterly sorry that do-gooders seem to have lost their perspective again. The wonder is that there has not been much more disorder in the situation which has been brought about by the failure of Georgia's new constitution to resolve the perfectly honest issue arising when Eugene Talmade died after being elected and before being inaugurated, with a bitter race question uppermost. Sun. 1-26-47

One man in Ellis Arnall's outer office was bruised in a scuffle. The governor's desk at the capitol was taken over without Arnall's permission and in his absence, probably by means of picking locks. Arnall was refused admission at the governor's mansion. But is this anarchy? Is this government by storm troopers? Is this a situation calling for federal intervention to assue a republican form of government, as a party-lined Washington correspondent reports high authorities there (meaning probably himself) believe?

What Herman Talmadge may do before this is over, I don't know because I don't know Herman Talmadge. But I do know Ellis Arnall, and I know he deals now in terms of national, not Georgia, opinion. He has burned his bridges behind him. And nothing better ever happened to his national ambitions than this chance to say his state of Georgia is given over to storm troopers. Millions of Americans rush to agree with him, and, unlike The Chicago Tribune, to make him the hero of a dark, provincial scene.

Those of us who can separate our estimate of Eugene Talmadge and all that is meant by "Talmadgism" from the actuality of what has happened in Atlanta know that thus fari ti s not "disgraceful." Under the terms of Ellis Arnall's own new constitution, there is certainly enough warrant for the legislature's procedure in electing Herman governor to justify an honest conviction on the part of Herman and his friends that he is governor. In that conviction, the entry into the gubernatorial mansion and capitol offices was an exercise of police power perfectly in order. The men who used the force, or threat of force, were for the most part men in uniform, part of the state police. There is no anarchy in a government's use of police to hold or secure its properties.

If Herman Talmadge refuses to abide by a decision of the Georgia Supreme Court, that will make a different situation, and a charge of anarchy and violent possession may indeed be made. But in the meantime those of us who come from this part of the country might take time out from partisanship as between Talmadge and Arnall to stop giving the city of Al Capone testimony in support of its contempt.

And Ellis Arnall is hero enough nationally now to lay off his native state, it seems to me. He should stop talking of storm troopers even though he goes on saying "pretender." If the Talmadge forces break up in the legislature now as a result of the substitution of Thompson (the white primary supporter) for Arnall in opposition, that will be interesting and many of us may be glad. You don't have to approve either Herman or Gene Talmadge, though, to deplore this holding of Georgia up unfairly to national shame. Sun. 1-26-47

Suppose the Supreme Court of Georgia rules that Herman Talmadge is the rightful governor? That is possible. Will what he has done be thought of then as lawlessness or the natural and proper exercise of his police power?

Man to Man

By Harold L. Ickes

WANTED: By the State of Georgia, a republican form of government. Even a second-hand one would do if cut according to the Constitution of the United States. Richmond Times-Dispatch

A not-so-republican-state-as-it-might-be might well put the foregoing advertisement in the newspapers, but it would be a waste of time to apply to the Supreme Court of the United States. Citizens of the State asked for a ruling that the late Eugene Talmadge was not the legal nominee of the Democratic party because he had received only a minority of the popular vote at the primary. The Supreme Court had already made a bad decision in the case of Colegrove, et al, v. Green, et al, on June 10, last. Wrapping itself closely in its judicial robes, it had declared, by a minority of 4 to 3, "It is hostile to the democratic system to involve the judiciary in the politics of the people." It refused even to consider the Georgia case. Mon. 1-27-47

It is to be wondered whether the Supreme Court, itself having ruled by a minority vote in the Colegrove case, was sensitive about declaring against minority rule in Georgia. Even since that minority opinion of the Supreme Court, I have been wondering just whose job it is to enforce the Constitutional guarantee of a republican form of government "to every State in this Union." In my innocence, I had supposed that it was not only the duty, but the high prerogative of the Supreme Court, to insist upon the observance of solemn constitutional covenants against would-be dictators, or those who would gain by electoral stealth what they were not able to acquire honestly.

Richmond, Va.

IT IS to be hoped that the Supreme Court of the United States, which turned its back on the opportunity to declare for a republican form of government for Georgia, which was its duty under the Constitution, will not be unduly disturbed by the reckless usurpation of power in Georgia and the institution there of rule by political gangsters. After all, it can console itself with the thought that the guarantee of a republican form of government still looks pretty in print.

"It is hostile to a democratic system to involve the judiciary in the politics of the people"—as though the judiciary itself had not been procreated by "the politics of the people!"

The late Eugene Talmadge, by the use of that legalistic hocus-pocus known as the county unit system, procured himself the democratic "nomination" for Governor of Georgia. The popular vote at the primaries was: Carmichael, 308,000, Talmadge, 298,000, with former Governor E. D. Rivers and Hoke O'Kelly between them garnering another 100,000 votes. Then, out of the fear that Eugene might not live to take the oath of office, word was passed at the last minute during the general election, to write in the name of Herman, ("Hum-man" to the members of his cult) the characteristically acting son of his father. The faithful complied to the number of 687. Mon. 1-27-47

EUGENE TALMADGE died before he could be sworn in. The Legislature declared young Herman to be Governor on the strength of his name having been written in on the 687 ballots. He proceeded to assert a right to the office. Governor Arnall believed that it was his duty to continue as Governor until his successor had been elected and qualified. When Lieutenant-Governor M. E. Thompson was sworn in, Governor Arnall resigned, in the meantime having properly put up to the courts of Georgia the legal question whether Herman had any right to the office. The court, not to be hurried, set the hearing for February 7, thus proving again how much of a help the judiciary can be when our republican institutions are in danger. However, in true political gangster fashion, the precious scion of a precious father moved in with armed troops and took physical possession of the State House and of the Governor's mansion.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

Partial Text of Ruling By Judge Almand

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 2-16-47

McDONOUGH, Ga., Feb. 15—(AP)—Here is a partial text of Saturday's decision by Superior Judge Bond Almand, in the suit by the Fulton National Bank for directive as to which claimant of the Governorship may draw on executive department funds. (Judge Almand ruled for Herman Talmadge and against Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson):

The Hon. Walter C. Hendrix, Judge of Fulton Superior Court, presiding in this court in the case of Arnall versus Talmadge on Feb. 12, 1947, in construing these constitutional sections in an able and comprehensive opinion, in which this court concurs, said:

"Construing the Constitution as we do, it is clear that the General Assembly had the right to decide when there was no election by the people. It did decide that on account of the death of the Governor-Elect there had been no election by the people. In our opinion the Constitution then put the duty and responsibility on it to elect and install a Governor. This duty and responsibility it decided as it saw fit. When it acts within its authority, courts cannot interfere.

"Though our Supreme Court has never been called upon to decide the particular question now before us, the judgment of Judge Hendrix is in line with the authorities from other jurisdictions. . . .

"The question who is lawful Governor has been before the courts of the several sister States. There can be no question as to the right of the courts to entertain jurisdiction in such contests where the claim is made that the election is void because in violation of the Constitution or because of ineligibility of the person seeking to exercise the power of Governor, but we have found no case where the courts have interfered with legislative action where such action was had pursuant to constitutional power. . . . .

"The judiciary as a co-ordinate, coequal and separate unit in our government is under the same duty to uphold all acts of the Legislature passed under constitutional power as it is to set aside all acts passed in violation of the Constitution. Theoretically all sovereign power in a democracy rests in the people, but actually, under our republican form of government, the General Assembly is the elected representatives of the people and may exercise all sovereign powers of the people which are not prohibited or limited by the Constitution which the people theoretically wrote. If for any reason the Constitution as written causes results that seem to be unreasonable, unsatisfactory, or even absurd, or if their representatives, acting under permissive power granted by the Constitution, do something that does not please the elector, the remedy is at the ballot box and not in the Court House.

"During the course of argument, counsel for Mr. Thompson contended: That the makers never intended that the General Assembly could elect one as Governor who was not an open or avowed candidate in the general election and who received only a "handful of votes;" that our history has been that of constantly extending the privilege of the ballot;

"That the Court should take judicial notice that there is only one political party in Georgia; that the choice is really made in the primary, and, therefore, to permit one to be elected governor who was not on the ballot before the electorate in the general election is to wholly defeat democratic processes.

"Court thoroughly agrees that such does not comport with the theory that the head of the government should represent the free and expressed will of a majority of the people. However, the trouble lies with the people and their representatives for their failure to make their own Constitution conform to changes in public thinking and democratic ideals. The provision of the present Constitution dealing with the election of Governor by the General Assembly had its origin in an amendment to the Constitution of 1824, and though we have had five new Constitutions since that time, the provision that was adopted by the people living in the stagecoach era remains without change in this the atomic age. Sun. 2-16-47

"The answer seems to be that governments, like human beings, have frailties and imperfections, but that when popular elections do not achieve a result, representative government steps in to prevent a complete breakdown. Government, like life, must go on."

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

Sound, Fury And Opinion

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 1-29-47

An aroused public opinion is one of the finest things that can happen to a community or a State.

But, in the arousing of it, there always is a certain amount of hysteria. Until that element is winnowed out by the passing of time, it is impossible to evaluate the strength of the aroused opinion. At present, we seem to have reached the state of trying to outdo one another with rival meetings and no sure estimate is possible.

Caught in a struggle for political power, which is unusual only in the unusualness of the unwholesome methods employed in the wrestling match, Georgia seems to be at the boiling point. On almost every corner and in every market place one may hear the law expounded by those who know no law. And if one ventures into the offices of those who do, one may hear great argument as the attorneys wave the dust bones of the dead authorities who have made the law much as marine zoophytes make coral reefs.

Public opinion, if aroused, can do a great deal.

It can put on enough pressure so the law will be so amended as to prevent another such possibility.

It may be able, although by its hysteria it has made it doubtful, to force public opinion on the so-called White Primary Bill so as to make at least a small percentage of the people aware of the bill and its meaning.

Power

While it has for its arguing point the establishment of a white primary, it really is another and most potent weapon in the struggle for political power.

This was determined last Summer in the primary. While much of the argument which put it over was false and unsound, it was given substance and won many supporters when Negro voters, quite understandably, but nevertheless harmfully in so far as their own cause was concerned, were voted publicly by means of marked ballots and written instructions. That, too, was a struggle for political power as well as a proper attempt to allow any citizen who pays his taxes and meets the requirements, to vote. A sound qualifications bill would be more honest and legal, but would not be as politically powerful.

That die was cast. When Eugene Talmadge died and his party found a legal loophole through which to thrust a hand and keep their party in power, there remained nothing that could be done except to await the legal decision.

Arousing public opinion is always a good, healthy thing, for any community or State.

It remains to be seen if it is merely sound and fury, a brief period of staying at the boiling point, or if it actually is an aroused, organized public opinion. Wed. 1-29-47

Organization

You may be sure the Talmadge forces are organized and that the more or less irreducible minimum of support they command will exert a continuing opinion. It is important to keep in mind that during the several weeks when their course was plain and in the form of a public campaign, there was no expressed, articulate public opinion save theirs.

If there is an aroused, continuing public opinion it will be the finest and most healthful development that has happened to our political life.

For the past two decades that political life has consisted of certain campaigns with the same political shadows behind each and every one of them.

Public opinion cannot take Herman Talmadge out of office or put M. E. Thompson in. Only the courts can do that.

But if it is aroused, and continuing, it can have a great deal to do with the future.

Weapons

It is well to reduce hysteria in other fields, as well.

In order to hammer through political control, certain whipping boys and straw men have been set up.

No one detests Communism more than I. I like to try and hunt it out and expose it. But it is ridiculous to say that there are any Communist influences in the Georgia political controversy. It is true that the Communist Daily Worker and Communist agents have sought, and still seek, to take advantage of the undeniable mistreatment of the Negro in the South to win him to their side. That they have not done so is a tribute to the Negro in the South which ought to win him more friends from those who do so loudly profess their anti-Communism. The disease of Communism grows out of poverty and a sense of injustice. Too many confuse the efforts to obtain equal opportunity and equal justice for the Negro with social equality. They are not the same and only the uninformed or vicious make them so.

Henry Wallace, many of whose principles have found me in disagreement, is certainly no part of a Communist. He is not even a good Socialist. He now edits The New Republic and it is not a Communist mouthpiece. In the past it was Socialist more than anything else, but it is, in its new form, not even that.

Certainly former Gov. Ellis Arnall is not at all "a nigger lover," as his critics say. He is so branded in the political struggle in an attempt to lessen his influence. Certainly he is no Communist. He is no follower of Wallace. He has, in a sense, replaced him on the national scene with a different political approach.

Georgia desperately wants to be loved and respected. But we must not forget that we too often are unlovely.

We do ourselves no good by throwing so much political mud. We cannot be so childish as to blame the national magazines for "writing us up." We surely must be aware that we provide the unfavorable stories to be "written up." Wed. 1-29-47

There is nothing at all commendable about directionless frenzy. And we have had a lot of it.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Carbon Copy 37a(2)

Editor Constitution: Just like a carbon copy of his father, "King Herman" yells, "nigger, nigger, nigger" all through his speeches and ironically enough ends them with "and may God bless you." If he will read the Bible I don't think he will find that God condemned any man for the color of his skin. If the Supreme Court decides in Talmadge's favor, all I can say is "May God bless Georgia."

MRS. L. V. STEELE.

Griffin.

Atlanta Constitution

If Herman Stays . . .

Editor Constitution: If the Legislature and the Supreme Court allow Herman to retain the Governorship, there would seem to be no further need for the county unit system or any other as none of us would need to vote. I didn't vote for Mr. Thompson, but others did and he should be Governor. I'm for democracy!

IRA F. McMINN.

Toccoa.

Atlanta, Ga.

Slavery Wed. 1-29-47

Editor Constitution: Mr. Herman Talmadge called on the "good white, God-fearing" people to express their approval of the proposed white primary law. Whether I am good is not mine to say, but white and God-fearing I certainly am. And it is just because I do fear God that I oppose this and any law that would create slavery, political or otherwise.

MRS. F. W. BRYANT.

Lawrenceville.

Lawless Primary

Editor Constitution: The problem of the Governor will end, one way or the other, before any great lapse of time, but if our primary laws—the accomplishment of years—are abolished, it may take a generation or more to restore them.

The hysteria the people have had, recently, is mild compared to what they will have on the next election day, when they realize our laws are gone, if this bill passes.

BLANCHE ROGERS SABADOS.

Albany.

Wed. 1-29-47

Negro Governor

Editor, Constitution: Haven't we overlooked an important point in all this discussion of the Governor's office. Less than 1,000 votes were "written in" for any one person against the announced Democratic candidate. There might easily have been "written in" 1,500 votes for Graham Jackson, the popular Negro entertainer, and 1,400 for John, the janitor at the Capitol.

If that had happened, and it easily could—this or the next time—then under the interpretation the Legislature gives our Constitution the Legislature would have been REQUIRED to elect either Graham or John. It is a little inconsistent for those who profess to be the great savers of "white supremacy" to follow a course which, if it is legal as they claim, would permit Georgia to have had a Negro Governor.

WILLIAM G. GAINES.

Conyers, Rt. 1.

Limited Franchise

Editor Constitution: When Gene Talmadge was running for Governor, he was opposed to Negroes voting. He said he would stop it and we all wondered how.

Herman came along and to fulfill his dad's promises, he stopped all voting in Georgia, so now we have a King Herman and a Crown Prince Gene, II. Wed. 1-29-47

L. A. REEVES.

Luthersville.

See No Reasons

Editor Constitution: I see no reason why the white people of Georgia are so anxious to rush a bill's passage to prevent Negroes from voting. Think of all the disgrace we are suffering over the present gubernatorial dispute. Were the Negroes responsible? Think of the mass Negro lynching at Monroe. Was it the Negroes who committed the crime? Think of the organization of the "Columbians" and their shrewd plans. Were the Negroes Responsible? Yet all this time is spent on a bill to prevent Negroes from voting. It seems to me that there are some other people who need to wake up and see that the "beam may be in their own eyes."

MARY L. McCOY.

Mitchell County.

Southern Exposure

Time Chicago, Ill.

The night of Jan. 14, when Georgia's legislature met to elect a successor to Governor Gene Talmadge, son Herman's chances were slim. In the first count of write-in ballots, he was running third among the contenders, and the new governor was to be chosen from the top two. Then, suddenly, 58 new votes—all from Talmadge's home county of Telfair—put Hummon back into the running. Ever since then, thoughtful Georgians have been wondering about those 58 votes. Last week they found out. After a month of cloak-&-dagger sleuthing, the Atlanta *Journal* splashed a well-documented story of forged ballots across Page One. It was one of the year's notable journalistic exploits. Mon. 3-17-47

It began with a politician's quiet tip to the *Journal's* veteran political editor, Earl Gregory. The Telfair ballots, he said, had been fixed. The *Journal* sent a young reporter named George Goodwin down to Telfair. He made the mistake of telling someone that he was from an Atlanta paper. County officials ducked him, or gave him vague answers. Disheartened, he returned to Atlanta without a story. Then he began digging in the State Secretary's office. In the bottom of a carton full of election-return envelopes, he came across the list of voters from Helena precinct in Telfair. The list looked fishy: the last 34 names were all in alphabetical order, from A through K. Goodwin reasoned that people just don't arrive at the polls in alphabetical order. He went back to Telfair, spent a day driving up back-country roads, seeking the 34 voters. Reporter Goodwin's findings: at least two of the 34 had been dead for years, five had long since moved from the county, five were willing to testify that they had not voted, and more than a dozen could not be found.

Hydrophobia, He Says. The *Journal* broke its story four days before the state Supreme Court began its hearings on the electoral mess. Hummon squawked loudly: "The *Journal* has running hydrophobia." His weekly paper, the *Statesman* ("The People: Editor; Herman Talmadge: Associate Editor"), joined in: "Smear tactics . . . to coerce and intimidate the Supreme Court." Hundreds of congratulatory letters poured in to the *Journal* (owned by the Democrats' 1920 presidential candidate, James M. Cox). The rival *Constitution,* which fought Gene Talmadge in the last election, was strangely noncommittal about the *Journal's* exposé of Hummon. Editor Ralph McGill (whom capitol wiseacres were now calling "the editor dimly seen") blamed the Telfair irregularities not on Hummon but upon "the carelessness generated by the one-party system." Mon. 3-17-47

Last week, as the state Supreme Court deliberated, the *Journal* diplomatically kept mum lest it be accused of trying to influence the Court. But the *Journal's* two G-men, Goodwin and Gregory, were still digging. They had received tips of vote-fixing in Cherokee County (55 votes had been added after the returns reached Atlanta). And they were poking around in Rockingham precinct (one of the two precincts in the state which gave Hummon, a write-in candidate, more votes than the regular Democratic nominee, ol' Gene). The *Journal's* Managing Editor William Kirkpatrick contentedly indicated that he still had a few more firecrackers to shoot off. Time Chicago, Ill.

GEORGIA: Who's a Wool Hat

Newsweek

In response to numerous inquiries, NEWSWEEK *asked a former Georgia political writer to describe the "wool-hat boys" who invariably support a Talmadge for political office in Georgia. His report follows:* Dayton, Ohio

Mon. 2-24-47

The term "wool hat" is used in ridicule of rural Georgians. In Kansas, you would call them hicks; in Ohio, clodhoppers. The best guess is that the term was originated by Georgia townfolk who felt superior, especially when they heard a countryman ask for a "wool hat"—a broad-brimmed felt which sheltered the wearer from rain and sun and was the standard wear of Confederate soldiers. To a countryman who grew cotton and wore cotton, any other material which came from "furrin" parts was naturally called "wool."

It's easy to recognize the wool-hat boy on the red clay roads and around the cotton fields and in the loblolly pine lands. He is tall and lean and straight-lipped. He has a big Adam's apple and bearlike hands. His generally unshaven face is weatherbeaten and deeply lined with passion and prejudice. He doesn't have much money or education. He is pure Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. The wool hat is peculiar to South and Middle Georgia. He is seldom seen in the moonshine uplands of North Georgia, where folks are tainted with Republicanism, or in the big cities, where slickers are exposed to liberalism. 37a(2) (14)

One War, One Georgia: If the wool-hat boy is in a rut, he likes it. He asks little of the world, so long as the "damyankee" lets him alone and the "nigger" doesn't get uppity. He has never forgotten his granddad's tales of William Tecumseh Sherman and the March to the Sea, of Yankee carpetbaggers and Negro voting during the Reconstruction. To him, "the war" always refers to the War Between the States, never to the first or second world war. In some ways, the wool hat is a doughty provincial; in others, a lynch-minded freebooter who is trying to retain slavery in the form of peonage. Newsweek

The backbone of the Ku Klux Klan, the wool-hat boy wants none of revolution and little of evolution. Skeptical of things he doesn't understand, he loved "Ole Gene" Talmadge because Talmadge spoke his language and voiced his thoughts about the white primary. When I stopped on the road to talk to one who was overseeing cotton-picking, he complained: "Why don't the Yankees let us alone? We don't bother them." Pointing to a large Negro bending over the rows of cotton, he continued: "Lord, they want that burrhead to vote. It's beyond me." Dayton, Ohio

The wool hat's favorite political argument is to tell the story about the sharp trader from New York who imported 10,000 monkeys from Africa and tried to sell them to Southern planters for use in picking cotton. One planter told the trader off: "We know what would happen. No sooner would we have the monkeys picking cotton than you'd want them to go to the polls and vote." 2-24-47

Two to One

Newsweek

For Herman Talmadge and his "wool hat" followers there was succor in Georgia's courts last week. Two Superior Court decisions in Henry County upheld Talmadge's contention that the legislature acted legally in "electing" him governor in January. With M. E. Thompson, lieutenant governor, holding a Floyd County Superior Court decision adjudging him governor (NEWSWEEK, Feb. 17), Georgia would not know until the State Supreme Court acted in March who really was the chief executive. Mon. 2-24-47

'LOOKS LIKE TWELVE OAKS'

GWTW Author Hits Idea Talmadge Home Is 'Tara'

Constitution Sun 2-16-47 Atlanta, Ga.

By JOHN R. HENRY
International News Service Staff Correspondent

Whether Herman Talmadge, claimant to Georgia's disputed Governorship, lives at Tara—the plantation made famous by "Gone With the Wind"—assumed new interest Saturday with comment from Author Margaret Mitchell.

Miss Mitchell, the petite author whose novel on the War Between the States became a best-seller, emphatically denies that Talmadge or anyone else lives at "Tara."

Constitution

The fabulous plantation dwelling, you see, never existed except as a phantasy in Margaret's mind.

Yet, there are folks at McDonough who firmly believe that the sprawling 120-year-old homestead which the late Eugene Talmadge bought for his son, is the same place where dainty Scarlett O'Hara and debonair Rhett Butler pitched woo and killed Yankees back in 1964.

Sun 2-16-47

Mrs. Betty Talmadge, pretty wife of the 34-year-old occupant of the State's Executive Office, doesn't know, really, whether her home is the original Tara, or just another treasured relic of the Old South.

Mrs. Talmadge explained:

"People frequently call our home 'The Gone With the Wind house.' Some say it looks more like Twelve Oaks (another mansion that figures in the historical novel) than Tara. I really don't know, but I love the old place.

"They plucked three or four minnie balls out of the walls when we were having the house redecorated. Some say that a Confederate General made his headquarters there when Sherman marched to the sea."

Atlanta Ga.

The Talmadge dwelling, which also is known as "the ole Chuck Crawford estate," came into discussion during the Henry County Superior Court session last week when Talmadge was proclaimed lawful Governor. People at the Court House in McDonough referred to his residence as "The Gone With the Wind House."

Mrs. Christine Hankinson, a former school ma'm who serves as sort of unofficial historian of Henry County, explained that some of Talmadge's neighbors think the old mansion inspired Margaret Mitchell's description of Tara.

Sun 2-16-47

These reports from McDonough aroused Miss Mitchell from a long-standing desire to remain out of the spotlight. And, "Peggy" Mitchell, who in private life is Mrs. John R. Marsh, wife of a prominent Atlanta advertising executive, bounced to her typewriter.

She wrote to Bill McCain, who had read an International News Service story mentioning the Talmadge "Tara" in a newscast from Atlanta's WAGA. Miss Mitchell stated:

"I have never seen the house Mr. Talmadge occupies, nor do I file a cross bill of exceptions as an additional appeal.

McClatchey pointed out that his appeal is simply for the protection of the Bank and is not protesting the verdict as in favor of either governorship claimant.

Judge Almand's decision, McClatchey said, left the Bank still in the middle of the controversy and afforded the Bank no protection in paying out funds prior to a decision by the Supreme Court.

McClatchey said he expected to have his appeal before the Supreme Court, by way of the clerk of the Henry County Superior Court by Monday, along with Thompson's appeal to Judge Hendrix's ruling against him in his suit against Talmadge.

The third suit, which has already gone to the higher tribunal and which attorneys hope to have decided at the same time, is the case from Floyd Superior Court at Rome where Judge Claude H. Porter ruled in Thompson's favor in his suit against members of the State Pardon and Parole Board to get budgetary information.

Supreme Court action at least by the week of March 10, or possibly earlier, is anticipated by attorneys involved in all three cases.

The Constitution

Saturday's decision by Judge Almand left two more cases involving the governorship still pending in Superior Courts but neither is likely to reach the Supreme Court before it rules.

These remaining suits include one at Thomasville where J. B. Edwards, Arnall appointee, and Jack Whitehurst, Talmadge appointee, are claimants to the Solicitor Generalship of the Southern Judicial Circuit. The case is set for Feb. 26 before Judge George Lilly. Another case is set before the same judge for Feb. 27 at Valdosta involving tax payments.

Atlanta, Ga.

Gov. Talmadge Saturday hailed Almand's ruling as actually his fifth court victory.

Talmadge listed also as triumphs:

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(1.) A McDuffie County Ordinary's refusal to grant an extradition request by Thompson, ruling that Thompson is not Acting Governor.

(2.) A suit against Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook by Charles D. Redwine, Talmadge-appointed Revenue Commissioner, to force Cook to approve his bond. This suit was dropped when Cook approved the bond.

(3.) A decision by Judge Almand requiring State Treasurer George B. Hamilton to accept State funds from Redwine. In this decision, however, Almand ruled that the governorship was not an issue.

Talmadge has branded the only decision against him, that of Judge Porter, as "patently collusive."

Thompson had said Friday:

"Judges Porter, Hendrix and Almand are honorable men and highly respected as judges throughout the State. The next decision rests with the Supreme Court. The people are entitled to the earliest possible final decision in this issue."

He did not amplify this comment after the McDonough decision Saturday.

know where it is, although I understand that it is at Lovejoy. The scene of "Gone With the Wind" is not at Lovejoy.

"It is highly embarrassing to me to have it broadcast that Tara actually existed, and it is even more embarrassing when it is dragged into the present political unpleasantness."

The author of "GWTW" then told INS:

Sun 2-16-47

"Tara never was an actual place, I even went to great care to read the old deeds and Court House records to make certain that there was no such place. I've always thought it would be most despicable to write a book about real people and places of the past when they have no comeback."

Miss Mitchell went on to explain, also, that the imaginary Tara was in the general locale of Clayton County, which adjoins Henry. Talmadge resides in Henry County.

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Georgia and History

Daily Worker, Tues 1-23-47
New York N.Y.

WHAT is historic and enduring in the "Battle of Atlanta" is the way the people are rising against the fascist pretender, Herman Talmadge.

If Talmadge has been forced to swallow some of his blusters, it is not only because he has found little support among the people, but because they are actively in motion against him.

This is probably the most dramatic of the recent chain of events which indicate that the rotting feudal structure of the South is being shaken by powerful democratic storms.

Georgia had recently gone through something of a political revolution. Under Gov. Arnall, the polltax was abolished and the "white primary" legally outlawed. Last year, 100,000 Negroes voted in the primaries.

Talmadge represents the effort to cancel all that. He counted on popular hatred of these advances in the rights of the Negro people to back his fascist putsch.

The fact that he was wrong is of terrific importance to the whole country. It means great sections of the white citizenry of the South will not be stampeded any longer by the "Negro" issue.

Not all who are fighting against Talmadge's seizure of power are foes of the "white supremacy" cause he symbolizes. Gov. Thompson, whose place he is trying to usurp, has even voiced support for measures in the Legislature to restore the "white primary."

But in battling for democracy for itself, this white citizenry has thus far refused to succumb to the slogan of white supremacy and to those whose platform is to shut out the Negro people once again from political life.

Many will come to realize that the racism of the South threatens their own democracy.

-This gives the Georgia fight its crucial national import. For only by breaking through the Jimcrow system of the South will this great reserve of American reaction be destroyed and the struggle for full Negro citizenship everywhere be won. Without this full Negro citizenship, our entire democracy is vulnerable.

Thus, the Georgia fight is the fight of the forces of democracy everywhere in the nation. They have got to lend every encouragement to the citizens of Georgia, and to insist that the Federal Government step in to help them get rid of the fascist pretender and to see that the letter and spirit of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments of the Constitution are enforced.

Tues. 1-23-47

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Fairness

Editor Constitution: Wish to congratulate you on your fairness to both Ex-Gov. Ellis Arnall and Gov. Herman Talmadge. This uncalled-for smear on Georgia is deplorable. Georgia's Constitution sustains both these men for their contentions — very unfortunate. Who is responsible? We need men like you to use their influence and prevent any further outbursts on the part of Mr. Arnall. He pretends he is working for Georgia and Georgians. He is working for Mr. Ellis Arnall. Cordially.

MRS. J. T. WILKINS, Sr.
Atlanta.

Mon. 1-20-47

Grateful

Editor Constitution: I am deeply grateful to you for giving the "wool hat folk" publicity in your recent issues.

I find that your statements adhere more to a correct view of what really happened at the Capitol during the election of our best beloved Herman Talmadge. We, the "wool hat folk," have perfect confidence in his ability to uphold the white primary and county unit system, and the educational facilities of the State.

If you will pull for Georgia and not vilify our State we will all stand by you with our might and power. We so much need a daily that will really represent the masses.

I myself am a member of the Wool Hat Club and wish you success in the work of enhancing the courtesy and good-will of your fellow Georgians instead of taking orders from outsiders.

MRS. BEULAH WALLER.
Atlanta.

Legislature to Blame

Editor Constitution: Georgia was becoming an outstanding State, pulling out of the rut she was in, until Jan. 14, 1947. She then took a nosedive to Communism and has been steadily disgraced since. People of Georgia are now embarrassed to tell that they live in the State. Who is to blame? Some say Herman Talmadge. Others say Ellis Arnall. I say the legislators. They, themselves, elected Herman Talmadge, a man who has never been a candidate for Governor, but had a mere 694 write-in votes.

The only fair way to settle the situation is a general election. Everyone I have talked to agree to that. Even Talmadge says he will run for Governor and if defeated, resign. I'm sure Gov. Arnall would approve of it. No one could say it would be unfair. It seems everyone would be satisfied with a general election except the Legislature, who it seems are in the fight for their personal benefit.

OTIS TUCKER.
Atlanta.

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Family Affair

Editor Constitution: I heard a certain Englishman speak on one of the Atlanta radio stations yesterday (Jan. 14), who said our Government was a great deal like the Government in England. I agree with him, when at the death of the Governor his son (like the King of England) takes his place. After all I didn't know the governorship was a family affair.

MISS SYBLE MERRITT.
Woodstock.

Man
1-20-47

The Constitution welcomes letters from its readers. They must be signed, should not exceed 200 words. We regret no letters can be returned.

Seig Heil!

Editor Constitution: The House of Talmadge! Who is this Herman Talmadge? "Crown Prince of Georgia?"

Is the State of Georgia going back to the age of monarchs, dictators, kings and tyrants?

Another Talmadge equals "Tobacco Road."

The good State of Georgia (our native State) has suffered enough under the Talmadge reign.

Enough we say!

L. C. CHITWOOD, JR.
J. H. THOMASON, JR.
A. C. TOUCHTON.
RENE HERNDON.
Athens.

Royal Family

Editor Constitution: House of Talmadge—Georgia has a monarchy—isn't this grand? Just what royal family will they marry into—to keep the title? Probably the Harris family, no doubt.

I understand Arnall has a son. Why wasn't he considered? He couldn't be any smaller than Herman.

I see now the people really have no voice in the Government of Georgia—but I know one thing—I'll never curtsy to the Talmadge family or sing "Long Live the King."

MRS. CHARLES TATUM.
Atlanta.

At 'Half Time' No Important Bill Reaches Either of Signing Hands

Constitution Sun 2-16-47

Atlanta, Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

The Georgia Legislature had completed one-half of its 70-day session today—without sending a single general bill to either gubernatorial contender for signature.

The tie-up in the Legislature drew contrary comments from Gov. Herman Talmadge and Lt.-Gov. M. E. Thompson.

Talmadge called on the "wilful minority" in the State Senate to stop filibustering so the General Assembly can get down to work. He had high praise for the House.

RECESS URGED

Thompson again urged the Legislature to recess until the confusion over the gubernatorial issue clears. He suggested that committees be named to study and strengthen where necessary the bill to assure the people of a white primary and preservation of the county unit system, and to investigate means of raising new money to finance new services.

Said Talmadge: "The three most important measures facing the Legislature are the White Primary, an Appropriations bill, and a Revenue bill. The House has passed and sent to the Senate two of these major bills, the White Primary and the Appropriations Bills. It is actively working on a Revenue bill.

Constitution

"Speaker Fred Hand, who is seated in my office at this time, informs me that the House has passed 89 bills and resolutions. The House is making good progress.

"The Senate's progress is being delayed by a filibuster and dilatory tactics used by a wilful minority. The majority of the Senators are ready to pass the White Primary Bill and the Appropriations Bill.

"I hope the filibuster will be ended and the Senate will get down to work. The people expect prompt action."

THOMPSON'S PLEDGE

Said Thompson: "On Jan. 27, 1947, I sent a communication to the General Assembly through Pres. Pro Tem William T. Dean and Speaker Fred Hand. Pres. Dean accepted the message and it appears in the Senate Journal. Speaker Hand refused the message.

Sun 2-16-47

"In this message I pledged my co-operation to the General Assembly in carrying out the wishes of the people, and told the legislators it was my opinion they should adjourn until the constitutional questions involving the governorship are settled in the courts.

"Because of the unsettled conditions in State Government which have been brought about through no fault of mine, I honestly and sincerely believe a recess could be used to advantage and suggested the presiding officers to appoint a committee to study and make recommendations, while adjourned on the White Primary Bill and county unit system preservation.

Atlanta Ga.

Rep. Charles Gowen, Thompson supporter.

An amendment to extend the county unit system to the general election for Governor may be debated again. It failed to receive the two-thirds majority required on Constitutional Amendments last week.

Constitution

Neither contender for the Governorship has yet received measures to sign which would provide for expansion of State services or pay for these new services.

Three resolutions and a few local bills have been sent to Talmadge for signature. The resolutions indorsed the "March of Dimes"; expressed apprecition to Dr. Rufus Payne for his help during the flood at Rome and asked the Central of Georgia Railroad to raise a bridge at Rome; and named a joint committee to investigate the tardiness of publication of the legislative acts of 1946.

Sun 2-16-47

In the first half of the legislative sesssion, the Senate has sent 28 approved measures to the House of 66 proposed. The House has sent 83 of the 279 bills and resolutions to the Senate. But the two branches have agreed on no major legislation and sent it to the Governor.

With the feud between the supporters of Talmadge and Thompson still raging in the General Assembly, the Senate and House will open the second half of their 1947 session Monday with hot issues facing them.

A filibuster against the White Primary Bill, as passed by the House, may be resumed in the Senate. If the step-by-step fight against the Bill continues, passage of the measure may be delayed until the latter part of the week. The Senate adopted only 23 of the 51 sections of this Bill last week. Talmadge said the filibuster might delay the Bill until March 1.

HOUSE FIGHT BILLED

While the Senate is arguing over knocking out State regulations of the Democratic Primary, the House will face a fight over two methods of changing the registration laws for the general election.

One of these Bills proposes re-establishment of a modified poll tax and abolition of permanent registration systems and all registration laws. The Bill, House Bill 96, proposes educational tests and re-registration of all voters every two years. They would pay a $1 registration fee on each registration.

Sun 2-16-47

A substitute for this Bill would purge the voters' list biennially but would not destroy the permanent registration system. It would permit the State Board of Education to set qualification tests for voters, and school teachers to give the tests. Under this substitute, the vote would continue free and no "registration fee" would be charged.

House Bill 96 and the substitute will be debated Wednesday. Three public hearings are scheduled in the House this week.

At 2 p. m. Monday, the House Judiciary Committee will have a hearing on Rep. M. M. Smith's bill to outlaw gambling on sports events.

At 4 p. m. Tuesday, the Hygiene and Sanitation Committee will have a hearing on a Bill supervising the sale of dangerous drugs.

At 5 p. m. Wednesday, the Temperance Committee will have hearing in the Henry Grady Hotel on a proposal to establish State Liquor Stores.

If the Senate completes action on the White Primary measure this week, it may reach debate on the House-passed $116,000,000 Appropriations Bill.

BILLS IN SENATE

Other major bills facing the Senate are the House-passed Home Rule for Cities Bill and a Senate measure outlawing closed shops. After a joint public hearing last week, the Senate Industrial Relations Committee recommended passage of the anti-closed shop and anti-mass picketing measures, while the House Industrial Relations Committee rejected the Bills.

The House is expected to take up a Home Rule for Counties Bill this week. It has approval of the County and County Matters Committee.

Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGIA

Double Trouble

37a(2)

Georgia was getting more publicity than a two-headed calf—and seemed to suffer from the same ailments which harass such a rare beast. Each of Georgia's heads wanted to go in a different direction. Each mooed incessantly. Each tried to butt the other out of the feedbox. Meanwhile, the animal proper did not seem able to eat, walk or cough up its cud, but simply stood disconsolately, enduring violent disturbances of the fourth stomach.

Time 2-3-47

After two weeks in office, young Governor Herman ("Hummon") Talmadge still held his favored position on the neck of state. But the constitutionality of his succession was far from settled. Lieut. Governor Melvin E. Thompson, who called himself governor and acted like one, kept crying that Hummon was a fraud.

Georgia reacted noisily. Hundreds of citizens gathered at impromptu meetings to attack Hummon. Two thousand students from eight Georgia colleges marched on the capitol, hanged Hummon in effigy, and bayed from the street outside. And the state assembly lagged in carrying out Hummon's orders for a white primary bill; so many of his legislative backers left town one day that Thompson's minority was almost able to vote a long recess.

"Coop de Tate." Hummon was not abashed. He got the legislators together for a pep talk, gave them a piece of oratory distinguished mainly by his unique pronunciation of *coup d'état*. Hummon made it "coop de tate." He went on the air to cry that radicals were plotting to "destroy the dominance of the white race in the South"—and to suggest that his followers mail in nickels and dimes to pay for the radio time he had used, a matter of $1,637.66. To demonstrate his innate kindliness he even got himself photographed giving a dollar bill to a poverty-stricken Negro sharecropper.

Meanwhile each governor announced that he expected to get paid at the rate of $12,000 a year. Each appointed state officers. Hummon's had the edge, since they were confirmed by the state senate. But the processes of government began to succumb to a sort of galloping schizophrenia. The 200 Georgia banks which handle state money didn't know which governor to recognize; and one—the Fulton National Bank of Atlanta—prepared to institute legal action to find out who was really it.

2-3-47 Mon

It seemed doubtful that there would be any clear-cut legal decision for months, but at week's end an Atlanta judge named Virlyn B. Moore expressed positive if indirect disapproval of the present state of affairs. A Negro bigamist arraigned in his court cried: "I caint see where it's wrong for a man to have two wives when it's all right for a state to have two governors." Judge Moore just gave him twelve months in the cooler.

2-3-47 Mon.

Wall Street Wanted Talmadge

The Worker

By H. B. Chase

37a(2)

ATLANTA, Ga.

Georgia was not chosen for America's first Fascist coup just because it's in the South. The people who own Georgia and the South, the real masters of Herman Talmadge, don't live there. Their address is—Wall Street.

The Georgia Power Co., the railroads, the big textile mills of the state, are all Wall Street corporations. Perhaps the biggest "plantation owner" in Georgia is the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. These are the "southerners" who make super profits as a result of the oppression of the Negro people and the impoverishment of the laboring white people in Georgia.

New York N.Y.

According to A. G. Mezerik in his book, **Revolt of the South and West,** "fifty cents in every dollar on deposit in Georgia banks is owned in the North." Eight of the 11 board members of the Federal Reserve Bank which serves most of the South, are southern managers for Wall Street concerns.

Sun. 3-2-47

The sharecropper setup is just a unique Southern source of revenue for the Wall Street controlled banks of Georgia. The Bourbon landlords are mere lieutenants of Big Business.

These economic rulers are fearful of the stirring within their semi-slave empire. They are frightened by the growing political consciousness of the Negro people, the progressive sentiment of sections of the white population, and the growing spirit of unity between white and Negro, all of which has been reflected in the activities of the Arnall New Deal Administration.

Some of the indications that Wall Street's unlimited domination in Georgia is coming to an end, are:

1. Arnall's Administration. Arnall adapted Roosevelt's reforms to Georgia. The Arnall Administration received its main support from the Negro people, the workers, the urban middle class and those lesser southern capitalists who felt Wall Street and the semi-feudal status of the South were hindering their development.

2. The fight to eliminate freight-rate discrimination against the South. Victory on this front would facilitate industrial development in the South.

3. The greater assistance of Negroes in their demand for democratic political and economic rights. Illustration: 100,000 Negroes cast their vote in the July 17th primary. This vote was certainly cast against Talmadge and Wall Street.

4. The abolition of the polltax. This historic gain under Arnall, restored to hundreds of thousands of Negro people and working whites, their long-lost right to vote.

5. Extension of voting rights to 18-year-olds. With this step, Georgia youth emerged as a strong political force.

6. The CIO and AFL drives in the South, both from Atlanta headquarters.

3-2-47

7. Local election victories over entrenched political machines in Richmond County (Augusta) and Chatham County (Savannah) with the Negro people playing an important role in each case.

Other and more general sources of worry to Wall Street and the Bourbons include: The tremendous discontent of the sharecroppers and tenants in the rural areas. The growing understanding among Georgia whites that to defend Negro rights is to defend their own rights. At least twenty-five white legislators advanced the principle of common interest, in one form or another, as their reason for opposing the Harris-Talmadge "white primary" bill.

All these factors strike fear into the Wall Street Bourbon masters of Talmadge. And fear in large part, drove them to attempt a fascist coup.

So much for the why of the Talmadge coup. But how was he able to carry it off? In the first place, he need not have been in position to make the attempt. He could have been defeated in last year's election but for a cancer in the body of labor and the progressive movement.

The cancer is—a combination of Social Democracy and Trotzkyism. Atlanta is the southern center for the combined movement.

New York, N.Y.

Typical of these forces are Frank McCallister, Trotzkyite head of the Georgia Workers Educational Service, and Ken Douty social-democratic head of the Textile Workers Union. They play an extremely disruptive and divisive role in the most progressive section of the Georgia labor movement—the CIO.

Another important figure in this anti-progressive front, is Lillian Smith, author of **Strange Fruit,** who unfortunately has an undeserved prestige in Georgia progressive circles as well as in the North.

Sun. 3-2-47

Also harmful has been the influence of Margaret Fisher, director of the Georgia Committee of the Southern Confernce for Human Welfare. She prevented that organization from mobilizing its enormous potential power against the Talmadge Coup and the white primary bill. This is in direct violation of the program and spirit of the Conference, which has made tremendous contributions to progressive development throughout the South in the past decade.

The Trotzkyite and Social Democratic forces have been successful in keeping organized labor from taking the lead in the anti-Talmadge movement. They have tried to persuade the Negro people to "lay low and let the white people do the job."

It was their influence that caused certain progressives, including sections of the Jewish people of Atlanta, to cease open opposition to the Columbians.

In the past few weeks they have concentrated on spreading a special brand of defeatism through the anti-Talmadge movement. They argue that it's better to ignore Talmadge's coup and work toward defeating him in the next elections. Lieut. Gov. Thompson, they say, is no better than Talmadge.

The Worker

But it is clear that Thompson's compromises reflect labor's inadequate leadership in the anti-Talmadge fight. A principled stand by labor against the "white primary" would have its effect on Thompson.

New York, N.Y.

The Social Democrats are also partly responsible for the slogan: "Let's leave it to the courts.' This is just another way of telling the people not to expres their indignation as if that indignation would be wasted in any case. While the people are silent, however, the Talmadge forces would put pressure on the courts and get legal sanction for their coup.

His position thus strengthened by agents in the progressive camp, Talmadge tries to put up a respectable "legal" front pending the court trials. But the reactionary and fascist nature of his program is already seen in his vicious "white primary" law.

3-2-47

This law, or rather this repealer of primary laws that puts the private Democratic Party in charge of a State operation without State supervision, is more than that. It is a transfer of the State to the KKK. It includes provision for imprisonment of any citizen who criticizes or objects to the election procedure.

Talmadge is out to set up a reactionary one-party dictatorship based on storm troop methods and upon the lynch terror openly preached by the KKK and the Columbians. Behind the terror are the usual economic motives. The Talmadge forces, for instance, are planning to transfer a larger part of the tax load to the backs of the poor. A 3 per cent sales tax is in preparation.

But Herman Talmadge can be routed and defeated if the forces of labor and the Negro people, the aroused majority of Georgians who believe in American democracy, will unite and act. It is necessary for every citizen and every organization to speak out against Talmadge. They should demand that the legally elected governor be seated.

Sun. 3-2-47

Nor is it a matter for Georgians alone. It is an American problem. The Federal Government should be asked to use its power against Talmadge who has violated the United States, as well as the Georgia Constitution. A constitutional and republican form of government must be restored in Georgia or it will be threatened throughout the land. The whole national labor and progressive movement, every American, must make this his business. For that thing in Georgia is—Fascism!

Corrects Errors In Talmadge Article

Daily Worker

Ga.

Editor, Daily Worker:

37a(2)

Though I appreciate the editing and cutting which were necessary in a long article, certain inaccuracies nonetheless, crept into my article, **Wall Street Wanted Talmadge** in the March 2 editions of The Worker.

Fri 3-8-47

In the first paragraph the opening sentence as printed said "Georgia was not chosen for America's first fascist coup just because it's in the south." That sentence is very misleading. The desire of Wall Street and their Bourbon plantation allies to maintain and increase the oppression of the Negro people **in the South** is a basic reason for Talmadge's fascist measures.

New York N.Y.

Another error read, "the sharecropper setup is just a unique southern source of revenue for the Wall Street controlled banks of Georgia. The Bourbon landlords are mere lieutenants of big business." Unique indeed! So unique that the breakup of the plantation system and the end of sharecropping is a most important step for immediate and future progress in the South. Although Wall Street and the plantation owners are increasingly in agreement and Wall Street dominates the coalition, the phrase, "mere lieutenants" is not correct. There are certain differences on tariff questions as well as the resentment of the plantation owners to Wall Street's dominance in the evil coalition.

Unfortunately I could not truthfully write that "twenty-five legislators" advanced the idea that to defend Negro rights is to defend their own rights. A least twenty-five white citizens did advance this idea at the senate public hearings on the white primary bill.

I felt that these corrections are necessary for clarifying the fight against Talmadge fascism.

HOMER B. CHASE.

This Morning

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Florida Times

"And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels
Than Caesar with a Senate at his heels...."

Sat 1-18-47

No matter who wins the governorship of Georgia, Ellis Arnall has already won the prizes. In this drama at the State Capitol he is a national hero, if not a Georgia one, and in the same terms as heretofore, the "liberal young Governor" at war with dark forces of the South. Meanwhile those who know that just as surely as Talmadgism in Georgia made Arnall, Arnallism in Georgia brought Talmadge back, may examine the situation with dispassion. What is the legal right of the matter, and what is the moral right of the matter?

Jacksonville Fla

Both legally and morally, it would seem at first glance that Mr. Thompson, Arnall's man, should have the office; and on second glance that it belongs to young Talmadge—granting that his father was the people's choice (and we must presume that, since he was legally elected Governor).

Legally, the fact that Thompson was elected Lieutenant-Governor and that in ordinary course that officer succeeds is impressive. But this doesn't happen to be Georgia law for the present situation under the new constitution which Ellis Arnall himself engineered. The law is vague on what should be done, but it certainly doesn't say the Lieutenant-Governor-elect should succeed. Its letter says the Legislature should do just what has now been done.

Florida Times

Morally, the fact that Thompson has a mandate from the people, having been elected Lieutenant-Governor, and that Herman Talmadge, with only 650 votes for Governor, has not, is impressive, too. But the people who gave Thompson his mandate did not have him in mind for Governor. He belongs to the Arnall crowd and the people elected Old Gene, Arnall's bitterest enemy. The will of the people, insofar as Georgia's system serves it, was that the Talmadge point of view and not the Arnall should prevail. That was the overwhelming issue.

Sat 1-18-47

Herman Talmadge is the instrument of that will now, on a legal technicality, in default of any other instrument. The people indicated no favor for him, true. They merely indicated they didn't want the element Thompson represents, and Herman is the alternative. If he gets the office he is certainly under moral obligation to bring about an earliest possible expression of the people's will towards himself. But it seems to me that he is both legally and morally the rightful possessor of the office at this moment. The basic thing is the will of the people. That will was for Talmadge, not Arnall.

Charleston, S.C

It gets nowhere to say Georgia's county unit system defeats real majority rule and to recall that Old Gene's vote was slightly under that of Carmichael's in the primary last

Summer. It is by no means certain that Carmichael would have been elected under a majority rule. Rivers, the third man, had a big vote and it might have gone either way in a runoff. The only possible working principle in the situation is to presume that the election indicated the will of the people, since there is no other indicator. It was a will against Arnall, and that made it a will, too, against Arnall's man as governor.

Neighbors Vent Vote Ire On Solon From Decatur

Constitution, Atlanta [redacted]

By JIM FURNISS.

In a small Decatur living room, neighbors of Rep. Pierre Howard met Saturday to heap indignation on their Representative face to face for his part in the election of Herman Talmadge to the governorship last week. Mon. 1-20-47

Some 75 men and women jammed themselves into the home of A. S. Steagall, Howard's next door neighbor, to outline a course to "bring us out of catastrophic dilemma and restore to the people their duly elected officials."

C. E. Moss, elected chairman of the group, started the meeting at fever heat by objecting to the Talmadge "dictatorship" for its readiness "to break people's jaws, tear up furniture and use militia to break into offices."

Rising to his feet, Howard protested: "Before you trim me, let me give the facts."

Over the protests of one of the women present, the gathering allowed the representative to start presentation of his case, interrupting every so often with hot demands for clarification.

With support from a scattering of the gathering, Howard stated he had never been a Talmadge man. He attacked the local press for not presenting in full remarks he made concerning Arnall on the floor of the Legislature, then said there was little to choose from between Thompson or Talmadge. Constitution

His vote for Talmadge was on a point of law, he said. He also attacked Arnall for stating in a private meeting that he was willing to submit to the Assembly's election of Carmichael or Talmadge Bowers and then resisting the election of Herman Talmadge.

He proceeded without in erruption until remarking that Arnall had brought "shame and discredit on our fair state," which was greeted with resounding boos.

Howard said he had fought for a special election to determine the Governorship but had been voted down. From this point on, the going for the representative got sticky as men and women, barely able to keep themselves in check, called on him for specific answers to questions dealing with every aspect of the governorship.

On the subject of adjourning the Legislature until the courts could decide who is governor of Georgia, Chairman Moss pointed out that the overwhelming sentiment of Howard's constituents was in favor of adjournment, demanding that Howard state his views. Atlanta Ga.

The Representative agreed to vote for adjournment as soon as Lt. Gov. Thompson's legal suit has been filed.

"If the Assembly had voted against Talmadge, do you believe we now would have law and order instead of this disgraceful state of affairs?" Howard was asked by Hirschel Kemper, of Decatur.

The Representative agreed that order probably would have prevailed.

One woman attacked Howard's vote for Talmadge, pointing out that the Representative, while a guest in her home, had criticized the Talmadge regime. Howard replied he was talking of Eugene Talmadge, at which the woman demanded to know the difference in regimes.

"It's a terrible thing when an irregularity in the Constitution prevents the voice of the people from being heard," one man said. Following his remarks, the crowd got Howard to agree to propose changes in the Constitution which would prevent a recurrence of the election of a man by anyone other than the people.

He also agreed to help impeach Herman Talmadge should he ignore the decision of the Supreme Court.

Mrs. H. H. Trotti, in the best received presentation of opposition to Howard, pointed out that Talmadge, a man who paid no entrance fee and who had not qualified for the governorship, had been elected by the Assembly on the basis of only 678 votes in the general election, most of which came from only 10 counties.

"If we don't fight him now, we may never get a chance to fight him again," she said. The group cheered. [redacted] Mon. 1-20-47

"We must have law and order in our State so when we meet persons from out of the State, we can say we are Georgians and hold up our heads," she continued; "we've only been able to do that in the last four years." Again the room was filled with cheers.

The meeting recessed at 6 p. m., an hour and a half after it began, to be resumed Monday at 7:30 p. m. in the DeKalb County Courthouse, when all DeKalb citizens will have a chance to express themselves. [redacted] 1-20-47

W. Hugh McWhorter, another of the County's Representatives, who was not present at the meeting, issued a formal statement to the press, in which he called for support of his efforts to have the Assembly adjourn until a legal Governor has been decided upon.

Times Dispatch [redacted]

The Real Issue in Georgia

AS WAS to be expected, the less temperate "liberal" journals of the North were prompt to pounce upon the situation down in Georgia. They pilloried that State as wallowing in the mire of racial and religious bigotry. A certain tabloid, which manages to keep alive by daily self-injections of synthetic indignation, immediately claimed **Ellis Arnall** for its own, a dubious honor which the capable ex-Governor would do well to ignore. [redacted]

The issue in Atlanta is not one of "white supremacy." It is a question of the people of Georgia versus a gang of political opportunists. It is a question of whether the son of a candidate elected Governor by a minority vote, thanks to the State's rotten borough system, shall inherit that office through a legalistic subterfuge made possible by a deliberate misinterpretation of a constitutional provision. Richmond, Va.

It is a question of whether this man, who got only 697 votes out of the million cast in the general election, will be able to make good his boast that, despite the State's system of checks and balances, the courts of Georgia "have no power to rule on the constitutionality of an act of the legislature," sitting as an electoral body. Sun. 1-19-47

It is a question of whether the people of Georgia believe that **Herman Talmadge** can get away with the murder of civic rights, by claiming the governorship also on the grounds that he is "the logical man to carry out the policies of his late Governor-elect father."

Those are the questions to be decided by the people of Georgia. The question of "white supremacy" fades into insignificance before those issues, affecting, as they do, the fundamental right of Georgians to choose their executive by ballot, a system under which **Lieutenant-Governor Thompson** is entitled to succeed the late **Eugene Talmadge**

Deadlock in Atlanta

Times Dispatch [redacted]

ONLY the absence of gunplay and the formality of a patently invalid election by the Georgia Assembly distinguishes the attempted coup d'etat of **Herman Talmadge** from the insurrectionist didoes by which control of some of the lesser Latin American republics was seized by political adventurers in the not too distant past.

We do not possess sufficient information at this time intelligently to appraise the legality of the constitutional interpretation by virtue of which **Ellis Arnall** insists on retaining executive control of the State of Georgia after his legal term has expired. Mon. 1-20-47

But it is clear that the Georgia gubernatorial situation has reached a precarious impasse, and that the consequences may become a blemish on the escutcheon of the Empire State of the South. Richmond, Va.

The situation is loaded with explosive possibilities. A dispatch late yesterday afternoon informed us that the two rival "governors" had established offices within 20 yards of each other in the State Capitol and that each had immediately set up "his own military department." The implications of that phrase are ominous. Times Dispatch

Ellis Arnall, however, seems to be a man who believes in the motto, "Be sure you are right, then go ahead." His splendid record in office leads us to assume that he is fully convinced of the righteousness of his course, and that he has decided to stick to it, come what may.

This feud, like all feuds, is shot through with profound prejudices and resentments. The racial issue, that apple of discord in deep Southern politics, lies in the background. **Arnall**'s popularity north of the Mason-Dixon Line undoubtedly helped to fan into flame the resentment of the pro-**Talmadge** faction.

The deadlock and the bitter feeling it has engendered were caused by the lack of a precise constitutional provision for succession to the governorship in a case where the death of the Governor-elect creates a vacancy prior to his taking office. The obscurity of the existing constitutional language provided an irresistible temptation to the **Talmadge** forces to take advantage of that discrepancy.

Herman Talmadge's contention, that his father's electoral majority was "voided" by his death, and that therefore "no person had a majority of votes in the general election" is patently absurd. His father did have a majority of votes in that election, and even death did not deprive him of that majority. Had **Eugene Talmadge** died while the election was in progress, his son might have had a legal leg to stand on, but as it is, the claim upon which he based his gubernatorial election by the General Assembly is obviously invalid.

Arnall, on the other hand, seems to have more plausible grounds for retaining his office "until a successor is qualified," but since the law providing for a qualified successor under existing circumstances seems hopelessly obscure, he should lose no time in asking the Georgia Supreme Court to order a special election.

GEORGIA

Hummon, 2; Thompson, 1

Time Chicago, Ill.

Georgia's Governor Herman ("Hummon") Talmadge was the butt of a joke last week. Hummon, the story went, called on a spiritualist to contact his pappy, the late Governor "Old Gene" Talmadge. "Pappy," cried Hummon, "how am I doing?" Mon. 2-24-47

"All right, son," replied Old Gene. "But son, go easy on that white-primary bill. They got a nigger fireman down here."

But Hummon had the last laugh. By week's end three Georgia judges had heard suits concerning his claim and the counterclaim of Lieutenant Governor M. E. Thompson to the governorship. The judges chose Hummon in two cases out of three.

Success formula of the week came from Georgia's umbrageous **Dan Duke**, outgoing Assistant Attorney General. Defeated by "white supremacy" champions, Duke let go from the bitter corner of his mouth with ten rules for success in Georgia politics: Time Chicago, Ill.

"Look out for your own interests.

"Honor nobody but yourself.

"Do evil, but pretend to do good.

"Be miserly. Mon. 1-20-47

"Covet and get what you can.

"Be brutal.

"Cheat whenever you get a chance.

"Kill your enemies and, if necessary, your friends.

"Utilize your spare time in devising ways to fool people.

"Never agree to any clear statement of facts. Jumble them so you will have a hole to jump through." 1-20-47

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

'Complete Respect and Confidence'

Constitution

Court action in Georgia's contest over the governor's office has begun. 37a(2)

The final legal action will be in the State Supreme Court. It cannot be appealed to the Federal courts because no federal law is involved. A white primary bill, for example, will immediately go to the federal courts on the premise that federal constitutional provisions are violated in the abridging of the right to vote. But no federal law or constitutional provision is involved in the gubernatorial contest. Sun 2-9-47

Georgia's Supreme Court has the confidence of the people.

It is right and proper it should, as no community or State, including the national state, can long endure without due respect for law. Atlanta, Ga.

It is inescapable that there should come from the usual number of small and warped minds, extravagant and vicious rumors about the court. As the hearings go on we may expect falsehoods and calumny to be directed at various members of the court by the inevitable few in any community who deal in gossip and slander.

To all of this the court will, of course, pay no attention. The court is beholden only to the law. The members have been elected by the people and are not obligated to any man. They are well able to meet this political crisis with the cold logic of the law. Constitution

The Atlanta Constitution has held all along that there was nothing to do but wait for the court decision. Whatever its effect, the decision must be accepted by the people as the supreme law of the State, and we are sure it will be.

The court will deal with the law and the interpretation of the Constitution—not with the political aspect of the controversy. Sun 2-9-47

The remedy to any political controversy can be found in only one place—the ballot box. New York, N. Y.

The Supreme Court may proceed in the knowledge that the people of the State have for the honored members of the tribunal full and complete respect and confidence.

Governor Suits 'Key Man' Calls Himself 'Amateur'

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 2-14-47

By CELESTINE SIBLEY,
Constitution Staff Writer.

MONTICELLO, Feb. 13—The man officially credited with the coup-behind-the-coup which put Herman Talmadge in the Governor's office, sat beside the heater in the back of his 10-cent store here Wednesday and viewed with satisfaction—but restrained satisfaction—the latest court ruling in favor of his candidate.

"It just goes to show how far-reaching a little thing can be," Gibson Greer Ezell offered mildly.

Forty-three-year-old Ezell, proprietor of Ezell's 5, 10 & 25 Cent Store on Monticello's Courthouse square, has been named by both Talmadge and Roy Harris as the man who first put the finger on the section of the new Constitution providing for the General Assembly's election of a governor "from the two persons having the highest number of votes who shall be in life. . . ."

"I hear they're saying now Roy Harris noticed it first and I'm just the fall guy," Ezell said quietly with a slow grin. "All I know is that Herman said I was the first to call it to his attention—and I can't say now that I ever realized how far-reaching its effect would be."

Ezell, a graduate of Emory University and a self-styled amateur political analyst, said one day "either late in October or early in November" he got to thinking about the illness of Eugene Talmadge and wondered what the new Constitution would provide in the contingency of death.

"I walked over to The News office and asked them if they had a copy of the Constitution. They had and I read along on it until I came to that phrase about "who shall be in life." I knew that was it. The next day I had to be in Atlanta on business anyhow so I went by Herman's office and showed it to him."

Paradoxically, neither Ezell nor any of his friends in Monticello cast a write-in vote for Herman. "If he got more than one vote in this county I'd be surprised," Ezell said.

However, Talmadge had already lost Jasper County—in spite of the efforts his key man, Ezell—and the write-in votes came more naturally from other places. Suggestions that anticipating Eugene Talmadge's death might have smacked of sharp dealing were met by Key Man Ezell with a bland smile. 2-14-47

"It was insurance," he said.

Ezell, who follows the court battles as he does all other political news with avid interest, is convinced the majority of Georgians would "accept any Governor named Talmadge." They liked the late Eugene, he believes, "because he couldn't be beat."

Ezell, a native of neighboring Hillsboro, cleaves jealously to his title of an amateur political observer and makes it clear that what he did for Talmadge was "strictly gratis." He has followed politics since the Hughes-Wilson Presidential campaign when he had to smuggle newspapers into his schoolroom and read them back of his geography. Since 1932 he has kept a scrapook on Georgia's gubernatorial races and amuses himself before elections with private prognostications, usually scribbled down in pencil on the pages of a ledger in his small office in the rear of his store.

But politics is not Ezell's sole hobby. A student by nature, he majored in economics and minored in political science at Emory—he "just likes to read" and has been boning up lately on the Bible, philosophy and history. He is married, the father of two little girls, serves as Secretary of the Kiwanis Club and is a Steward in the Monticello Methodist Church.

As a churchman, Ezell views more with sorrow than with censure the pulpit's stand against the White Primary Bill. 2-14-47

"I think the preachers are a little off the beam," he said sadly.

Storm Trooper In Georgia

The CIO News

37a(2)

"IT is not my intention to cause disorder or violence," announced Ku Kluxer Herman Talmadge, contender for the Georgia governorship, just after he and his men had broken down the door to the executive office in a storm-trooper battle with Gov. Ellis Arnall's supporters last week. 2-17-47

Washington D.C.

This preview of how a junior Talmadge administration would function followed the decision of the state legislature to name young Talmadge governor on the basis of 675 write-in votes he rediscovered at the last minute, allegedly "misplaced."

Mon. 2-17-47

James V. Carmichael had received 667 write-ins. Carmichael, backed by liberal Gov. Arnall, had received more popular votes in the Democratic primary for governor than the deceased governor-elect, Eugene Talmadge, but lost on the basis of county unit votes.

Dispute over the governorship was caused by the recent death of white supremacy chief, Eugene Talmadge, Herman's father, before being sworn in this month. Had he lived to take the oath, M. E. Thompson, elected Lieutenant Governor, would have succeeded him.

Arnall has submitted his resignation, contingent upon Thompson's being named his successor, but will now retain the office until the Supreme Court, recognized as friendly to him, returns a decision. CIO News

If Talmadge is confirmed as governor, his first move will be to bar Negroes from the Democratic primaries, he has announced. 2-17-47

A Special Election for Georgia?

37a(2)

IT would be prejudicial to assume that either of the Georgia courts which have handed down conflicting decisions on the legality of claims to the governorship was inspired by political motives. The split in judicial opinion must be attributed to a lack of clarity in those passages of the Georgia Constitution dealing with the eventuality which became a reality when GOVERNOR-ELECT EUGENE TALMADGE died before assuming office. Times-Dispatch

The truth is, of course, that no explicit provisions were made to serve as a guide for that predicament. Georgia is not alone in that respect. The Constitution-makers of other States seem to have been guilty of similar squeamishness, as though they had been reluctant to admit that death could be the final arbiter in matters political. Richmond, Va.

Georgians have expressed the hope that appeals from the pro-THOMPSON decision of JUDGE PORTER, and the pro-TALMADGE decisions of JUDGES HENDRIX and ALMAND will be put into the hands of the State Supreme Court at the same time, so that the matter may be disposed of once and for all on March 10, the date set for hearing on appeals from the PORTER and HENDRIX decisions.

The Supreme Court of Georgia, however, will be called upon to clarify Constitutional passages which to some legal minds are hopelessly obscure, while to others the court's problem would be one of applying plain common sense to interpretation of two phrases "who shall have a majority" and "who shall be in life," and to determine whether a man who had a majority when the votes were counted can still be considered as having a majority after his death before the inauguration date. Tues. 2-18-47

Should the court decline to establish a precedent on the basis attributing unexpressed meanings to constitutional language, it is at liberty to say so, and may order a special election, and advise clarification of constitutional language by amendment. Times-Dispatch

OPINION

Notes of a Contemporary

37a(2)

PM

Handout to Uncle Tom: On the page opposite this you will find a disgusting picture. It shows Georgia's would-be *Fuehrer*, Herman Talmadge, handing a dollar to two old Negro farmers who have lost their mule. What is disgusting about it is the hypocrisy. Despite Talmadge's protestations that he wants Negroes to have the "same protection under the law accorded white people," the fact is that he is heading up a vicious anti-Negro movement. The "white primary" in Georgia would effectively deprive the Negro of the vote. To speak of his having "schools, work, health" without the vote means that the whites would decide in their all-mightiness what bones to throw to him as to a dog.

Talmadge

Wed. 1-22-47

Whether in Georgia or New York, the Negro doesn't want a handout for Uncle Tom. He wants to be recognized as the human being he is, with *all* of a human being's rights and responsibilities in a democracy.

New York, N.Y.

Preview of a Fascist Coup: I find too much tendency to treat the current events in Georgia as a sort of political Mardi Gras, with assorted characters dressing up humorously in governor costumes. We had better get over that quickly. What happened in Georgia was a preview for a not impossible fascist coup on a much larger scale in the future.

What gave the Klan, the Cracker Party and the White Supremacy bigots their chance was the breakdown of the governorship-succession machinery. Instead of agreeing from the start to leave it to the Courts, the Talmadge crowd decided to use force, get physical possession, and hold it. They used the armed highway police plus a program of racial exclusion. In short, guns plus hatred: the tried formula of fascist adventurism.

It almost worked. But at present writing it has not yet succeeded. What stopped it? Partly the courage and strength of men like Ellis Arnall; plus the fact that Acting Gov. Thompson, despite his fatal weakness in appeasing th Talmadge forces on the White P has not allowed himself to be by the bullies. Mainly, the wave of resentment from the people of Georgia, as shown by protest meetings of citizens and students.

Talmadge has been forced to retreat. He started by ignoring his opponent and defying the Courts. Then he hedged and said he would abide by the ruling of the Georgia Supreme Court. Now (does he fear what the ruling will be?) he offers to rest everything on a special election as his best bet. But an election would solve nothing. What is crucial in Georgia now is not to pick a new Governor under the undemocratic County Unit system, but to get a judicial decision on what constitutes the legal process of succession.

Wed. 1-22-47

Fraud

Constitution

Editor Constitution: Never since the days of the carpetbaggers has such a fraud been perpetrated upon the people of Georgia as the swindle put over by Roy Harris and his gang in the Governor's election by the Legislature.

In any government where your votes may be cancelled and only those cast by the "ones who know" are good, that government ceases to be a democracy and becomes a dictatorship. In fact it's even worse than a dictatorship for this hides under a cloak of secrecy and pretends to be a democracy.

When we tired of kings and having no voice in our government we left England and came to America to establish a government where we could have a voice in its affairs. Now suddenly after 200 years we find that once again we have been deprived of that right by the very men supposed to represent us and a king has once again been set up in our midst.

Atlanta, Ga.

Surely now that the courts are going to rule upon the question they will decide that the Legislature did not have the authority to elect a Governor under the particular set of facts in this case and will call for a special election in which the people may vote as they see fit.

The people of Georgia should never forget how they were deprived of this right, the names of the people who were parties to the scheme, and the Legislators who helped to put it over so that when we get our chance at the polls again these people will be defeated so badly that they will never have the gall to run for office in this State again.

I voted for Gene and in the event a special election had been called I probably would have voted for Herman, but never again will I cast my ballot for him or for the men who deprived me and all other citizens of this State of the right to cast a ballot for the man of our choice.

Constitution

JAMES TAYLOR.
Atlanta. Atlanta, Georgia

Political Hoax

Editor Constitution: It is very much to be desired that Gov. Arnall will not yield the office of Governor to Herman Talmadge and thus contribute to the greatest political hoax ever perpetrated on the voting public.

What an outrage when a non-participant in the general election can aspire to our highest executive position without the consent of the masses! Georgia is truly a laughing stock, which is reminiscent of many other eras in the past.

It would be well for the future good of this State if Arnall would remain at the helm until some of this political trickery is exposed and our government restored on a lawful basis. Otherwise many of our rights as citizens will fade into oblivion.

Sat-1-18-47

CHARLES L. BIRD
Atlanta.

Sulking Arnall

Editor Constitution: We have a nice State to live in. Why do we have to have little nasty men in politics as the former Gov. Ellis Arnall?

They tell me we must be a good loser as well as winner, why doesn't Arnall act like a man and not like a sulking school boy? How can Arnall tell the people of Georgia who we may have in office and dictate to us? When he does that we really go against him. I think Georgia would be much better off with Arnall selling insurance. I care very little for politics, they're too nasty, but I vote as every honest citizen should. If Herman Talmadge is what the people want let him be Governor as I'm sure he'd make a good one as he's young and progressive and interested in youth which we all should be as they're to be our Governors of tomorrow.

MRS. H. L. HOLTZENDORF
Atlanta. Sat 1-18-47

Arnall Won't Succeed

Editor Constitution: What is Ex-Governor Arnall trying to accomplish by attempting to hold the Governor's office?

Lt. Gov. Thompson has stated that he would carry out the policies and platform adopted by the Democratic Party at the Macon convention. In this, both Thompson and Gov. Herman Talmadge are in complete agreement.

The State Legislature has elected Herman Talmadge Governor and he has been sworn in. Now I ask you, who can accomplish the most for Georgia, a man who has the confidence vote of the General Assembly or a man whom they have turned down? If Thompson is able to get the Governor's office through the courts, would not he have a hard time in passing needed legislation?

Why then is this Ex-Gov. Arnall trying to force someone on the Legislature (and the people) that they do not want? I think he believes that he can keep the policies of the late Eugene Talmadge from going into effect (including the White Primary). He will not succeed in this move!

Sat 1-18-47

D. LEON TURNER.
Atlanta.

Thompson's Right

Editor Constitution: Why was not M. E. Thompson installed as Governor of Georgia? It seems logical that he should have been.

In the Claude Pittman case, Pittman remained judge until a successor had been duly named. In this case Pittman's opponent had died before going into office. By this precedent it has been argued that Gov. Arnall has the right to remain in office after his own term of office and perhaps to name his successor.

No doubt Thompson would have been Governor had Eugene Talmadge died while in office. It stands to reason that he might have a right to be Governor in the present situation too.

CHARLES SHEPARD.
Athens. Sat 1-18-47

GEORGIA CROSS-ROADS

Times

Gov. Ellis Arnall's announcement that he will resign tomorrow when (or if) Lieut. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson is sworn into office brings to immediate issue the distracting question of constitutional government in Georgia. This would seem the normal procedure for carrying out the will of the people, or at least the will of the only effective minority of Georgia's citizenship, as expressed in the last State election.

New York, N.Y.

But such a succession is disputed by Herman Talmadge, son and campaign manager of the late Gene Talmadge, who was elected Governor but died before he could be inaugurated. He demands that the State Legislature elect him to the full four-year term his father would have filled had he lived. This would be succession by a kind of royal inheritance, repugnant in most States but not impossible in Georgia. Talmadge seeks the office on the strength of several hundred write-in votes received in the election when it was learned his father was seriously ill. The next highest write-in candidate is a Republican, whose chances, of course, are zero. The contest in the Legislature lies between Talmadge and Thompson. Curiously enough, Georgia's new but loosely drawn Constitution, which forbids a Governor to succeed himself but makes no provision for the present emergency, seems to lend some support to Talmadge's claim.

Mon. 1-13-47

The struggle between the two forces, however, is much broader than this constitutional issue would indicate. It is the struggle between the new South and the old. Governor Arnall stands for the new South and the liberal spirit which is now penetrating even the most backward sections of that area. He was been a good Governor and a forward-looking leader who might have been re-elected on his record could he have run again. Talmadge, by inheritance and predeliction, represents the old South and reaction, "white supremacy" and white as well as Negro disfranchisement. Georgia is not merely trying to solve a constitutional crisis. It is deciding whether to advance along the road to progress or remain sunk in the political morass which breeds Talmadges and Talmadgism, Bilbos and Bilboism.

Mon. 1-13-47

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

37a(2)

People's Movement In Georgia Seeks To Jerk the Chair From Under Herman

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky. Sun. 3-2-47

By CALVIN KYTLE, Courier-Journal Special Writer

ATLANTA, March 1.—A people's movement got under way in Georgia this week that threatens to read Herman Talmadge out of the Democratic Party and break the state's traditional one-party system.

Whether the break will last only until the national Democratic convention in 1948, or whether it will create a wider, deeper schism that may spread throughout the Solid South is something only time can tell.

It's certain, however, that for the next two years, Georgia will be split asunder by what promises to be the bitterest political fight in its history—a fight that, unlike the factional brawls of the past, seems to be concerned more with principle than with personalities.

Kennedy Is Leader

Spearhead for this popular revolt is the Aroused Citizens of Georgia, a grass-roots protest group which sprang up a month ago when Herman seized the governorship.

"We're simply a bunch of Georgians who feel that our party has been stolen from us, and who want to get it back," explains the group's founder, Mayor Harvey Kennedy of Barnesville. "We have members in every county in the state, strong organizations in 30 counties, and the nucleus of strong organizations in 75 more. We're growing stronger every day."

The Courier-Journal

To show they mean business the Citizens have already branded Herman a "bolter" and set up tentative party organization. Meeting in Atlanta this week, the state executive committee resolved to send its own delegation to the national Democratic convention in 1948, and to ask the convention to repudiate any delegation representing Talmadge. It made this resolution with reasonable confidence of success, knowing that Georgia's national committeeman and committeewoman are both stubbornly anti-Talmadge.

Court Must Rule

But beyond this statement of intent, the Aroused Citizens aren't willing to go. The final character of their organization, as well as its tactics, can be determined only after the State Supréme Court has decided who is Governor of Georgia—Herman Talmadge, whom the General Assembly chose to take his late father's place on the strength of 687 write-in votes, or M. E. Thompson, who was elected lieutenant governor in last summer's primary.

In effect, the Supreme Court decision (expected about the middle of March) either will enable the Citizens to work within the framework of the present Democratic Party or force them to set up a distinct preferential primary and enter candidates in the general election. In other words, the Citizens will have to go through the mechanics of a new party only if Herman's white primary bill becomes law. A court decision for Herman automatically would make it law. A decision for Thompson would invalidate it.

Although the Talmadge forces insist that the purpose of the white primary bill is to keep Negroes out of the Democratic Party, its opponents maintain that its true intent is to perpetuate the power of the current ruling clique. After the fashion of a law in South Carolina, the bill would strip from the statute books all laws pertaining to primaries, and turn them over to party leaders.

"Our members originally wanted a white primary, too," says Mayor Kennedy. "But we've learned that you can't deny the franchise to one group of citizens without denying it to everybody. We absolutely refuse to participate in a primary that does not guarantee secrecy at the polls, seek to prevent fraud, or safeguard registration lists. If the Supreme Court decides for Herman, we'll have no alternative but to establish our own organization and hold fair primaries under our own rules."

The Supreme Court decision also will determine the date of Georgia's next gubernatorial election. If the court decides for Thompson, who would serve under the rule applying to lieutenant governors, the election will come in 1948, scarcely a month before the national convention. If for Talmadge, who would be entitled to a full four-year term as Governor, it won't come until 1950.

So far, the professional politicians have shied from any suggestion of participation in a "new" or "second" party. Thompson's policy, quite understandably, is to stay firmly tight-lipped until the Supreme Court has defined his authority; and most of his 100-odd supporters in the Legislature are similarly noncommittal. But one intimation that the politicians may be only waiting for the strategic moment came several days ago when two freshman legislators made preliminary application for a charter for a new party and sewed up for their unidentified clients the titles "Democratic Party, Inc.," "Democratic Party of Georgia, Inc.," and "Georgia Democratic Party, Inc." What relation their action may have, if any, to plans of the Aroused Citizens is unknown. Louisville, Ky.

Middle Class Involved

At the moment, the Aroused Citizens would seem to be made up almost entirely of morally indignant Georgians with little experience in practical politics. Indeed, one of its admittedly chief drawbacks is the absence of a colorful political personality for the people to rally round. Kennedy himself is a small-town lawyer and a former country editor. Cochairman of the group is a former judge, Blanton Fortson, who made a futile race for Governor in 1936 on a reform ticket against two machine candidates. Another leader is William Morris, editor-publisher of The Augusta Chronicle, who led a successful people's revolt in his home county last spring. The rest of its leadership, as is all its membership, is drawn from merchants, white-collar people and professional groups.

Whatever success the Citizens may have at the polls undoubtedly will be due to their ability to unite the Negro vote with that of the white middle class. These two groups comprise the majority of the 293,000 who voted against Eugene Talmadge last summer, who were shocked at the discovery that Herman had had himself written in while his father was the Democratic Party nominee, and who now see in the white primary bill still another violation of democratic principle.

Harris Scoffs

The necessity for sustained support from the Georgia middle class is emphasized strongly by Charlie Gowen, of Brunswick, one of the anti-Talmadge leaders in the Assembly. "Eugene Talmadge's support always came from the very rich and the very poor," Gowen explains. "The middle class usually opposed him, but never very earnestly. They never felt they had much stake in elections, one way or the other. But they did get excited in 1942 when Gene messed with the university system. To my knowledge, that was the first time they ever got solidly behind anybody. It was the middle class that elected Ellis Arnall.

"Now these same people are upset over Herman. Their sense of decency has been offended. But whether they're upset enough, or whether they'll stay upset long enough to maintain a party, that's something else again." Sun. 3-2-47

The Talmadge leadership tends to minimize the threat of an opposition party. Its leading spokesman is the man who wrote the white primary bill, a roly-poly little man named Roy Harris, former speaker of the House. Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, credits Gene Talmadge's election to the smooth work of Roy Harris, and it's public knowledge today that he's the man advising Herman. 3-2-47

"The Aroused Citizens?" Harris says with a smile. "There aren't more than 15 of them. A few diehards are howling, sure. But it's like a hound dog baying at the moon. Ninety per cent of the people of this state want the white primary, and the other 10 per cent don't matter."

The Expected Result Of Georgia's Turmoil

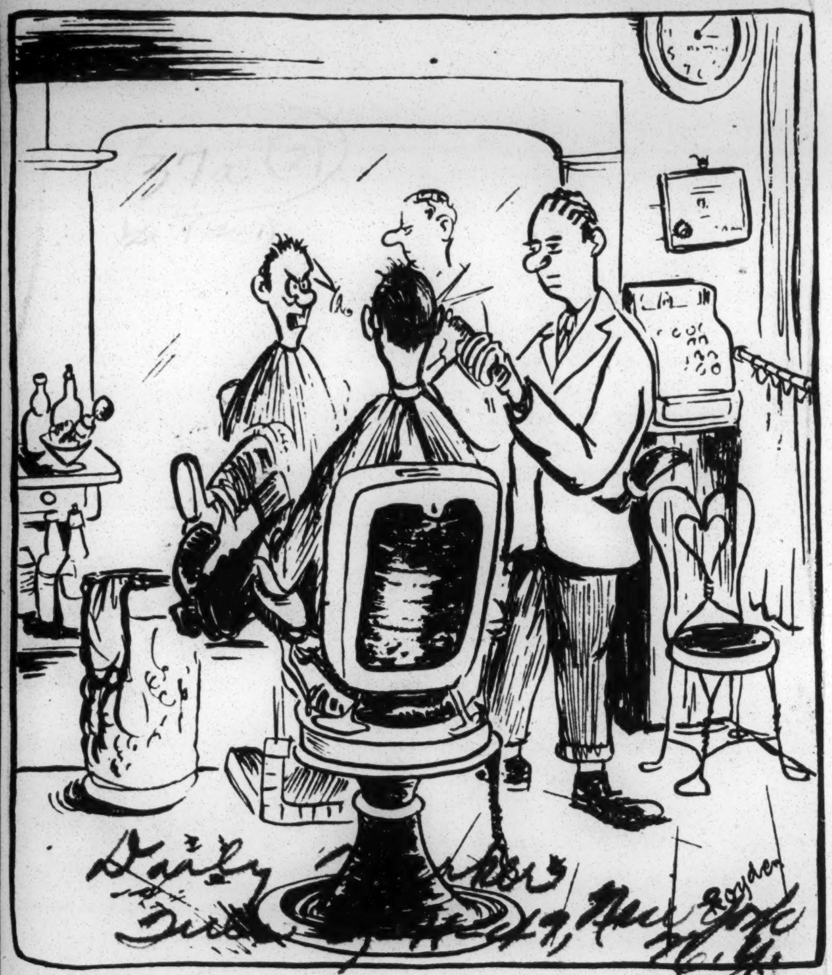
Courier-Journal Tues. 2-11-47

THE expected has happened in Georgia. This is not that HERMAN TALMADGE has lost the first of a series of court tests of his dubious claim to the Governorship. But it is his instant lashing out in defiance of the court's judgment and his arrant libel of the court's integrity. The young TALMADGE has learned well the lesson of arbitrary force which his father imposed so often on Georgia and its institutions. The prospects of peace in that troubled State are not bright. Louisville Ky.

All along, a heedless and lawless spirit has pressed the campaign (1) to install young TALMADGE as Governor on the basis of a few write-in votes by henchmen, (2) to keep him there by uniformed force and (3) to push through a law preventing Negro citizens from voting in the only elections that matter in a one-party State.

The bare face of the White Primary law and its unconstitutional intent was never displayed more plainly than last week. A legislative committee, considering the bill, denied that there is a First Article of the Bill of Rights giving citizens the right to petition their Government for redress of grievances. A group of substantial Negroes, appearing with a petition against the bill's enactment, were hustled away without a hearing. More, they were denied access even to the topmost gallery of the Senate chamber. To keep the Negro from voting, it seems, is something more than a matter of principle. It is a stark refusal to admit that other natural rights we defend as Americans really exist—the right, for example, to be heard or to be secure in the very temple of security. Tues. 2-11-47

ESTBROOK WIGLER, ROVING REPORTER



Daily Worker New York N.Y.

"Make it look like Adolf's . . . I'm seeing Herman Talmage tonight."

Heard and Overheard:

His Radio Set Gives Herman Talmadge an Uneasy Night

PM

Mon. 2-10-47

By SEYMOUR PECK

I hope Herman Talmadge of Georgia is not a radio fan. For some of the things that have come over the airwaves lately would make a man of his sensibilities distinctly unhappy. New York N.Y.

Suppose, for instance, Herman turned on *Information Please* that night recently when Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia, was guest star. Herman would have squirmed some at the praise given Arnall by Clifton Fadiman. What was it Fadiman called Arnall—"a great defender of democracy?" Shucks, no one ever said anything like that about Herman, nor about his daddy, either.

The chances are Herman switched the dial pretty fast to get away from *Information Please*. He probably felt much better when he heard the laughter of the studio audience at the Henry Morgan Show. PM

"Ah," said Herman," a comedy show." And he settled back comfortably, expectantly.

That night Morgan was enacting stories from the "Morgan Digest," Mon. 2-10-47 a mythical magazine aping *Reader's Digest*. Morgan was taking the part of Rudleigh Mongoose, a political analyst. New York N.Y.

The announcer introduced Mr. Mongoose and his story thus:

"Here's another article in the Morgan Digest by Rudleigh Mongoose, who gives us an inside picture of the Southern state of Cornpone. Mr. Mongoose is the author of such exciting books as *George Washington, Founder of George Washington High School; Virginia, Its People and Hams; Women of America, Their Names and Phone Numbers; California Looks Ahead; Philadelphia Looks Back; Jersey City Looks Terrible.* Mon. 2-10-

"The article was both written and digested by Mr. Mongoose for the Morgan Digest. It's called *Cornpone, Father of Governors!"*

MONGOOSE: I have dedicated my little book as follows: to Herman, Champion of Squatters Rights. As I motored through the beautiful state of Cornpone, I was impressed by how impressive it was. On the farms, I saw farmers, in the cities, I saw city people. When I reached the State capitol, I was welcomed by a number of emissaries sent by one of its governors. Greeting the men in turn, I recognized old friends, as I peered under each hood. I asked one of them, "I hear there's trouble about the new governor in this state. Is that true?" and he said:

MAN: No, no trouble at all. Everything's OK-K-K.

MONGOOSE: He stuttered a little. I saw he was the governor's new secretary of state—his oldtime friend and locksmith. . . . But I remembered that the main reason for my trip was to investigate Cornpone with an open mind, and to prove that everything I had written about it is true. I stopped a man and said, "Can you tell me how to get to the City Hall?"

MAN: Sure. Straight ahead, then turn left at the red light, and keep left. Mon 2-10-47

MONGOOSE: My suspicions were confirmed. This man was a radical, the kind that is causing trouble in Cornpone. Finally, I investigated business conditions. I interviewed a typical Cornponian manufacturer, who said:

MAN: Yessir, the new governor is great for my business.

MONGOOSE: Splendid. What's your business, colonel?

MAN: I manufacture bedsheets.

* * *

I don't know how long Herman Talmadge listened to Morgan's "comedy." That's what's so wonderful about radio. If you don't like what you hear, you can always turn the darn thing off.

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675 Votes

Daily Worker

HERMAN TALMADGE, son of the late "white supremacy" Governor Talmadge, says he is the new governor of the state because 675 people—yes, 675—voted for him in a write-in vote taken after his father died.

The wild scenes of stamping, whistling, roaring, banging, and even threatened violence against former Governor Arnall, who disputes Talmadge's claim, were typical of the "white supremacy" mob.

The fact is that the "white supremacy" gang believes only in its own supremacy. It despises the majority of the common white folk as much as it terrorizes the Negro people. New York, N.Y.

The effort of the young Talmadge to usurp the governorship of Georgia by sheer arrogance and bullying gives the entire country a picture of the anti-democratic violence that lies behind all racism. It is a menace not only to Georgia, but to the nation. Thur. 1-16-47

Two Rational Views of Our Gubernatorial Mess

Constitution

With the South's carping critics enjoying a slur-slinging field day, it is refreshing to note that at least two writers of national note have recognized that Georgia's current gubernatorial debacle does not necessarily stem from inherent Southern stupidity.

Bill Cunningham, of the Boston Herald, after a week's stay in Atlanta for the purpose of writing a series of articles on Georgia's present political dilemma, concludes that his region is afflicted with demagogues just as vicious, though of a different variety, and that it ill becomes New Englanders to scorn political chicanery in other States until they have cleaned up around their own doorstep. Sat 2-8-47

John S. Knight, displaying an insight into the Southern mind, which all too few outsiders possess, warns that well-meaning meddlers are one of the greatest handicaps to the continuing efforts of liberal Southerners to bring our region out of the miasma of reaction. Atlanta, Ga.

"The citizens of Georgia make their own laws on succession to office, silly ones, perhaps, but so far as I know they are not in violation of the Constitution of the United States," Knight writes in his Chicago Daily News. Constitution

"Ultimately, the courts will determine whether young Herman Talmadge or M. E. Thompson is the legal and rightful Governor of the State. The situation is not without precedent in other States and somehow they managed to survive.

"Like everyone else, I have read dozens of newspaper editorials on 'Georgia's Disgrace' and listened to Drew Pearson's vivid descriptions of Talmadge's 'putsch,' the courage of former Gov. Ellis Arnall in risking his life while facing the Talmadge mob, and realms of other dramatic, breast-beating blah. Sat 2-8-47

"Granted that 'Hummon' Talmadge is a carbon copy of his demagogic father, who made a mockery of Georgia's motto, 'Wisdom, Justice, Moderation,' he cannot be seriously regarded as a national menace.

"The foundations of the Republic are still standing, Drew, and the Georgia Crackers feel they are quite capable of settling their own squabbles in their own way without Yankee meddling, suh."

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

37a(2)

WESTBROOK PEGLER

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga., Fri. 2-7-47

On the Georgia Muddle vs. Missouri Scheme

The contest for the office of Governor of Georgia has been presented as an issue of Democracy or Fascism by former Gov. Ellis Arnall's friends, including practically all of the totalitarian bleeding-hearts. The legal status of the governorship admittedly was left in complete doubt because the State Constitution did not anticipate the situation created by the death of Gene Talmadge, who had beaten James V. Carmichael, Arnall's man, in the Democratic Primary election. There is no clear title to the place.

The Arnall group immediately received the benefit of the propaganda machines of New York and Washington because Talmadge has the support of the Ku Klux Klan and kindred spirits who nevertheless are brothers under the skin of the organizations in New York which oppose the Klan, the Columbians et al. These Northern terroristic lodges are as Klannish in their own methods and for their own purposes as the Southern Klan and its new variations.

THEY do not burn fiery crosses, but they do practice personal espionage, employing professional sneaks to betray confidences. They undertake to censor not only news but opinion and even humor, by threats of economic punishment, and, like the Klan and Adolf Hitler, they take reprisals against innocent relatives of defiant offenders against their arrogance.

The Arnall-Talmadge contest is much less outrageous against law and the stability of government than a scheme of President Roosevelt's party and President Truman's best friends to rob a Republican Governor of his office in Missouri in 1941. Although that case did command considerable attention in the press across the nation, it did not evoke any comparable blast of indignation among those who are now most noisily horrified by the proceedings in Georgia. The reason was that, in the Missouri scheme, Robert Hannegan, then Chairman of the Democratic City Committee of St. Louis, now Mr. Truman's postmaster general, was a conspicuous opponent of the Republican who had been duly elected.

Atlanta Ga.

The Republican was Forrest C. Donnell, now a United States Senator. The election of 1940 was close and Mr. Donnell defeated Lawrence McDaniel, the Democrat, by 3,613 votes.

Fri. 2-7-47

A FEW DAYS after the November election, a meeting of Democrats was called in St. Louis, attended by Hannegan and C. Marion Hulen, the Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and many others. The Democrats figured that Mr. Donnell's margin was so close that they might beat him in a recount if they could pick the precincts to be recounted. Accordingly, they put a resolution through the Legislature providing for an "investigation" of "reports" of fraud involving the employment of a vague slush fund and irregularities in the count. The Democrats voted through a thing called "Joint Resolution No. 3" on Jan. 11, two days before inauguration day, which authorized a committee of six Democrats and four Republicans to recount the ballots. Although this committee had the power to examine all ballots, it also had authority to select only those precincts in which the Democratic majority might pick up votes to cut down Donnell's small official plurality. Meanwhile, the resolution forbade the speaker of the House to recognize Donnell as Governor. An equal number of Democrats and Republicans were authorized to "attend" the recount, but that didn't mean a thing because only the members of the committee could vote and the committee was stacked six to four.

"Joint Resolution No. 3" was promoted by the State Democratic organization with the mechanical co-operation of the subsidiary bodies of the machine.

A few Democrats, notably Governor Lloyd C. Stark, indicated their disgust and alarm because the legal method was to recognize and swear in the man certified in the election returns and then file a contest. By the method of "Joint Resolution No. 3," Mr. Donnell could be kept out of office as long as the Democratic majority of the Committee could stall, or until it could pick up enough errors in selected precincts to destroy his plurality, ignoring those notoriously crooked Democratic precincts in Hannegan's St. Louis and Truman's Kansas City where Donnell's margin would have been increased.

The Constitution

Mr. Hulen had been going around with a briefcase which came to be regarded as the bag containing the evidence of corruption. This was deadpan comedy on the part of an organization which had enjoyed not only the tax patronage but the enormous slush-funds of the New Deal's "humane" agencies and the unions for years and years. Hannegan insisted that Donnell should not be seated until the investigation was finished, and the six Democrats had the power to drag the investigation along indefinitely.

2-7-47

ON INAUGURATION DAY, Donnell filed a mandamus in the State Supreme Court to compel the speaker of the House to open and publish the returns and declare the high man to have been elected Governor.

Fri

Two days later, Governor Stark vetoed "Joint Resolution No. 3" on the ground that: 1: It gave the Democratic majority of the Committee discretion to pick the ballot boxes which it desired to open. 2: The Committee was loaded, and 3: The winner should be seated and the contest, if any, should be made afterward in a Constitutional way.

The Supreme Court did not rule on the mandamus until Feb. 19. Then, although all seven judges were Democrats, they ordered the speaker to recognize Donnell as the elected Governor and reminded the schemers that they had no right to ignore the law.

Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Donnell was kept out of office for 44 days by this slippery trick. He was not inaugurated until Feb. 26. Mr. McDaniel then started his contest in the regular, legal way. The legal recount began and Donnell gained steadily. When half the ballots had been counted his plurality had grown from 3,613 to about 7,000. On May 21, McDaniel dismissed his contest and wrote Governor Donnell admitting that the reports of fraud had been "greatly exaggerated."

The "evidence" which was mentioned to justify "Joint Resolution No. 3" never was revealed.

Fri. 2-7-47

ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT TRUMAN was then a Missouri Senator and knew as well as anyone else what was going on, he never said boo, whereas Governor Stark showed decency, and the Supreme Court also crossed the dirty party line for honest Government. Senator Donnell says he does not think Truman had any connection with the scheme, but that is just good manners toward the man who holds the Presidency. Truman is a gang man from Kansas City and it was characteristic of his revealed personal and political ethics that he gave silent consent to as low a trick as you will find in politics, when a protest on the side of good government would have been effective, though it may have cost him his own job and future with the gang. Anyway, there you are and you will observe that in this scheme there was no such legitimate question and legal blank as justifies the Georgia case.

Freedom's Voice in Georgia

Times Dispatch

MEDDLESOME MATTIES of the pseudoliberal press have been marching roughshod over Georgia. Their editorial criticism would lead one to believe that the people of that State are for the most part "Tobacco Road" characters whose only hope for salvation lies in listening to the voice of the enlightened North.

37a(2)

Habitual readers of such tabloid Galahads must have gotten the impression that liberty there lies crushed beneath the heel of HERMAN TALMADGE, that the press of the State has remained discreetly silent, and that the demonstration of Atlanta college students who hanged the political puppet in effigy, was the only bright spot in a dark and dismal picture.

Richmond, Va.

The truth is that the people of Georgia, as jealous of their liberties as those of any other State, have been aroused—not by Yankee yammerings, but by the forthright leadership of their own press, from which we quote the following pertinent editorial paragraphs:

"What Georgia is witnessing is the first step away from democratic government."—Valdosta *Times.*

"Certainly the personal ambitions of any man should be secondary to the interests of Georgia."—Brunswick *News.*

"Maybe all of us had better begin calling him 'Talmadge the Second,' because the 'Talmadge men' seem bent on wreaking havoc in Georgia with 'The Pretender' as their stooge."—Columbus *Ledger-Inquirer.*

Feb 24-47

"It is ridiculous to say that any man has been elected Governor by the people of Georgia who has received less than 700 votes."—Pickens County *Progress.*

"All concerned should realize that the welfare of Georgia is paramount to the political ambitions or successes of any individuals."—Rome *News-Tribune.*

"Actually, where does the blame lie? It lies with the people of the State of Georgia. It lies with the men and women who vote for personalities and disregard issues."—Griffin *Daily News.*

"We have come to a pretty mess in Georgia, with the people being used as pawns and the politicians playing a desperate game for patronage and power."—Gainesville *News.*

Feb 1-24-47

"You can count on your fingers all of the representatives and senators who have guts enough to stand up and express their opinions. If one man is going to be able to control practically all of them why not just turn the State over to a dictator?"—Tattnall *Journal.*

"The ruthless tactics employed by the Talmadge forces have created the impression that they fear the outcome of litigation."—Athens *Banner-Herald.*

"All hail to Herman the Great! He who was once only crown prince is now Governor Apparent of the Empire State of the South, having been elected (?) by the General Assembly of Georgia in a manner that Mexico could well copy."—Dade County *Times.*

"Desperate men resort to desperate means, so it was no surprise to learn that Herman Talmadge and his supporters had employed sheer force to complete their cynically executed coup d'etat."—Augusta *Chronicle.*

"'The Constitution had been tortured to bring about the election . . . of the son of the late Mr. Talmadge. It is now an open secret that those who engineered this amazing coup . . . laid their plans before the polls closed on election day. (Herman Talmadge's) thimblefull of votes was the vehicle on which the whole scheme traveled.—Savannah *Press.*

"The General Assembly . . . ought to send a committee to Louisiana to learn how the people of the State were kept in fear and subjection by the late Huey Long."—Augusta *Herald.*

"The dictatorial, log-rolling, horse-trading mob affair at the State Capitol was a disgrace to the law-abiding people of the State."—Lowndes County *News.*

"The machinations of power politics and a subservient legislature have voted Herman Talmadge in as Governor."—Calhoun County *News.*

"The people will voice their disapproval of the act of the Legislature. The voice of the people is sure to be heard."—Milledgeville *Union-Recorder.*

If you give the people light, they will find their own way. The press of Georgia, with few exceptions, is doing just that.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Good Business

Atlanta, Ga.

37a(2)

Editor, Constitution: Did not Ellis Arnall have the Constitution of Georgia written at a cost of approximately $200,000 of the taxpayers' money? In this case it gave the Legislature a perfect right to

ect a governor and if this body
d elected Carmichael or Thomp-
n it would have pleased the
eat Arnall. If I had not done

How About Ed?

Editor Constitution: What's the matter with our Georgia people? How about Ed Rivers? Roy Harris

any more for the white people of Georgia than he has done I would go on down to Newnan and stay there. They say he has organized an insurance company and he has been made President of it. For what he has done for the colored people he ought to get all their business.

Rockmart. JAMES McCOWN.

The Constitution

is Talmadge's leader, you say. Don't you know Ed Rivers is Thompson's leader?

Harris at least comes out in public with his doings, while Rivers is sneaky with his. Wake up, Georgia, have you forgotten when Ed Rivers was Governor? Forget Roy Harris a while and look out for Ed.

MRS. PARNELL.

Atlanta Atlanta, Ga.

For Talmadge

Fri.

Editor Constitution: I know it is hard on some of those little pampered stooges of Ellis Arnall to see a real Georgian come in as Governor, but little Ellis is through. Gov. Talmadge will make Georgia the best Governor we ever had, and all real Georgians will back him.

1-31-47 W. M. WIX.

Atlanta.

According to Law

Editor Constitution: It may appear to the opposing forces of Gov. Talmadge that he was not elected according to law. The General Assembly did their duty and they are to be commended for the stand they took.

The Constitution W. T. LONG.

Milledgeville.

Prays for Herman

Editor Constitution: Each night before I go to bed I pray that Talmadge will remain as Governor of Georgia since he stands for the same things his father did, namely, the White Primary and preserving the County Unit System.

MRS. E. T. WILBORN.

East Point. Atlanta Ga

Usurpers

Editor Constitution: I beg you to do everything within your editorial power to see that Herman Talmadge and his henchmen are ousted from the offices which they have so disgracefully usurped.

Fri. 1-31-47 T. M. CARTER.

Atlanta.

Hereditary Governor

Editor Constitution: I hope Herman Talmadge is not planning on dying soon, not because I want you to live, but because I don't want Eugene, III, at the age of four, taking over the oath of Georgia. ALBERTA WHITEN.

Atlanta.

ate O

Editor Constitution: If the Democratic Party in this State thinks it okay to convert to a private club solely for the purpose of preventing the Negro from voting, then this same Democratic Club should pay all of the taxes. Since they want to run the whole show then let them finance it. It seems very unfair to force a group of people to pay taxes and yet they have absolutely no say-so regarding those who are to make the laws which we all must obey. Since the Negro in Georgia is to be excluded from everything else, why not hang out a "for white only" sign over the tax collector's window? The Constitution

The Federal Government should exclude the State from any loans or grants of any kind until all taxpaying citizens are guaranteed the unmolested right to vote. It seems that the success of a political figure in Georgia depends upon how much he hates the Negro, and as long as he is not allowed to vote, his tax money should not be used to pay these officials or finance their programs.

But at least the Negro has no part in the grand mess that is now going on at the Georgia State Capitol. ADAMS.

Atlanta Ga.

Disgusted, Mad

Editor Constitution: In regards to the recent election of Herman Talmadge Governor of Georgia, not only am I disgusted but mad. The very idea of electing Herman Talmadge is absurd. But this shows how blind the General Assembly is. If they can not see any further in the future than to elect Herman Talmadge Governor of Georgia, how can they see to lead our State? Fri. 1-31-47

Not only does this look like, but I think it is, the beginning of one of the biggest political machines Georgia has ever had.

ARNOLD SNOW.

Gainesville.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Constitution

37a(2)

Know Your Man

Editor Constitution: Many people do not know their elected Representatives.

It is suggested that you print the pictures of the State Representatives and State Senators for those districts reached by your paper, listing below the picture of each legislator, his home address, home phone number, business address, and business phone number to assist the voters in making their views of the present disgraceful situation known to their Representatives. Atlanta Ga.

NEILL H. LASSITER, JR.

Atlanta.

'Poor Georgia!'

Editor Constitution: "The Gate City of the South?" Whew! I wonder, do you? With our second current disgraceful spectacle upon us . . . The Monroe massacre, the first—and both through the mediums of newspaper and radio have assumed national as well as international notoriety, shouldn't we hold our heads in utter shame? Shouldn't we, 3,000,000-odd, within these boundaries, humbly say "Poor Georgia?"

Can we still proudly boast "It's great to be a Georgian?" Huh?

ZEPHA CHARLES BOYD.

Atlanta. Wed-1-22-47

Paging Bilbo!

Editor Constitution: I was born and raised in Georgia and up until this point I have been very proud of my heritage. For the past seven years I have lived in Virginia and during that time I have done my utmost to convince people that the entire population of Georgia was not made up of Erskine Caldwell characters and that all of us did not come from Tobacco Road. But when I saw

hesitate to seek to intimidate the Supreme Court of this State. Should this happen, making known the opinions of the average citizen would help to counteract political pressure. In order to make available to the general public the names and addresses of members of the Supreme Court, will you please print them?

MRS. R. C. BROCK.

Marietta.

(Editor's note: They appeared in the edition of Sunday, Jan. 19.)

Wed-1-22-47

The Power of Prayer

Editor Constitution: I am wondering if there is any connection between the cloudy weather conditions over Georgia and the political situation in this same State. Has God hidden His face from us in our dilemma even as the sun is hidden these January days?

Let us get on our knees and pray God's forgiveness for our selfishness and indifference. Let's forget self and think only of the good of Georgia. I still believe in the power of prayer, although I may be considered old-fashioned by many in these modern times.

GEORGE C. MOSELEY.

Atlanta.

Constitution

Board of Commissioners

Editor Constitution: Would it not be a good idea for the new 1947 General Assembly to abolish the office of Governor and provide that a State Board of Commissioners be elected by the people to administer the affairs of the State? Say elect one Commissioner from each Congressional District. Many Counties have the County Boards of Commissioners and they get along. This would at least stop the confusion oxer the Governor's office.

B. S. KELLY.

Bushnell, Fla.

that we are now choosing our Governor by staging riots and fist fights in the Capitol Building, I decided that I might as well give up the battle.

May I suggest that the whole unfortunate argument between Mr. Arnall and Herman Talmadge be settled by sending for Mr. Bilbo to come and take over the Governorship of Georgia?

MARTHA BAILEY CARDWELL.

Norfolk, Va.

Keeping Order?

Editor Constitution: I do not know who wrote the editorial, "By Whose Authority." We, wonder. But I agree with it very much.

I can not understand where the so-called peace officers were and are, why they would allow such a thing. I believe they are sworn to keep order at all time so far as they are able to do so. Some peace officers are laying down on the job.

ROBERT RAYMOND
JACKSON, JR.

Atlanta.

Fears Intimidation

Editor Constitution: You are to be strongly commended for recent editorials striving to maintain a calm, open-minded outlook on a turbulent situation. Such an outlook is needed by a people becoming more and more outraged by continued violence and lawlessness at the State Capitol.

It is the growing fear of the public that political factions resorting to such violence will not

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AMERICA'S SHAME

~~Daily Worker~~ New York, N.Y.

By John Hudson Jones

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER thinks the Georgia situation is the "Number One U.S. embarrassment" and in view of it wants to know "How can the United States lecture the Poles, Germans, Japanese, Koreans, Spanish, Argentinians, and other people about democracy and how it should function while giving the whole world a concrete demonstration of how it should not function?"

The Courier further thinks the Federal government should be ". . . interested in determining whether the National Guard of Georgia is under the command of the right governor or a usurper." Seeing as now Talmadge claims the seat because of less than 700 right-in votes it wonders what in the world would have happened if ". . . 1000 Negroes had written in the name of a colored man instead of voting for Carmichael!"

Fri. 1-24-47

Paper Cites Irregularities In Balloting For Talmadge

The Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

Sun. 3-2-47

37a(2)

ATLANTA, GA., March 1.—(AP)—Dead persons, non-residents and even non-existent persons "voted" for the late Eugene Talmadge and his son, Herman, for governor of Georgia in the general election of 1946, the Atlanta Journal said tonight.

Reporting documentary evidence of irregularities in the Helena district of Telfair County, home of the Talmadges, the Journal said the votes had played a critical part in making Herman Talmadge eligible for election by the Legislature to the term of his dead father.

Eugene Talmadge was unopposed as Democratic nominee for governor. When he died before inauguration, the Legislature voided his 143,000 votes and elected his son, who was credited with 675 write-in ballots. Herman's write-in total was six more than that of his father's principal opponent in the Democratic primary, James Carmichael, and 38 more than the vote for a Republican, D. Talmadge Bowers.

Preliminary tabulations by the Legislature placed Herman in third place—out of the running for governor—but last-minute discovery of additional Telfair votes put him ahead. 3-2-47

Staff Writer George Goodwin of the Journal said he found Telfair returns listing at least two persons long dead, at least five who had moved away, and at least five who said they did not vote Nov. 5, 1946. Another dozen could not be found, he said.

Goodwin said all were among 34 names, listed alphabetically in **the numbered record of voters** as they appear at the polls. He said he began investigating because "it appeared impossible that 34 citizens anywhere could have appeared in alphabetical order." Sun. 3-2-47

Talmadge, when advised of the development, said: "You can quote me that the Journal still has running hydrophobia."

37a(2) 1947 Georgia (Governorship)

Talmadge Wins at McDonough in Court Battle

The Constitution
Thurs. 2-13-47
Atlanta, Ga.

JUDGE WALTER HENDRIX
"The Legislature Was Right"

By **ALBERT RILEY**
Constitution Staff Writer.

LT. GOV. M. E. THOMPSON
"One and One in First Inning"

GOV. HERMAN TALMADGE
"Our Contentions Are Sustained"

McDONOUGH, Feb. 12 — With two conflicting Superior Court decisions already handed down and a third lower court ruling expected Saturday, Georgia's complicated gubernatorial dispute moved rapidly toward the State Supreme Court, following Judge Walter Hendrix's pronouncement here that Herman Talmadge is the legal Governor.

Ruling against Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson whose claim to the State's highest office was upheld last week in a decision by Judge Claude H. Porter in Rome, Judge Hendrix held the Legislature was within its rights when it elected Talmadge as Governor and that the courts cannot interfere.

Counsel for Thompson immediately announced they would file an appeal to get the case before the Supreme Court along with the Rome suit already placed before the higher tribunal.

Judge Bond Almand will rule Saturday in a third contest when he decides a Fulton National Bank petition against both Talmadge and Thompson to determine which of the rival claimants is entitled to control over $96.000 in State Executive Department funds.

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, representing Thompson, said if his side loses the bank suit in Henry County Superior Court they will appeal it also and will endeavor to get all three cases before the Supreme Court at the same time and as quickly as possible.

Judge Hendrix, in an eight-page decision, summed up his ruling in this fashion:

"Construing the Constitution a we do, it is clear that the Genera Assembly had the right to decid when there was no election by th people. It did decide that on a count of the death of the Gover nor-Elect there had been no ele tion by the people.

"In our opinion the Constitutio then put the duty and respons bility on it to elect and insta a Governor. This duty and respo sibility it decided as it saw f When it acts within its authori courts cannot interfere."

Thus he announced he sustain demurrers by the defendant, T madge, against pleas by the plaintiff, Thompson.

Judge Hendrix did not sustain the Talmadge contention to disqualify Atty. Gen. Cook from participation in the suit, however, on the grounds that the defense had not clearly stated their claims against Cook.

Thurs. 2-13-47
The Constitution

The Judge gave an early tip-off as to what his ruling would be when he declared the case could be resolved into one simple question:

"When Governor-Elect Eugene Talmadge died, did that give Gov. Arnall another four-year term?"

Thompson's contention throughout the hearing had ben that on Eugene Talmadge's death, Arnall did and should have held office until Thompson became qualified to succeed to the Governorship.

Judge Hendrix pointed out the petitioner, Arnall, and the intervener, Thompson, admitted the Legislature had the right to elect a Governor in one specific instance under the Constitution.

He cited that instance, as the basis of his decision, the widely quoted Constitutional provision that:

"The members of each branch of the General Assembly shall

Just before Judge Hendrix announced his decision, Thompson said, "Both Judge Hendrix and Judge Porter are honorable men and highly respected as judges throughout the State. The next decision rests with the Supreme Court. The people are entitled to the earliest possible final decision in this issue."

Thompson said his statement would remain unchanged whichever way Judge Hendrix ruled, and he did not amplify it later. In congratulating Sam D. Hewlett, a Talmadge attorney, however, the Lieutenant Governor smiled and said, "Temporary congratulations." Before a newsreel camera later, he added, "The score is one and one now in the first inning."

Some of the 200 people in the courtroom rushed up to congratulate the Talmadge lawyers when the decision was announced, and B. D. Murphy, chief Talmadge counsel, said smilingly of the verdict, "That's what I thought the law was."

Atlanta, Ga.

Hewlett said, "I think we're still right," and Baxter Jones, an associate, complimented the judge's opinion as a "well-written decision and to the point."

Atty. Gen. Cook smiled in defeat and said, "I have all respect for the judge, but I still think I'm right."

A group of McDonough schoolgirls rushed up to ask Thompson for autographs while an elderly lady, a Talmadge supporter, declared, "This is the best court I've ever been in during my life."

In Salt Lake City, former Gov. Ellis Arnall, who first instituted the Thompson suit for declaratory judgment against Talmadge, said, "It really doesn't matter since it is an intermediary decision." He told the Associated Press, "I have no criticism of any court but I am convinced the State Supreme Court will uphold Mr. Thompson's claim because that is the law. That is my opinion, at least."

Supreme Court officials said it will be possible for any one or all of the governorship cases already heard in Superior Courts to be taken up by the higher judiciary during the week of March 10 or earlier.

Cook said a bill of exceptions is already being prepared in the Thompson vs. Talmadge suit on which Judge Hendrix ruled Wednesday, and that he hopes to get it to the Supreme Court by the first of next week.

"We intend to expedi[illegible] processes as far as [illegible] and possible without j[illegible] the pleas of the clai[illegible] said, adding, "I d[illegible] go before the Supreme [illegible]prepared."

Gov. Herman Talmadge, who last week blistered Judge Porter's decision against him in Thompson's suit aimed at members of the State Pardon and Parole Board, was jubilant when he learned of Judge Hendrix's decision in his favor.

At a press conference the 33-year-old son of the late Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge, said, "The sooner we get a decision by the State Supreme Court, the better I'll like it," and he pulled from his desk a congratulatory telegram sent him by Secretary of State Ben Fortson, who led a legislative fight to give former Gov. Ellis Arnall another term.

Earlier Talmadge commented on Hendrix's decision and said, "I did not become a candidate for election to the office as Governor of Georgia until a majority of the most able lawyers in Georgia had thoroughly studied the law. We all arrived at the very definite conclusion that it was not only the right of the General Assembly to elect a Governor, but that it was mandatory upon them to do so. The opinion of Judge Walter Hendrix sustains our contention."

Thurs. 2-13-47

He concluded his statement with a hope "that those who have been obstructing our program in the General Assembly will join hands with us to speedily enact into law my father's platform which was adopted by the Democratic party in Macon last October."

convene in the Representative Hall, and the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives shall open and publish the returns in the presence and under the direction of the General Assembly; and the person having the majority of the whole number of votes shall be declared duly elected Governor of this State; but, if no person shall have such a majority, then from the two persons having the highest number of votes, who shall be in life, and shall not decline an election at the time appointed for the General Assembly to elect, the General Assembly shall immediately elect a Governor viva voce; and in all cases the election of a Governor by the General Assembly, a majority of the members present shall be necessary to a choice." Atlanta, Ga.

Judge Hendrix pointed out that this provision in the Constitution, and another pertinent provision along the same line had been in the document for many years during which time the Constitution has been revised and ratified several times, but with those provisions remaining unchanged.

A Compromise

Constitution

Editor Constitution: A government for the people, by the people? Or—just a few people, or all of the people? Mon. 2.17.47

Surely we, all of the poeple, can demand an election and determine who is to be the Governor of Georgia. If not, I would suggest that the two acting Governors compromise. Talmadge serve part of the time and Thompson the other. In that way they would still be like children trying to beat the other in making the best Governor, and when and if the people could choose their Governor there would be, let's hope, peace for Georgia. Atlanta Ga.

MRS. G. H. CHRISTIAN.

Atlanta.

Pastor Harris

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: I wish the people would quit their talk and criticizing Herman Talmadge. They make me sick. They use to talk about his father worse than I would a dog. If you can't say anything good, don't say anything. Deep down in their hearts they know better if only would admit it.

Wish I could see Roy Harris, Tom Linder and all the smart men that are back of Herman Talmadge in his fight to carry out his father's platform and pat them on the back. Atlanta, Ga.

Herman Eugene Talmadge, Jr., from his picture is a smart looking kid; could be no other way—just look who his daddy is and who his granddaddy was—two of Georgia's smartest men.

Fri. MRS. JOHN LANIER

Winder. 2-14-47

Commendation

Editor Constitution: I wish to congratulate you in the way you are handling your editorials concerning the present political mess, I think you are fair and impartial and so far, as I see it, you are too big to be prejudiced.

I like the facts regardless of whom it may hurt, I therefore commend you in giving it to us as it is. FELTON CLEMENTS.

Buena Vista.

Republican

Editor Constitution: The Democratic party of Georgia has made a genuine Republican out of me.

BILL STATHAM.

Porterdale. 2-14-47

Cook Hurrying Governorship Appeal Papers

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 2-14-47

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, chief counsel for Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson, said Thursday he and his staff are preparing a bill of exceptions in the Thompson vs. Talmadge governorship suit and that he hopes to have the appeal before the Supreme Court not later than Tuesday.

The bill of exceptions is in answer to Judge Walter Hendrix's ruling against Thompson Wednesday in the case heard in Henry County Superior Court at McDonough.

Cook further pointed out that his staff is preparing not only the bill of exceptions, but also the voluminous documentary evidence in the case to submit to the higher court. This is an unusual procedure, he said, but is being done by his office in order to save time and speed the trial records to the Supreme Court. Such work, he said, is normally the duty of the Clerk of the Superior Court in which the case was heard.

The bill of exceptions and the evidence must be transmitted to the higher tribunal through the Henry County Clerk's office and he will probably go to McDonough for that purpose Monday, Cook explained.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

TALMADGE MORE

Mon. (Tifton Gazette)

. . . Most of the newspapers in Georgia opposed Eugene Talmadge for Governor and have condemned the acts of Herman Talmadge in assuming the Governorship and since he has occupied that office. So the Talmadge forces are asking the Legislature to remove the protection the newspapers have against libel suits, when the newspapers intend no malice and are ready to make amends for any mistake. 2-24-47

However, the newspapers were active long before there was a Eugene Talmadge in Georgia politics, and most of them still will be printing the news, even if it happens to be anti-dictator, and expressing opinions, even if they are anti-dictator, long after Gene Talmadge's son, Herman, and even Herman's son, have passed from the political scene in this State.

RULES FOR TALMADGE

Judge Bond Almand

TALMADGE UPHELD AGAIN IN COURTS

Judge Rules Assembly Election Is Constitutional, Then He Criticizes Constitution

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 15—Herman Talmadge won another Superior Court victory today but Judge Bond Almand, who upheld him, asserted critically that the State constitutional provision under which he was elected Governor by the General Assembly, "was adopted by the people living in the stage-coach era" and "remains without change in this, the Atomic Age."

Ruling in the Henry County Superior Court at McDonough on a declaratory judgment petition by the Atlanta Fulton National Bank, Judge Almand's opinion held that the Legislature's election of Mr. Talmadge to the four-year term of his late father, Eugene Talmadge, was legal and that control of $95,682 estate executive department funds belongs to him. The funds were in the bank when former Governor Ellis Arnall resigned in favor of Lieut. Gov. M. E. Thompson, the rival claimant.

Judge Almand's ruling came three days after Superior Court Judge Walter Hendrix had upheld the legality of the Assembly election and dismissed a suit brought by Mr. Thompson seeking an injunction against Mr. Talmadge.

Today's opinion thus gave Mr. Talmadge two favorable court decisions against Mr. Thompson's one. Last week, Judge Claude Porter, in the Floyd County Superior Court at Rome, declared Mr. Talmadge's election invalid and held Mr. Thompson was the Acting Governor. This ruling was handed down in a suit brought by Mr. Thompson, in which he asked the Court to direct two members of the State Pardon and Parole Board to recognize him as Acting Governor.

Appeals from the conflicting decisions have reached the State Supreme Court, and the Fulton National Bank, following today's ruling, served notice of appeal to the high tribunal, thus continuing to tie up the executive department funds pending final adjudication. The Supreme Court is expected to hear arguments in all three cases early in March.

Mr. Almand's opinion continued: "The trouble lies with the people and their representatives for their failure to make their own Constitution conform to changes in public thinking and democratic ideas.

"The provision of the present Constitution dealing with the election of a Governor by the General Assembly had its origin in an amendment to the Constituion in 1824, and though we have had five new Constitutions since that time, the provision that was adopted by the people living in the stage-coach era remains without change in this. the Atomic Age."

Party Formed By 'Aroused' Georgia Group

Sat 3-1-47 Florida Times-Union

Talmadge 'Read Out' In Attack On Tyrants And Negro Vote Ban

ATLANTA, Feb. 26.—(AP)—Foes of Herman Talmadge announced reorganization of Georgia's Democratic Party today, read Talmadge and his followers out of the party and called on all "true" Democrats to join in restoring "Democratic government" to the state.

The reorganization movement gave the state two claimants to the title of the Democratic Party as well as two contenders for the governorship.

Opponents of Talmadge, who was elected governor by the Legislature, charged Talmadge and his supporters were attempting to perpetrate their rule by "unlawful, unconstitutional and undemocratic actions," including adoption of the white primary act. March 1, 1947

Removal of statutes governing primaries in a move to bar Negroes from voting, the group charged, has denied protection of voting by laws and recourse to any tribunal "except that established by those now in control."

The white primary law was passed by the Legislature last week. It freed the party primaries from state control and left them to rules and regulations formulated by the party.

Continuing the attack, the resolution said the act "denies to those who participate in such primary the protection of the laws, or recourse to any tribunal except that established by those now in control who, like all tyrants, make the rules, interpret the rules, obey the rules or violate the rules, according to their own whims and interests."

Spearhead of the reorganization movement was the Aroused Citizens of Georgia, political faction organized last month to contest Talmadge's claim to the governorship.

GEORGIA AND THE CONSTITUTION

Georgia's political situation, unhappy as it is, is at least bringing out a public explanation of the ideas some Georgians hold about the Fifteenth Amendment. This, it may be recalled, is the one which says that "the rights of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Herman Talmadge, whose title to the Governorship remains to be assessed by the courts, defends a white primary law on the ground that Negroes "would vote in blocs" if they had the chance. Chairman James S. Peters of the State Democratic Executive Committee goes further. He said this week, in public testimony, that "where two races live together, one must dominate." Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Peters and their supporters agree that they do not want a perceptible number of Negroes to vote in any election that counts.

Citizens of other states than Georgia have an interest and a proper concern in what is going on in Georgia. The present and proposed franchise in Georgia, which in practice restricts the majority of white men as well as nearly all the Negroes, is to some extent our business. The Senators and Representatives elected under it help make laws for all of us. They help fix our taxes. They help pass laws governing our conduct. It is only natural that we should keep a prayerful eye on Georgia.

37a(2) 1947

Georgia (Governorship)

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

Presidential Succession Clear in Constitution

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—The framers of Georgia's new Constitution could have saved the State all of the turmoil that has come from the Governorship wrangle, had they but used the language of the Twentieth Amendment to the Federal organic law with slight variation.

The Twentieth, or so-called Lame Duck, Amendment of the Federal Constitution fixes the terms and conditions of the election of our Presidents and Vice Presidents, together with the right of succession. Mon. 1-27-47

It is so written as to leave no room for question as to who the President would be, if a President-Elect died before assuming office and a Vice President-Elect survived him.

Moreover, it provides for a contingency whereby both the President-Elect and the Vice President-Elect might fail to' qualify by the time named for them to take office.

Very Simple

The provision which the framers of the Georgia Constitution might well have adopted to avoid the present confusion over the Governorship is very simple. It reads: "If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-Elect shall have died, the Vice President-Elect shall become President."

Thus it can be seen where the substitution of the words Governor and Lieutenant Governor for President-Elect and Vice President-Elect would have simplified the matter in Georgia.

The amendment then goes on to provide that Congress shall act in any case where neither the President-Elect nor the Vice President-Elect shall have qualified at the time fixed for the beginning of his term, declaring who shall act as President and the manner in which one shall be elected.

According to the experts, this offers safeguards against the Atlanta fracas being duplicated in the Federal Government.

There are, however, certain flaws in the Federal procedure which might conceivably lead to confusion in determining who should serve as President.

It has been pointed out, for example, that a critical situation might arise if a President elected by popular majority in November died before the Electoral College met to complete the constitutional process of election. Mon. 1-27-47

A question has been raised as to whether members of the Electoral College would be bound to cast their votes for the dead President-Elect, whether they could vote for the Vice President-Elect, or name some outside man. All State laws are not in agreement as to the obligations of such electors.

Remote

While it is only a remote possibility that a condition of the kind would ever occur, several legislative proposals on the subject have been offered. Rep. Monroney, Democrat, of Oklahoma, is seeking to create a special commission to study the whole question. He sees where the Georgia situation commands that attention be given the problem.

The late Sen. George W. Norris, of Nebraska, was the father of the Lame Duck Amendment. He put it through primarily as a means of preventing a defeated Congress from legislating after the people had rejected it at the polls.

In addition to prescribing the manner and method of electing the President, it abolished the old short, or hold-over, sessions of Congress, and provided for the inauguration of the President and Vice President on Jan. 20, instead of March 4, as had been the case previously.

Defined

The line of presidential succession is so well defined that even in the case of the death of both the President and Vice President there could be no doubt as to who would succeed to executive control. An act of Congress provides that the Secretary of State is next in line, and following him the Secretary of the Treasury and other cabinet members, all listed according to rank.

At the last session President Truman sought to have the act changed to make the Speaker of the House next in line instead of the Secretary of State. The Lower House readily passed a bill to this end, but the Senate refused to take action.

It will remain this way until and unless Congress at some future date changes the line of succession. Mon. 1-27-47

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

God Have Mercy

Editor Constitution: I am a veteran of World War II, served both in the European and Southwest Pacific theaters of war. Listening to the news over radio from the State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga., I am ashamed of the condition that political factions have demonstrated at our State Capitol.

The men that fought and died to preserve our way of life—freedom and liberty—democratic principles, has it been in vain? I love every inch of Georgia soil, my native State; political parasites, graters will soon bring our State to shame. Mon. 1-27-47

I think it is now time for the good citizens of our State to have a voice in the election of a Governor, I am sick and tired of this political mess.

It is high time for men to leave off hatred and strife and try to have a better country to live in.

The happenings at our State Capitol seem more like we have drifted back into principles we fought against. The love of money and greed for power is against the teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ.

May God have mercy on these foolish people and forgive and show them the right way.

FRANK H. NEW.

Harrison.

Constitution

Sensible

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: All day yesterday and today, friends of Gov. Herman Talmadge called at my law office and commended the article of Honorable Ralph McGill, "The People Limit Themselves." Ralph McGill, by this sensible editorial, the finest, I think, he has ever written, has won thousands of friends for himself.

LOUIS A. BURTON.

Atlanta.

Thanks to Harris

Editor Constitution: Perhaps Mr. Harris' one contribution to society unintentional though it was is the fact that he aroused the citizens of Georgia as they had not been aroused in over a century to take active part in and to demand decent democratic government. For this, Mr. Harris, we thank you.

M. F. SMITH.

Atlanta.

Mon. 1-27-47

Enough Said

The Constitution welcomes letters from its readers. They must be signed, should not exceed 200 words. We regret no letters can be returned.

Editor Constitution: H—— with Hitlerism—we are an American democracy! ! ! !

JOHN D. O'NEIL,
TOM S. O'CONNELL,
RUPERT D. O'TOOLE,
ANDY A. O'RILEY.

Atlanta.

Goering in Georgia?

Editor Constitution: How you newspaper editors have fooled us. Some months ago we read that Herman Goering had committed suicide and this morning we see his picture in the Constitution with him standing in the rotunda of the State Capitol of Georgia threatening the elected Governor of the State.

I am wondering when the purge will start, when the Frankenstein monster, having been created by the State Legislature, will start feeling his importance and begin to purge those who set him up.

How long before the common people will have to start saying: "Heil Herrrrmann?"

Atlanta. BOB CHILDS.

Mon. 1-27-47

Insult

Editor Constitution: It is gratifying to read your recent editorials. I am so glad you are at last trying to explain this situation that has arisen here in Georgia in an unbiased manner.

Personally I am for Governor Herman Talmadge and most vigorously object to the term steal, pretender, force and violence used in connection with his being elected Governor of the great State of Georgia. It is an insult to our legislators.

LOUISE M. SUMMERS.

Atlanta.

Man of His Word?

Editor Constitution: A few days ago we found in your paper a statement by Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson challenging Gov. Talmadge to a special election by the people. Being a man of principles, Gov. Talmadge has agreed to let the people of our State prove for the second time that they wish him to be their chief executive. Now we find that Mr. Thompson is not a man of his word.

SAM SINGER,
SAM ROLLINSON.

Lumpkin.

When?

Mon. 1-27-47

Editor Constitution: I wonder how long it will be before the Columbians reappear?

CLINT CHAMBERLAIN.

Atlanta.

Pawns and Dupes

Editor Constitution: It should be plain by now that Georgia has identified herself in the eyes of the nation as a State whose citizens are only pawns and dupes to the professional politicians and political machines. Mon. 1-27-47

It is entirely possible that Herman Talmadge may be the most qualified person in the State to be Governor and even possible that the people of the State might elect him, but if he can assume the governorship through the skullduggery and manipulations that have been going on in Georgia recently, then it is apparent that a Governor can be selected by a few hundred persons while thousands of citizens are given no choice in his selection.

There has been much ballyhoo about "white supremacy" by the same group who are now denying even the white citizens of the State the right to participate in the selection of a Governor. To many veterans, besides myself, it seems ridiculous that we should have been sent thousands of miles to fight a long and bloody war against the same form of government now attempting to take control of Georgia.

Could it be that Hitler is not dead but has found refuge in Georgia? Or can it be that Hitler is dead and Georgia is honoring him by adopting his principles?

H. C. DEVER.

Atlanta.

Great Help

Editor Constitution: I want to congratulate you and express appreciation for Ralph McGill's splendid column on "The People Limit Themselves," appearing in today's Atlanta Constitution. I am sure every citizen of Georgia could read this column with profit, and if we had more such editorials appearing in all of our newspapers, perhaps it would help greatly to straighten out many tangles.

Sincerely,
L. D. JOLLEY.

Atlanta.

Mon. 1-27-47

The Answer

Editor Constitution: If the "breastbeaters" will read Mr. McGill's article on Jan. 24, "The People Limit Themselves," they will find their answer.

You voted for the new Constitution and you named your Senators and Representatives, giving yourselves no license to holler.

RESPESS M. CHATFIELD.
Atlanta.

An Aroused Georgia

[An Editorial in the Atlanta Journal.]

Richmond Times-Dispatch

NOT WITHIN the memory of living man, save perhaps a few who recall the tumult of reconstruction, have the people of Georgia been so stirred as within the last few days There has been a ground-swell of indignation that has shaken the State.

It is well—but, remember, eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. Richmond, Va.

In every congressional district, in cities large and small, there have been mass meetings at which the fears of good citizens, their abhorrence of the forcible seizure of their government, their determination to win back the sovereignty of the people have been voiced. Tues. 1-28-47

It is well—but, remember, scheming politicians never give up.

These meetings have been spontaneous in their origin. They have not been planned by any central committee, any leader, any newspaper. They are Georgia manhood and womanhood in voluntary action. To say, as has been said, that any newspaper has fomented this uprising is to insult the independence and the integrity of those tens of thousands of people in city, town and countryside who have joined together in defense of their citizenship.

No man, no organization can enforce its dictation on the Georgia press which is more nearly a solid front in this crisis than ever before in its history.

No one can dictate to the people of Georgia, or make them his dupes and tools. When you are told that a newspaper has rounded you up and herded you like sheep into your meetings of protest, resent that charge and discern in it the weakness and the fear that now beset the plotters.

But, remember, plotters, when cornered, seek to change the subject or await a lapse to apathy, then creep back stealthily to their schemes.

This crisis in our State is not, as some of the pundits and apologists have attempted to say, a little harmless game of politics in which one set of good fellows is trying to get the better of the other. Tues. 1-28-47

It is not a little match between two clever players—and may the best man win.

It is not a little dyspepsia in the body politic which may be relieved by a spoonful of baking soda in a glass of water.

It is a desperately serious matter and must be followed through to an ultimate honest conclusion.

The situation was well stated in the Augusta Chronicle of Friday:

> "Herman Talmadge and Roy Harris will find before this historic fight is over that . . . the opposition to their high-handed usurpation of authority does not come from any 'little group' but rather from a growing army of Georgians, in every walk of life, who are finding the present situation unbearable and who will not be calmed until Georgia's destiny is settled by orderly, lawful judicial processes removed from the sinister influence of rule-by-force."

This irresistible tide in Georgia is the righteous wrath of free men and women who are determined to remain free.

Here LSMFT Means 'Lord Save Me From Talmadge!'

Defender 37a.(2)
Chicago Ill.
Sat. 3-15-47

COLUMBIA, S. C.—"Lord Save Me From Talmadge." That's what the popular LS MFT slogan means in Georgia, a Columbia businessman returning from a trip to Georgia reported this week. The rest of the country recognizes LS MFT as meaning "Lucky Strike Means Fine Tobacco" . . . but not Georgia.

THROUGH WITH GEORGIA:

'Storm Troopers' Too Much for Aged Janitor

The Afro-American Baltimore Md.
Sat. 2-1-47

ATLANTA—(AFRO NATIONAL BUREAU) Neither of Georgia's claiminats to the Governor's chair may vacate willingly, but at least the person in the Capitol intends to vamoose—but quickly. That is 65-year-old Charlie Gildstrop, janitor and messenger in the Supreme Court building, who says he has enough.

Gildstrop was mixed up in the melee when Herman Talmadge's "storm troopers" marched in and took over the offices of Governor Ellis Arnall.

As if this were not enough he was also on duty when an unidentified person threw a tear gas bomb in the Capitol the following day. He then decided he had seen enough.

I'm Quitting First

"I told the judges that if the wool-hat crowd could come down here from the backwoods and drive the governor out that we would be next, so I am quitting.

Gildstrop has been on duty in the Supreme Court for the past three years.

He is the father of 11 children and grandfather of 15 others. He has spent all of his days in Georgia except for a year of work at a Saginaw (Mich.) munitions factory at the beginning of the war.

Was Doing All Right

"To think," he meditated. "I was up North getting along all right, but I let them persuade me to come back home and take this job because it was easier.

"As long as Governor Arnall was here, everything went alon all right. But now with those Ku Kluxers taking over, I am al messed up again.

"I only hope to live long enoug to get my family out of here an established somewhere where the don't have this kind of carryin on.

Can Die in Peace Then

"When I know they are safe will be willing to die," he stated

He looked around ruefully a the empty courtroom and said, " told the Judges about my fears and they told me not to worry tha they would protect me.

"But they have declared a re cess and gone home, while I hav to stay here while those hoodlum are taking over. No sir, I don know where I'm going, but I ar getting out of here."

Names Of Dead And Unknowns On Ballot Sheet

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

Expose By Atlanta Paper Heightens Suspicion Of Fraud

Sat. 3-8-47

ATLANTA—The ghost votes of persons long since dead, others who could not recall having cast them and of some persons whose whereabouts are unknown placed Herman Talmadge in position to claim the Georgia governorship, the Atlanta Journal charged late this week.

The Journal's allegation grew out of an investigation instituted by the paper when the vote list for the Helena precinct of Telfair county looked suspicious.

The list carries the names of voters as they appeared to cast their ballots. However the last 34 names in the list under question are in perfect alphabetical order. It seemed highly improbable that persons could cast ballots in alphabetical order.

Heighening the suspicion of the investigators were the following facts:

Eugene was named successor to his father on grounds that he had received 675 write-in votes. Second to him was James V. Carmichael with 669 and D. Talmadge Bowers, a Republican with 637.

However, Eugene's 675 votes appeared on as result of a "corrected" tally sheet mailed after the first. On the first tally he had 617. On the second his vote from Telfair county leaped from 19 to 77.

Attacking the last 34 names that appeared only in the second sheet, the Journal's reporter found that two had been dead some years; five had moved away before the election; five said they did not vote and another 10 or 12 couldn't be found anywhere.

Just what effect this exposure will have on the questionable status of Talmadge is not known. It does, however, heighten the suspicions of Talmadge's opponents who have always claimed that Eugene's election was accompanied by a very strong odor.

Arnall Enemy of White Rule, Talmadge Charges on Radio

Baltimore, Md.
The Afro-American Sat. 2-1-47

ATLANTA (NNPA)—Herman Talmadge, in a radio address last Friday night, made former Governor Ellis Arnall his chief target in defending his claim to the governorship over his rival, M. E. Thompson, the lieutenant governor in whose favor Arnall resigned.

Young Talmadge, aping his demagogic father, Eugene Talmadge, governor-elect, whose death caused the present confusion, said opposition to him is due in party to a determination "to destroy the dominance of the white race in the South."

He charged that Arnall "planned to dominate every election in this State, by regimenting the colored vote into a controlled bloc; that, by deceit and trickery, he registered tens of thousands; and connived with radicals outside the State to force the Democratic party in Georgia to admit colored members."

37a(2) 1947 Georgia (Governorship)

37a(2)

GOVERNOR'S ROW STIRS GA.:

Arnall's Resignation Blow to Talmadge Machine Rule

Afro-American 1-18-47 Sat.

Baltimore, Md

ATLANTA—The resignation of Governor Ellis Arnall on Saturday, 48 hours before the State General Assembly convened to act on Herman Talmadge's claim to his father's (Gene's) gubernatorial toga, would block Herman's succession to the office, Arnall's supporters predicted.

Arnall made his resignation "effective immediately after qualification of the lieutenant governor," M. E. Thompson, who automatically becomes a claimant to the governorship the moment he is sworn in as the State's first lieutenant governor. 1-18-47 Sat.

It will be effective whether or not the Legislature sustains Herman's claims to the office, based on a few hundred written-in votes, admittedly engineered on election day as "insurance" in case his father died.

Arnall Keeps Word

Arnall announced immediately after the governor-elect's funeral that he regarded Thompson as the only legal successor, and would resign as soon as Thompson was eligible.

Leaders of the Talmadge bloc doubted Arnall and arranged to hold up Thompson's certification until the Legislature could be induced to name Herman for his father's term.

Lily-White Election Aim

Another significant development in the fight for control of the State's political machine to guarantee that "white supremacy" will still reign, is the call to revise the primary election laws to bar colored people from voting in a special election to select the next governor.

James Peters of Manchester, chairman of the Democratic State Committee, proposed on Jan. 9 that the Georgia primary laws be revamped to insure a Democratic white primary to select a governor without colored people participating. 1-18-47 Sat.

Peters proposed also the election of Herman Talmadge, and, after his inauguration, he would have the Legislature revise the primary laws so his committee can bar colored people from the special gubernatorial election.

A Crude Plot

The plot to install Talmadge's son in the governor's chair is called "one of the crudest political frame-ups" in Georgia history.

The State Attorney General Eugene Cook has ruled, and a number of leading jurists agree, that the Legislature has no authority whatsoever to elect a governor in the present case.

Law Gets Succession

Under the new 1945 constitution, the Legislature, at its opening session Monday (Jan. 13), must declare the Nov. 5 general elections results, establishing the election of Gene Talmadge as governor, and M. E. Thompson as lieutenant governor.

The law provides that, in event of the resignation or death of the governor, the lieutenant governor shall assume executive powers, until the next general election (in 1948) when a new governor shall be elected. 1-18-47 Sat.

Thompson Not Liberal

Herman Talmadge is backed by the Ku Klux Klan, and supported by Roy Harris, leader of the infamous Cracker Party in Augusta which was defeated in the primary for the first time in many years.

Lieutenant Governor-elect Thompson served in Arnall's administration as his executive secretary, and was State commissioner of revenue. He is considered a staunch supporter of Arnall.

However, in the present crisis, Thompson made considerable concessions to the Talmadgeites, affirming in letters to the legislators that he supported the Democratic Party platform—meaning, the white primary and the county unit vote system.

Surrounded by 1200 Students, Matthews Proclaims Self as Colored Journalist

'Open the Door, Herman,' Group Sings Out After Burning Pretender in Effigy on Lawn

The Afro-American-Baltimore, Md. Sat. 2-1-47

By RALPH MATTHEWS

ATLANTA (AFRO National Bureau) — Last Tuesday I discovered how it feels to be caught in a Georgia mob.

No mobs are good, and while this was not a particularly vicious mob, it was a mob nevertheless—composed of 1200 students from Georgia colleges who stormed the Capitol to protest the usurpation of power by Herman Talmadge who has forcibly laid claim to the governorship.

While impressive, the demonstration of students was mild compared to those which I witnessed in Paris before the war and much less effective than the one staged last February by the students of Haiti when they forced President Elie Lescot to flee the country.

The fact that the young white students of Georgia were aroused, however, was deeply significant.

Talmadge Hanged in Effigy

The mob marched on the Capitol about 3 p.m., tying up traffic and forcing their way into the Governor's reception chambers.

On the Capitol lawn they hanged Talmadge in effigy, and inside they swarmed over the corridors and leaped on top of desks making speeches about anything which came in their minds, sometimes serious, but as often humorous.

With the exception of a few white-coated flunkies who moved silently and ghost-like about the halls carrying messages and wastebaskets, mine was the only dark face in the crowd.

'Open The Door Herman'

It was a good-natured mob which banged on the governor's door paraphrasing the popular song by crying, "Open the Door Herman!"

Deciding they had no intention of leaving, Herman finally made his appearance and addressed the group amid cheers and jeers.

A roar of laughter resounded through the building when one of the strapping students lifted a five-year-old child above his head dressed in long pants with a sign around his neck bearing the title, "Governor." Sat. 2-1-47

"If we must have a boy governor,' 'said the spokesman, "let's have a real one."

'You're Colored, Ain't You?'

A little old woman with gray hair, a tight veil and carrying a parasol resembling a holdover from a women's suffrage brigade, spoke to me in a high pitched voice, "Didn't I see you up in the gallery this morning when the governor spoke?"

"Yes, you did," I answered her.

"You're a colored man, aren't you?" she snapped.

"I am," I said, beginning to grow uneasy for the first time as her high voice began to attract attention and a group of students formed a circle around us.

Within Your Rights

"And you're a newspaperman. I saw you taking notes." Her tone was almost an accusation.

"I am," I replied.

"I thought so," she said. "I had an argument about you. Some of them wanted to put you out, but I told them you had a perfect right to be there There should have been more of your people there."

"Thank you," I said, "but why did they want to put me out?"

'Just Poor White Trash'

"Because they are just a bunch of poor white trash. They are the ones who are running things here today, but we'll get them out."

I nodded assent and move away, because it was uncomfor able being the object of attentio under such circumstances. Not a of the students were anti-Ta madge.

One spokesman had stated tha many of the students were in syn pathy with the Talmadge positio and offered to form a demonstra tion on his behalf. He refused th offer.

While I was being interrogate by the little old woman who looked like she had stepped out o a cameo, the few colored me around shied away and even refused to speak to me later.

Good Humor Misleading

In spite of the lack of incident the bantering good humor of the mob, I knew this was a hot potato It would have taken little provocation to transform this group into an entirely different temper.

A few hours before I had heard Talmadge himself exhort the legislature to deny colored citizens their civil rights by passing immediately a white primary law.

I had heard him threaten to bring a "real mob" of backwoodsmen to the Capitol if the Arnall supporters "wanted a fight." I had heard him pull all stops on the organ of race hate, a lesson he learned aptly from his late father.

Only A Spark Needed

I knew that the howling mob of students held the potential of violence and but a spark would set it off in the wrong direction.

After all, they were the children of the elders who had cheered to the echo every time Talmade Jr. raised the cry of white supremacy just a few hours before.

Talmadge had offered to resign and stand in a general election i the legislature passed laws so th "the white people of Georg could decide who was to be th governor."

RE-ELECT N. Y. COUNCILMEN

Plaindealer

37a(2) Ill.

Fri. 3-7-47

CHICAGO — (ANP) — Negroes here neither lost nor gained in Tuesday's aldermanic election.

Seventeen Negro candidates from four of the city's 50 wards view for council seats, but election returns indicate only the predominantly all-Negro second and third wards will have Negro aldermen in the new city council.

Kansas City, Kan.

By the virtue of a runoff next April, either Mack Atkins, a local undertaker backed by the Republican party, or incumbent William H. Harvey, a Democrat, will represent the second ward. A third ward runoff will send either Roy L. Washington former Democratic city prosecutor, or the Rev. Archibald J. Carey, pastor of Woodlawn AME church, to the city council. Oscar DePriest, incumbent, was defeated. 3-7-47

Tabulation of second ward votes showed Atkins, 9,471; P. B. Brown, an independent backed by the Packinghouse workers and CIO unions, 1,6g3; Willa B. Brown, aviatrix, 882; Harvey, 10,873; and Hoobs, 310. In the third, C. A. Brown, 258; Edgar G. Brown, 2,331; Carey, 4,427; DePriest, 3,609; January, 513; Lewis, 113; Murphy, 149 C. Udell Turpin, 1,066; Washington, 4,813.

Stadeker and Stampley were eliminated in the fifth ward by Merriam, regular Democratic candidate. Stadeker polled 469 and Stampley, 227 votes. Both were considered as newcomers to the political scene. William Janney was the only Negro aldermanic candidate in a west side ward. He was eliminated by the regular Democratic candidate.

Tuesday's election probably ended the long political career of Oscar DePriest, who was dethroned as alderman of the third ward.

Democrats, Republicans Win Seats in Cicago

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

CHICAGO — (NNPA) — One Democrat and one Republican were reported elected in the 19 aldermanic contests last Tuesday

In the second ward, William Harvey (Dem.) backed by Rep. W. L. Dawson, had 18,055 votes against 14,044 for Mack Atkins (Rep.) count unofficial. In the third ward the Rev. Archibald J. Carey Jr. (Rep.) defeated Roy L. Washington (Dem.) by a cout of 13,512 to 11,479.

Sat. 4-10-47

37a(2) 1947

Mississippi

GOOD NEWS

Defender. Sat. 11-15-47

There is rejoicing down in the cot- [illegible] country this week and the jubila- [illegible] of the colored Mississippians is [illegible]red by Negroes and freedom-loving [illegible]tes in every section. Cong. John Rankin who promised to "out-Bilbo Bilbo" in his campaign for the vacant U. S. Senate seat was counted out in Tuesday's election.

37a(2) Miss

Chicago, Ill.

The foul-mouthed protagonist of white supremacy discovered that for some strange reason hate-mongering had lost its magic. Not even his worst enemies dared hope that Mr. Rankin would go down to defeat so ignominiously. Aspiring to the mantle of the late Mr. Bilbo, the fiery little congressman apparently tripped up on the trap he had set to snare the voters.

Sat. 11-15-47

37a(2)

We hesitate, however, to predict a new trend toward intelligence in Mississippi on the basis of the election results. While Mr. Rankin was slapped down, an event for which we are grateful, it hardly seems possible that Mississippi is ready to desert the Confederacy. As to the character of the candidate who won the right to succeed Mr. Bilbo, we shall have to await his voice in the Senate. We may be sure it cannot be as offensive as that of either the late Mr. Bilbo or the discredited Mr. Rankin. After all, there is a limit to everything.

Rankin Draws Blank in Mound Bayou

Afro-American

37a(2)

Baltimore, Md.

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. — (ANP)—Out of the six candidates in Tuesday's Senatorial race the only candidate who got nary a vote in Mound Bayou, the all-colored town, was John Rankin, whose name is anathema to people of color.

Sat. 11-15-47

The Congressman proved he was not much more popular with the white folks of his State, for he was snowed under by Judge John Stennis, who conducted a decent campaign.

An odd commentary, however, was that Forrest Jackson, Bilbo's lawyer, who also was seeking his former client's seat and who promised to out-Bilbo Bilbo, got 35 votes here, more than all the other candidates together.

MISSISSIPPI ELECTION

Times

37a(2)

One solid certainty of the Mississippi election is that neither Representative John E. Rankin nor anybody like him will occupy the Senate seat vacated by the death of Mr. Bilbo. As Mr. Rankin picks himself out of the dust left by all the other Democratic candidates, Mississippi can pride herself on giving him the worst drubbing of his career. The wave of prejudice and bigotry on which such men rode is plainly ebbing at its source.

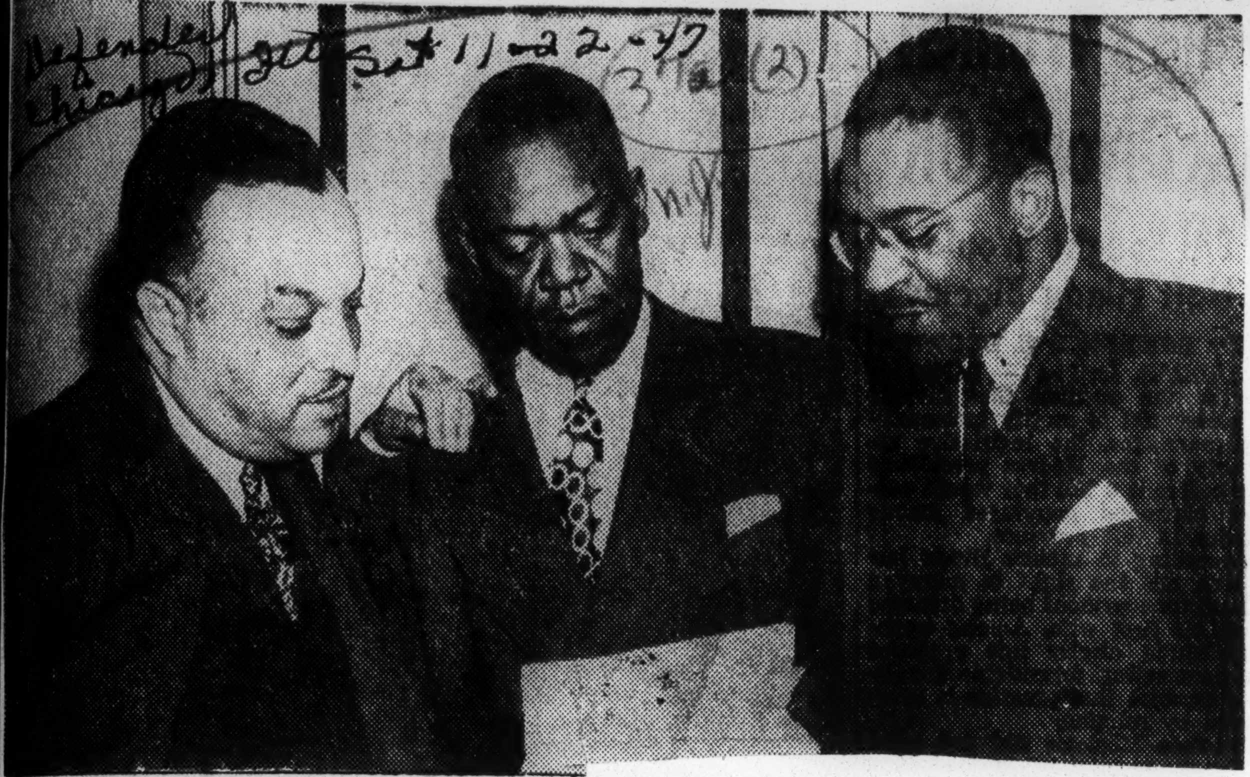
New York. N.Y.

The win [illegible] the election is Judge John C. S[illegible] a graduate of Missisipppi Sta[illegible]iversity and the University of Virginia, who has proved his ability and integrity in long service to the state. It has been said of him that he combines the dignity and high tradition of the old South with the aspirations of the new. He made no appeal to the voters on the racial issue of "white supremacy," which some of his opponents, and especially Mr. Rankin, tried to exploit. For the first time in Mississippi, this proved to be a dead issue.

Thu. 11-6-47

The result of the election has a significance beyond the borders of the state. It means that bias, prejudice and hatred are no longer sound campaigning currency where they were once so potent. It remained for Mr. Rankin, their most blatant exponent, to demonstrate the fact. He threatened, if he got to the Senate, to out-Bilbo Bilbo. But the old arm-waving, tub-thumping empty invective that deafened and humiliated his fellow-members of the House got him nowhere. Unfortunately, he still retains his seat in the House, but his influence at home is gone. Mississippi has chosen to restore her self-respect through a new Senator she can justly honor.

37a(2) 1947 New Jersey


Defender Chicago 3rd Sat 11-22-47

13 Ha (2)

N.Y.

PLEASED WITH NEWARK VOTE — Mortician John M. Dabney, 239 Norfolk st. (left) and Atty. James A. Curtis, 657 High st., look over the election returns with Prosper Brewer (center), Third Ward Republican chairman. Dabney polled 81,362 votes to be elected coroner of Essex county. Curtis rode into the State Assembly on the Republican ticket with a count of 86,120 votes.—Raney photo.

37a(2) 1947

New York

Harlemites Back Bonus, Ben Davis

Black Dispatch

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Although I'm a stranger in this big, old one-horse town, I'm asking all editors to give me enough space to say a few words on the election held here last week. 37a(2)

Point No. 1, as I have emphasized before, is aimed at dispelling the nation that Negro voters are "sold" on a party.

Oklahoma, Oklahoma

As my records show, the people living in Manhattan's famous Harlem just don't operate that way. In the election to determine whether New York's city councilmen are to be elected by proportional representation (PR) this cash-conscious crowd here went to the pools thinking about one thing and voting on many. 3 ed 11-15-47

They were chiefly concerned about the fate of the proposal for a soldier's bonus which will give every World War II veteran from $150 to $250 beginning Jan. 2, providing he has spent more than two months in the service.

Being in the lower economic brackets, New York Negroes voted for that 100 per cent. But, in an amazing about face, this same army of voters also voted to keep PR, as it is called here, because one of their political idols is Ben Davis, the second Negro to be elected to the city council in the system's 11-year-old history.

Councilman Davis is an avowed Communist, if that means anything, but it apparently didn't to Harlemites because they voted to sustain his political point of view.

Tammany clubhouse functionaries and the would-be leaders from the Republican clubs seemed amazed by what had happened but, if they had read any ANP dispatches of recent weeks, they would have had nothing to worry about. 37a(2) n.4

If it's any news to the chairman of the GOP and National Democratic party committees, Negro voters here seem to be doing all right for themselves. Which mean that they're also thinking for themselves, and acting for themselves.

Because, if you ask me, the political leadership of this city is beat to a know not what. Republicans and Democratic leaders, with few exceptions, are as dense as they come.

For instance, they might have asked their followers, if there are any, to vote in protest of both political machines by giving Layle Lane, the Socialist, a vote. Why not?

She's capable, able and willing. She's been a public school teacher here for years and, if that doesn't qualify her, after listening to some of the other candidates, I'm ready to give up.

There were many other aspects to last week's election but not being a New Yorker, as some Harlemites put it, I really do not care.

All I want to say is this: The Negro voters of New York are much brighter than some politicians seem to think. They know how to split their ballots, they'll "knife" a candidate when it's intelligently and necessary and they're paying the phony, would-be leaders no rabbit-fox mind. Catch on? 37a(2) n.4

They hepped politically, as many Harlemites insist on saying, and Tammany is just another tiger which should be tamed. The Republican? I've been trying to say all along that they are acting like they'll refuse to run in '48.

37a(2) 1947 New York (Marcantonio)

MARCANTONIO OUSTER IS ASKED IN PETITION

The Times
37a(2) N.Y. New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23 (AP)—An action seeking to invalidate the election of Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York was filed today with the House by a self-described "citizen and voter" of Brooklyn. Fri. 1-24-47

Serving notice of a contest of Mr. Marcantonio's election from the Eighteenth New York Congressional District, Walter J. Flanagan of 49 Willow St., Brooklyn, specifically asked that Mr. Marcantonio's total Democratic vote of 27,541 be thrown out.

Mr. Flanagan asserted that prima facie evidence of election law violations was available to New York authorities which they have not acted upon.

Mr. Marcantonio ran on both the Democratic and American Labor Party tickets. Mr. Flanagan's petition said that he received 14,888 American Labor Party votes which, had the Democratic total not been added, would have been insufficient for him to have defeated the Republican candidate, Frederick V. P. Bryan. Mr. Bryan polled 35,693 votes. The Times

Mr. Flanagan said that if the "facts and evidence" contained in his notice of the contest were examined it would disclose that "a committee of three acted to fill vacancies for political offices "along with the other associates in the other four counties of New York City" and worked in concert with three district leaders of Tammany Hall. New York, N.Y.

The three committee members were said to have been Mr. Marcantonio, Eugene P. Connolly, a New York City councilman and ALP secretary for New York County, and Robert Stanley, who was not otherwise identified. Fri.

The petition stated that "all had knowledge aforethought that there would be wholesale declinations of petition-candidates of the American Labor Party" and that Mr. Marcantonio "and his associates" would be in a position to name the substitute candidates. 1-24-47

Cops Free 3d Scottoriggio Case Witness

37a(2) N.Y. (Marcantonio)
PM, New York, N.Y.

A third "material witness" in the Scottoriggio murder was freed yesterday while tactics used by police against clubs in the East Harlem area since the killing backfired in false arrest suits for $30,000.

William Donaghy, 22, candymaker held since Nov. 15 after saying he could identify Joseph Scottoriggio's killers, was discharged on request of District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office, which said Donaghy faked the story in hope of a reward. General Sessions Judge Francis James G. Wallace told Donaghy to mind his own business from now on. Friday 1-13-47

Previously Hogan's office released two other "material witnesses," Dominick Petrone, 41, ex-fighter discharged Dec. 18, and Joseph Mondello, 30, freed Dec. 6.

One of two gangsters still held as material witnesses, Joey Rao, was transferred to the Federal House of Detention Jan. 21, it was learned, while the other, Trigger Mike Coppola, remains in City Prison. Hogan hinted Rao was separated from Coppola "for his own safety."

The false arrest suits, for $10,000 each, were filed against Patrolman Anthony Perfidio by three of eight men who were charged with disorderly conduct after a raid on the Night Hawk Social Club at 361 Pleasant Ave., at 119th St. The police said they'd been told anonymously over the phone that a lot of noise was coming from the club, but Perfidio couldn't identify any of the alleged noise-makers, and Magistrate Leonard McGee dismissed all eight. 1-13-47

The three who sued said they'd also sue the other three cops involved. One of their attorneys was ex-Rep. James J. Lanzetta, who in 1936 defeated Rep. Vito Marcantonio for Congress. 1-13-47 Similar raids have been made on other clubs since the Scottoriggio murder and Marcantonio has charged that the police deliberately are harassing the district.

Marcantonio, Hogan Deny Post' Story

PM. New York, N.Y.
Fri. 1-17-47
37a(2)

District Attorney Frank S. Hogan and Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Congressman Vito Marcantonio, American Labor Party representative from the 18th Congressional District, have both issued official denials of a purported "inside story" of the Scottoriggio slaying which appeared in Friday's New York *Post*.

The *Post*, in a copyright story, said the D. A. was working on the theory that Joseph Scottoriggio, a GOP district captain who was fatally beaten on election morning on his way to the polls, had sold out to Marcantonio's supporters but had been dissatisfied with his cut, which was reportedly $1000. Accordingly to the published version, Scottoriggio complained openly that he had been "shortchanged" and he was therefore assaulted to prevent further gripes.

In issuing his denial Hogan said that his office had no information that Scottoriggio had dealt with any of Marcantonio's supporters and called the story "an unwarranted disparagement of Joseph Scottoriggio." Fri. 1-17-47

Marcanotonio, reluctant to comment on the *Post* story, said only that it was "completely junk." They Congressman explained he could not be bothered issuing denials of all press stories which attempted to implicate him in the slaying of Scotoriggio. The latter was working as a district captain for Marcantonio's unsucessful opponent, Frederick Bryan. New York, N.Y.

The *Post* story also purported to explain the role of Joey Rao and Trigger Mike Coppola, two material witnesses in the case whom Hogan has insisted on holding in default of $250,000 bail. The story said that Scottoriggio and another Republican worker (now held under police guard in a midtown hotel) had agre to to "et up' on Election Day for $25000 apiece. The payoff was to be made on Election Eve at Coppola's home on E. 116th St. with Rao also present. PM.

According to the *Post*, when Scottoriggio and the other GOP worker arrived at Coppola's home, they were given only $1000; Scottoriggio griped that he had been double-crossed, and the next morning he was assaulted before he had a chance to talk to many people.

The story added that Scottoriggio's fellow conspirator feared for his life and had gone to the D. A. for protection after hearing of the assault on Scottoriggio.

The *Post* story also said that Coppola's family was present at this Election Eve payoff and has disappeared voluntarily to avoid testifying before the Grand Jury.

37a(2) 1947

North Carolina

Elect Negro Councilman In Carolina

Daily Worker
New York N.Y.
Thur. 5-8-47

37a(2)

Special to the Daily Worker

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., May 7.—Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, Negro veteran, was swept into office here Tuesday to become the first Negro city councilman in North Carolina since Reconstruction.

The same coalition of United Labor, the Negro people and progressives that won him the Democratic Party nomination by the largest vote in Winston-Salem history elected Williams Tuesday by an even greater vote. His total was 2,369, far ahead of the field.

All democratic nominees won in the election including Fred C. Denny, small business man who won the primary nomination with united labor support George Matthews, UE-CIO local president, made a good showing as an independent but the city machine in the traditionally conservative Salem ward prevented his election.

A machine maneuver in the third ward aimed at defeating Williams failed completely in the face of the organized peoples political movement which includes the Communists. This maneuver whereby one Republican and one Democrat were supported in split ticket voting almost backfired. It took support from Negro voters to prevent N. Moir Lancaster, Williams' running mate, from being defeated by a Republican candidate. He won by only 213 votes with a total about 1,000 behind Williams' vote. Thur. 5-8-47

Negro Elected To City Council In N. Carolina

Tribune - Columbus, Ga.
"Tribune"

37a(2)

Thu. 6-12-47

Kenneth R. Williams, Negro, has just been elected to the City Council of Winston-Salem, N. C. The DAILY WORKER, official Communist periodical, asserts in an editorial of May 14 that the Negro won the election by the support of new Negro voters and as the result of a drive put on by the PAC. Thu. 6-12-47

37a(2) 1947

Councilwoman to Represent Interracial Constituents

(37a(2))

Afro American
Baltimore, md.

CANTON, Ohio.—Mrs. Esther N. Archer, who defeated her Italian opponent in the primary and a colored Republican and four white independents in last week's election, will represent all her constituents without prejudice she said this week. 11-22-47

The 4th ward which elected Mrs. Archer to the City Council by 929 votes over her nearest opponent, is populated by Greek, Rumanian, Italian, Colored and Spanish. 11-22-47 Sat.

Mrs. Archer said that better streets and sanitation will be her chief interests. A principal need which she also listed is better housing for colored residents.

3rd

The new councilwoman is 39, was born in Wedowee, Ala., and has been a resident of Canton for 27 years. She is the mother of three children, and is active in religious and civic affairs.

Ohio Alderman Recaptures Job

(37a(2))

Defender

J. Simmons Declared Victor On Final Count

Chicago Ill.

Sat 11-22-47

TOLEDO, O.—(ANP)— Running fourth in a field of 21, James B. Simmons Jr., first Negro to serve in the Toledo City council, was declared reelected last week on the final day of the counting of ballots cast in the Nov. 4 elections. 11-22-47

One of the six out of nine council incumbents to be reelected, Simmons polled 7,787 first choice votes, trailing only Vice Mayor Michael DiSalle and Mayor Lloyd E. Roulet, in that order. However, in the transfer of votes, William Galvin, a newcomer, was declared elected ahead of Simmons.

That Simmons received citywide support in the elections is indicated by the number of first choice votes he received. Registered Negro voters in Toledo barely exceed 7,000, and it was estimated that scarcely more than 5,000 turned out for the election.

Simmons, first elected in 1945, campaigned with the endorsement of Democratic party, although he did not publicly seek that party's backing. In a post-election statement, he pledged that he would redouble his efforts to see that the affairs of the city government are administered to the best interests of all citizens, without regard to partisan politics.

Married and father of one son, the councilman is an insurance executive and also a senior student in law at the University of Toledo. The new council will be installed Jan. 1.

37a(2)

Courier
9-20-47
Sat.
Pittsburgh,
Pa.

REV. AND MRS. CORNELL E. TALLEY

. . . he won Republican nomination in Pittsburgh

CHARLES P. PERNELL

. . . ran as independent Democrat, but didn't quite make it

PERCY JOHNSON

. . . Johnstown winner

PITTSBURGH POLITICAL SCENE—Charles P. Pernell lost the Democratic nomination for Pittsburgh's City Council last Tuesday, but will support the Rev. Cornell E. Talley, who won the Republican nomination for that post. In nearby Johnstown, Percy Johnson assured himself of election in November by being nominated on both GOP and Democratic tickets.

Candidates File

37a

Sat. Pittsburgh Courier

In a precedent-shattering turnout last Tuesday, Pittsburgh Republicans went "down the line" for the Rev. Cornell E. Talley, Baptist minister, and pushed him into a healthy third place among nominees for City Council with 20,034 votes.

He is the first Negro in the history of the city to have received the support of a major party and with the expected defections of some Democrats in the Nov. 4 general election, the minister stands a good chance of winning a council seat.

Elsewhere in the State, Percy Johnson, Johnston, got the nod from both the Democratic and Republican parties and is assured of election for the post of Alderman in the city's Fourth Ward.

FOUR IN PHILLY

In Philadelphia four candidates were nominated for City Council seats with three of them winning handily. The four are Walter K. Jackson from the South Philadelphia District; Ralph Knox from the North Central District; Atty. Robert N. C. Nix from the West Philadelphia Area, and Woodie Armstrong, lone Negro candidate on the Republican ticket.

James Jones, running on the Democratic ticket for a magisterial nomination came through for the general elections with 44,300 votes.

Hot Race Looms in Detroit as 4 Race

9-20-47

Detroit is shaping up with what will be definitely hot races for the common council. In a last minute rush last week 200 candidates filed for seats. Four of them are Negroes and two of these are making their second effort for seats. Nine are to be filled.

Five of the present encumbents refiled for posts and four did not. With the field as wide open as indicated, experts say that no encumbent is certain of being returned to office. The Rev. Charles A. Hill and Atty Edward Simmons are running for the second time. In their other effort, they ran fourteenth and thirteenth respectively, in the generals.

Sat.

Mrs. Josephine Belford, realtor, and Louis C. Blount, insurance executive, are the other two Negroes to file for council. Mrs. Belford is the first Negro woman in the city of Detroit to make a run for council. With the great number of white candidates running experts believe that a united Negro vote can send at least one and possibly more of the colored candidates into office in the generals.

UPSET VICTORY 9-20-47

In Philadelphia, the primary results having the greatest effect on the political well-being of Negroes did not involve a colored candidate. This was the upset by Charles A. Guerin of the Democratic judicial slate. He succeeded in defeating Judge Shunk Brown who was slated by the Democratic party. Guerin is a member of the Board of Revision of Taxes.

37a(2) 1947

West Virginia

Win Highest

Defender 37a(2)

Charleston Vote

Chicago, Ill.

Negro Candidates Beat Dixie Whites

Sat. 11-29-47

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Two Negro attorneys, T. G. Nutter and William L. Lonesome, received the highest number of votes out of 11 candidates running for the charter board in a recent special election here.

Chicago, Ill

The top 11 candidates would have served on the board, without authority to act, if the elecorate had not voted against changing the city charter.

Defender

Both Nutter and Lonesome opposed any change in the present form of city government for the following reasons:

Sat -

1. Negroes would lose their veto power if the government was changed to that of the city manager type. Presently no candidate can be elected without the Negro vote. Ballots from Negro wards far exceed any majority of any candidate elected for city-wide offices in 20 years, it is reported.

11-29-4

2. Negroes would lose their present membership in the city council from the 8th and 12th wards.
3. They felt that the real object of those advocating change was to shift the burden of taxes from those able to pay to those less able.
4. They did not know how far the board would go in revision of the charter if it was voted in.

Nutter received 7,275 votes to lead the field. His nearest opponent, William L. Lonesome, who received 7,013, is also a Negro.

37a(3) 1947

California

Calif. Judge Is Re-Elected

Atlanta, Ga.

37a(3) Calif

4-8-47

LOS ANGELES—(ANP) — Negro candidates for public office fared badly in the primary election here last Tuesday. Of all the candidates for a place on the city council and the board of education, none won. The only one to come out on top was the sole municipal judge in the city, Judge Edwin L. Jefferson, who was reelected.

In the seventh councilmanic district, closely watched because it contains the largest number of colored voters, Rev. Gaston placed third with 1,005 votes as against the incumbent Carl Rasmussen with 3,000. Next to the minister was Atty. Vince Monroe Townsend with 158 tallies. Atlanta, Ga.

Negro candidates out of the eighth district withdrew from the contest leaving the field open to the popular Charles "Cap" Allen.

B. B. Bratton lost to the incumbent Councilman Bennett by a tally of 495 to 3,175, in the 10th district. 4-9-47 Wed.

In the board of education race, Miss Lorraine Armstrong, prominent realtor received 3,767 votes, but lost out for office No. 1 to her white oponent. Similarly in the race for office No. 7, another realtor, Sidney P. Dones, polled 1,477 to his opponents' 8,149. Daily World

Unofficial reports had it that only 25 per cent of the voters cast ballots, one of the lightest in the city's recent political history.

MUNICIPAL JUDGE RE-ELECTED IN CALIF.

Afro-American 4-19-47

LOS ANGELES — (ANP) — Judge Edwin L. Jefferson was re-elected municipal judge in the recent primaries here. Baltimore, Md

37a(3) 1947

Florida

FLORIDA NEGRO SHAKES DEMO MACHINE

Daily Worker - Tues. - 4-22-47

By Mary Southard

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., April 21. —In the face of a white primary bill now pending in the Florida Senate, Wilson Armstrong, Negro candidate, won second place in the April 15 Democratic primary election for City Council from Jacksonville's fifth ward.

Daily Worker

He will stand for election in the run-off on April 29 against incumbent, Claude Smith, Jr., a member of the state executive committee of the Democratic Party. 4-22-47

It is 37 years since Jacksonville's last Negro councilman left office. When Armstrong first tried to file papers for his candidacy, local Democratic officials turned him away. After the city attorney ruled in his favor, a group of unidentified white men came to his home with threats. Later he was offered $800 to withdraw. But he was neither to be scared away or bought. Tues 4-22-47

Most Negro citizens of Jacksonville, Florida's largest industrial city, live in the fifth ward. It is made up, as Armstrong said in his program, "largely of workers and their families who have very low incomes, mostly below decent subsistence level."

He is running on a platform of slum clearance and improved housing, better sewage and sanitation, better bus service and installation of Negro bus drivers, Negro policemen in Negro districts, equality in the city and county courts, recreational facilities for all the people against the white primary bill.

As a result of his campaign, a few small improvements, such as traffic lights and street resurfacing, have been made.

Armstrong is a plasterer's helper, a member of the AFL Central Trades Council and the executive board of the Construction Workers. He is a leader of the NAACP and the National Negro Congress, and a member of the Baptist Church.

Both white and Negro citizens have served on his campaign committee, and leading white citizens have attended campaign meetings in the fifth ward. A red-baiting attack on Armstrong backfired.

The job in the run-off will be to get out the vote in spite of every effort to intimidate Negro voters, and to carry Armstrong's program vigorously into the white community. 4-22-47 Tues.

St Petersburg Fla. Times
April 16, 1947

Jax Negro Wins His Way To Second City Primary

JACKSONVILLE (AP)— Wilson Armstrong, a Negro, won his way into the second Democratic primary race for a seat on the city council last night on the basis of complete unofficial returns from yesterday's first primary election.

37a(3) Fla.

R. D. (Dick) Sutton, World War II army officer, defeated T. F. McCall Jr., the incumbent, for safety commissioner on the basis of unofficial returns. Sutton polled 14,498 votes to McCall's 7,825 in the two-man race.

Finance Commissioner Guy L. Simmons was renominated for another four-year term in the only other city commission race. Simmons had 13,014 votes to 8,124 for his opponent, M. C. Moore.

Armstrong finished second in a four-man contest in the fifth ward, a predominantly Negro section. He trailed the white incumbent, Claude Smith Jr., 278 votes to 353, but was well ahead of two other white candidates. Barney Cobb received 85 votes and Sam Foor polled 66.

Smith and Armstrong will be opposing candidates in the fifth ward in the second primary April 29. Thirteen seats on the 18-man council were contested this year, the remaining five candidates having no opposition.

The Florida Lattler
Jacksonville, Fla. Sat. 5-10-47

Twenty-Six Negroes Voted For Smith and Four Whites Voted For Wilson Armstrong

37a(3) Fla.

The first and second City primary elections were a total defeat for Wilson Armstrong and a disgrace upon the entire Negro citizenry for staying home and not voting.

In the first primary Armstrong received 22 white votes and 256 Negro votes. Claude D. Smith received 353 votes.

In the second primary on April 29, Wilson Armstrong received 4 white votes and 343 Negro votes. Claude D. Smith received 26 Negro votes and 603 white votes.

The Negroes did not put Claude D. Smith in office as Fifth Ward Councilman by voting, but they did by staying home on April 29.

A few days after the first primary the voting officials announced through the newspapers that the polls would remain at the same places for the second primary and the same inspectors and clerks would be used. About five days before the second primary, 5-C was changed to 407 W. Duval Street in a white barber shop where Negroes were not allowed to enter through the front door to vote. This change was made purposely in order to discourage the many Negro voters in 5-C. Someone asked one of the officials why 5-C was moved, and this was the reply: "830 Pearl Street is too congested and too many Negroes hang around, and the white voters are afraid to stop and vote." Well what the hell the difference make—the Negroes had to go into the alley at the rear of 407 [illegible]uval Street where there was no sign indicating the rear do[illegible] to enter and then too, too many white people congregate there and the Negroes were afraid to stop and they went home without voting.

According to the telephone book, Claude D. Smith, Jr. is not a resident of the Fifth Ward, but he lives in South Jax.

The Second primary election may be protested on three counts that will hold water. Sat. 5-10-47

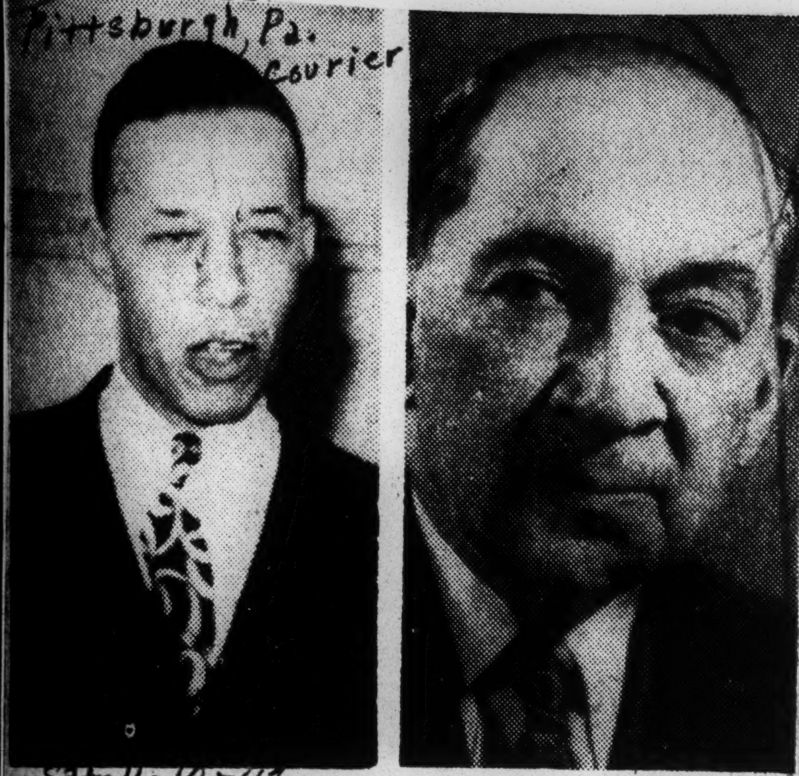
Revs. A. B. Coleman, pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church, Cyrus A. Weaver, pastor of Day Spring Baptist Church, G. W. Washington, pastor of Central A.M.E. Church, R. D. King, pastor of St. Paul A.M.E. Church, and L. D. Watson, so-called traveling evangelist, were openly against Wilson Armstrong. The laymen: E. D. Koelman, G. B. Washington, a popular Negro attorney, and many other small fry were also against Wilson Armstrong. Those on the side of Armstrong were: Revs. Dyson, W. F. Ball, Wm. Cummings, Father James K. Satterwhite, Dallas J. Graham, K. D. Britt, K. D. Mitchell, W. Neal, C. M. Shaw, and many other ministers of the Gospel. The laymen: Editor Taylor, Son Simpkins, Herman Williams, Joe Argrett, Joe Higdon, Cooper Matthew Brown, P. Hart, J. Gardner "Nip" Sams, J. B. Bradley, Manuel Rivera, Mr. and Mrs. Pelote of Johnson Street, Bishop E. V. Beckett and many others too numerous to name.

It appears that some big shots will run in the next election, and the little fellows will certainly kill them at the polls.

37a(3) 1947

General

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier



Sat. 4-12-47

West Coast Victors— Municipal Judge Edwin L. Jefferson (left) last week retained his seat by a six to one majority in the Los Angeles (Calif.) municipal primaries. Dr. H. Claude Hudson (right), Los Angeles dentist, NAACP executive and civic leader, qualified for the run-off for the Board of Education on May 27.

In Nation's Primaries

37a(3) gen.

Slight Gains Made In City Elections

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 4-12-47

Chicago, Los Angeles, Charleston, W. Va. Register Several Important Victories

Negro candidates for public office in city elections in various parts of the Nation broke even in primaries held during the last three weeks. Chicago and Charleston, W. Va., registered the most important victories.

In Chicago, William H. Harvey, Democrat, and the Rev. Archibald J. Carey Jr., Republican, were elected in the Aldermanic contests from the Second and Third Wards, respectively. Harvey, backed by Congressman William L. Dawson, was re-elected over Mack Atkins, Republican, by more than 3,000 votes. Carey defeated Roy L. Washington, Democrat, by more than 2,000 votes.

TWO ASSURED SEATS

In Charleston, W. Va., two Negroes are assured of seats in the City Council when four Negroes filed, two each in the Eighth and Twelfth Wards.

Houston E. Brown, Democrat, opposes James O. Campbell, Republican, incumbent from the Eigth Ward, and Willard Brown, Republican, opposes James Phillips, Democrat, in the Twelfth Ward. Two will be seated.

On the West Coast office-seekers among the colored candidates in the Los Angeles' elections fared none too well. Sat. 4-12-47

Municipal Judge Edwin L. Jefferson retained his seat, defeating his only opponent by better than six to none ratio in votes. Dr. H. Claude Hudson, ex-president of the Los Angeles' NAACP, polled enough votes to qualify for a run-off for the Board of Education against Olin E. Darby on May 27. Other Negro candidates failed to get enough votes to place.

The Rev. Jonathan L. Caston, Baptist minister, lacked 189 votes to qualify for the City Council on the May 27 ballot. Vince M. Townsend Jr., also failed to make the grade for the Council. Bertrand B. Brattan, a certified public accountant, did not qualify for City Council, and Sidney P. Dones, retired broker, failed in his bid for the Board of Education.

After sixteen years as Alderman in Evanston, Ill., Edwin B. Jourdain lost to Eugene Beck in the surburban Fifth Ward race.

In the Southwest, Dr. E. B. Perry, running for the Houston (Texas) School Board, came in second, running roughshod over the opposition of the Negro "old guard' to garner 1192 votes. His white opponent whao placed first received 6,321 votes, but Dr. Perry outstripped A. H. Penland, another white candidate by 200 votes.

Cleric in Race for Alderman

37a(3) Afro American

Baltimore md.

NASHVILLE — (ANP) — Results of the May 8 city primary forced a run-off contest on May 22, in the Fifth Ward aldermanic race between a colored clergyman and a white candidate.

The Rev. A. Bennett polled 628 votes in the second district of the ward, and G. M. Ragsdale polled 837 votes. In the same ward, J. J. Bell, white, defeated two colored candidates, K. Gardner, local undertaker, 315 votes, and Z. Alexander Looby, attorney, who polled 926.

Mayor Thomas L. Cummings, incumbent, was re-elected by a 1070 vote majority. His victory was attributed largely to colored voters, and he promised to appoint police officers other than whites.

The city employs colored firemen. [illegible]

Your Sacred Primary System

News & Courier

The nominee for a public office is likely to be a person approximating the level of intelligence and character of the electorate, of the persons voting. Usually he, or she, is in a degree superior to the average, and still the approximation holds true. Occasionally, when the electorate is numerous, a person having remarkable gifts of popular appeal, the late Senator Tillman who was a gifted speaker and by nature a distinguished actor as well, was an example, the choice is a person of distinction. An orator, be it remembered, may be a failure in statecraft.

A precinct club sends to a county convention a delegation of men somewhat superior to the mass of its numbers. The county conventions in turn choose persons having qualities of leadership to the state convention. Thus the selective process is carried on with resulting products of officers and delegates of more respectable equipment than is had by the direct primary.

Charleston, S.C.

James F. Byrnes is now a person of international fame. Many American newspapers laud him highly. Were he to enter a contest in the primary in 1948 for election to the national house of representatives in the Fourth district he might be elected—and he might be defeated. One would not sanguinely predict his election in a state-wide primary. In a state convention, the composition of which is based upon whole population and in which all counties have representation for one state senator, his chances of election would be overwhelming—unless it be that praises of him by press and people are insincere and hollow.

The state and congressional district conventions are not democratic bodies. They are subject to manipulation, to trickery. Delegates sometimes are purchased outright. They do, first and last, choose a far higher type of public officers than the "people" choose in primaries which, in South Carolina, are not even confined to qualified voters. They are less corrupt than primaries. Mon. 1-27-47

Primaries are often more or less fraudulent. Accusations that the offices of governor and of United States senator have been bought have been heard more than once in South Carolina in the last third of a century. In every electorate is a purchasable element of voters as well as an ignorant element easily deceived by a wily politician. These herds in the voting population are often the deciding factor in a primary, state, congressional district, county or city as they are in New York city's 18th district.

In primary contests money has enormous weight. In South Carolina a person of low class in mind and character having $250,000 to spend in a primary might defeat the ablest and best of ciitzens unless he and his supporters were spending large money too. In very truth, comparatively large sums have been spent in our primaries, as much as $90,000 perhaps in a "race" for congress. (The people forget.).

The legitimate cost of primaries is a heavy tax on politicians and their "friends". It would not be a wild guess to say that the primaries in 1946, including loss of time of candidates, workers and voters was half a million dollars—or a million.

The cost of carrying on conventions is considerable. It is a pittance compared with the cost of indulgence in democracy called primary.

Mon. 1-27-47

Finally, the citizen who in private life is a man of a gentleman's standards, of the best background, of the finer instincts and of clearcut convictions, if he be a candidate in a primary hoping for success, compromises with himself, chokes down the dictates of his judgement and conscience. He must accommodate his principles to the whims and selfish foibles of mobocracy. Almost invariably he does. He soothes himself with the reflection that "others do it", that it is "in the game". He is not unaware that it is a low game that he would not, with gentlemen, play with cards.

The convention system is far from perfect. It is far superior to the primary system.

Georga

37a(3) 1947

Macon, Ga., To Permit Negroes To Cast Ballots

News-Age-Herald
4-13-47
Sun.
Birmingham Ala.

MACON, Ga., April 12—(AP)—All Negroes who are properly registered will be permitted to vote in the municipal primary here which was set for June 20 by the City Executive Committee Friday. 4-11-4

The Executive Committee voted to strike the word "white" from the heading, city white primary, and allow all registered Negroes to vote in the election. Earlier, Kenmore Burns, chairman of the committee, had said Negroes would be barred.

37a (3) 1947

Kansas

39a(3)

IT CAN HAPPEN HERE:

2 in Kan. Fraud Case Admit 'Ghost' Voting

Afro-AMERICAN

BALTIMORE, Md.

KANSAS CITY — NNPA)—Before Federal Judge Albert A. Ridge ordered directed verdicts of not guilty returned for two of the five defendants on trial her for vote fraud conspiracy, two witnesses told how they went from polling place casting "ghost" votes during the August, 1946, primary election.

9-13-47

The admitted ghost voters were Lucius Carter, who is under indictment for vote fraud conspiracy in the fifth precinct of the second ward, and Mrs. Marjorie Jackson.

Morris (Snag) Klein, gambler and captain of the 10th Precinct of the First Ward ,was identified by Mrs. Jackson as the man who gave instructions to a "flying squadron" of "ghost" voters.

2 Election Judges Freed

Klein is one of three men who are on trial. Two others are Frankie L. (Lovie) Holmes, colored Democratic precinct captain, and Harry Burke, deputy sheriff and Democratic precinct captain.

Verdicts of not guilty were directed for John Melham, Democratic election judge, and William D. Wilson, Republican election judge, as the court went into a night session last Friday after the prosecution rested its case.

Truman Acted in Primary

The trial grew out of an investigation of the primary in which President Truman supported Enos Axtell for the Democratic nomination for Congress from the Fifth Congressional District after Rep. Roger C. Slaughter had incurred his ire.

Sat.

Slaughter had voted against reporting out of the House Rules committee a fair employment practice bill and had voted against other administration-supported measures. Mr. Axtell won the nomination, but was defeated in the election by Rep. Albert L. Reeves Jr.

37a(3) 1947

Kentucky

Kentucky Negro Wins Primary

Daily World N. York

Sat. 9-27-47

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 26.—A liberal Negro clergyman, Rev. H. H. Greene, was one of the eight top candidates for city commissioner in Saturday's primary race of 19 contenders. These candidates' names will appear on the ballot in the November general election when four commissioners will be chosen for two-year terms.

Greene, pastor of the Gunn Methodist Tabernacle, won the eighth place by polling 1,676 votes.

Between 8,000 and 9,000 votes were cast in 32 precincts. In Chestnut St. Greene got 395 out of 491 votes. This was his second race, and the second time he won in the primary. In 1945 he ran fifth in the finals.

Also winning was Lonnie Webster, veteran AFL leader, a past president of the Central Labor Union, and second vice-president of the Kentucky Federation of Labor.

Another Negro, the Rev. James W. Woods, entered the race but died the day before the election. His supporters then backed Greene and insured his victory.

37a(3) 1947

Mississippi

WHITE MAN KILLED IN VOTE FEUD

The St. Louis Argus – St. Louis MO. Fri 8-15-47

Down in Mississippi the other day, a white man was killed by another white man, his neighbor, because the latter defended the Negro's right to vote.

A brief news-story giving an account of the affair states that Curtis Walter and Ellis Gerald killed Ransome Phillips and seriously wounded his brother in a gun duel growing out of the Geralds helping the Negroes of Moselle, Mississippi to vote and the Phillipses taunting and calling the Geralds "nigger lovers" for doing so.

While the story does not state specifically if the calling of the brothers "nigger lovers" actually precipitated the shooting, it is generally understood in the South that the epithet "nigger lover" is synonmous with calling a man S.O.B. in other sections of the country. Of course, one man killing another is no particular news to the reading public, but in this case where one white man shoots another because one of them defends the right of Negroes to vote down in Mississippi, is most assuredly a matter which commands more than passing notice.

Fri - 8-15-47

It looks to us as though this case should command the attention of the FBI. The sidelights and the side-issues which no doubt will come to the fare during the trial of the Gearld brothers will throw some light on the methods used in Bilbo's state, to intimidate and rob the Negroes of their vote in violation of the Federal Constitution. The dead man and his wounded brother are said to be members of a clan whose purpose is to stare and frighten by threats and violence all Negroes who approach the polling places. This sort of conduct is carried on in the broad open daylight, in plain view of the so-called officials. In the years gone by, nothing has been done to correct this evil, beacuse the fascist crowd is dominated by Theodore Bilbo, James Eastland and John Rankin. Feuds of this kind down in Mississippi will serve, we hope, as an opening wedge which will result in a thorough investigation of vote frauds in Mississippi.

Eye-Witness Saw Negroes Gypped of Vote

New York

Sun. 8-17-47

An on-the-spot observer has reported on the cynical way in which Negro voters were kept from voting in Mississippi's Democratic primary August 5.

Dr. James Dombrowski, director of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare Educational Fund, observing in Jackson, the state capital, predicted "a heavy vote and light count of Negro voting if what I saw at one polling place is a pattern."

The Worker

"When I arrived at the 31st precinct," he said in a statement to the press, "about 20 persons were standing in line to vote, about two-thirds Negro. Half of the Negro voters were challenged. None was asked to subscribe to the 18 points of the Party porgram as prescribed recently by the State Democratic Executive Committee. Most were charged with being delinquent in their poll taxes."

Sun. 8-17-47

Dr. Dombrowski reported that the receipts showed no delinquency in poll tax payments. When he questioned the Circuit Clerk on this point, he got the unruffled answer, "We may make mistakes."

Jail 2 Whites For Slaying In Miss. Primary

Chicago Defender

Killed Bully Who Chased Negroes Away From Polls

Sat - 8-16-47

MOSELLE, Miss.—Three white men of this town, all brothers, are in jail at Laurel facing murder charges because they believed that the Constitution should be respected and Negroes permitted to vote even in Mississippi, the South's strongest bastion of race-hate.

The three brothers, Curtis, Walter and Ellis Gerald, had murder charges filed against them Saturday by County Atty. Albert Easterling following an investigation into the gun duel they had Wednesday with two other whites, Ransome and Otis Phillips, also brothers, over the question of Moselle Negroes voting in the state wide Democratic primary last Tuesday.

In the gunplay, anti-Negro Ransome Phillips was killed and his brother, Otis, also a Negro-hater, was seriously wounded. He was rushed to a Hattiesburg Hospital where he is now confined.

In what is now being brought to light as a trend of intimidatory efforts throughout rural Mississippi to keep Negroes from voting, group of whites, including the Phillips brothers, stood at the Moselle polls to "discourage colored electors into not voting. Actually the white bystanders were frightening the Negroes away from the polls.

Sat - 8-16-47

The Gerald brothers saw two of their Negro friends run away from the voting place by such tactics. Walter Gerald followed them and encouraged them to return to the polls and vote.

The qualified status of the Negroes had been previously ascertained by the Geralds who telephoned the registrar.

The Phillips brothers and others of the whites who were a part of the group on hand to keep Negroes from voting, taunted the Geralds as "N—— lovers."

Early Wednesday morning Otis Phillips renewed the Negro issue feud with Ellis and Walter Gerald. Later the Phillips brothers drove their truck into a filling station, where they met the three Gerald brothers. The gun-fight which resulted in the death of Ransome Phillips and the wounding of his brother, Otis, followed. None of the Geralds was hurt.

MISSISSIPPI

New Tactic

Time N.Y., N.Y.

Mississippi tried a new racial tactic. In last week's Democratic primaries, prospective voters could be required, under a state law passed last March, to swear their faith in "party principles." In Mississippi, Democratic party principles not only mean white supremacy, but include opposition to federal anti-lynching, anti-poll-tax and fair employment practices laws. The new law was frankly designed to keep Negroes from voting. Mon. 8-18-47

It did, more or less. Besides, the day was sizzling hot, with temperatures up to 106. But the few Negroes who showed up at the polls were mostly permitted to vote without challenge. Thus, the constitutional issue raised by the new law was not sharply joined. There was only one instance of violence. In the tiny town of Moselle, four white men got into a shooting-scrape over letting Negroes vote; one was killed.

Chief winner in the election: Governor Fielding L. Wright, a middle-of-the-road politician, who was easily nominated for his first full term.

• • •

In Virginia's Democratic primaries, a Negro came within an ace of being nominated to the state legislature. Lawyer Oliver W. Hill, one of 18 candidates for Richmond's seven lower-house seats, finished eighth with 6,310 votes, just 190 short of nomination. Said the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*: "We may as well accustom ourselves to the thought that the Negro citizens of the Old Dominion may send one of their number to the General Assembly before many years are past."

Time New York, N.Y. Mon. 8-18-47

GET MOVING, MR. CLARK

Chicago Defender Chicago, Ill.

All the mud that issues from Mississippi doesn't come out of the river by that name. By far the greater quantity comes out of the state and the body politic that goes by that name.

This time we have specific reference to that state's new primary law which apparently attempts to make a deal with the Negro people of that state. In return for the right to vote, goes this law, all that they have to do is to take an oath that they are opposed to FEPC action, against anti-lynching legislation and against anti-poll tax legislation. Also they have to pledge that they agree with "the time honored and cherished traditions of the South."

The latter clause doesn't mean that Negroes have to accept mint julep as their favorite drink, for Negroes never did have many mint julep cocktails. It simply means that, in exchange for voting, "we will vote for the maintenance of Jim Crow in all its forms, for the continuation in office of the Bilbos and the Rankins." Sat. 8-23-47

It's all an anomaly, a contradiction, a defiance of common sense, logic and ordinary morals: and it's Mississippi mud.

Attorney General Tom Clark has ordered the criminal division of the Department of Justice to search for something illegal in this new law.

It doesn't seem to us that the attorney general's office ought to have to search very hard to find something illegal in such an unspeakable, untouchable law as this.

If Tom Clark's office doesn't see the obvious unconstitutionality of this latest crime—somebody ought to have their head examined, along with a screening of their own social views.

Get moving. Mr. Clark.

Atty. General Defies Dixie's Threats And Orders Investigation

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Illinois

Sat - 8-16-47

WASHINGTON — Despite warnings from Mississippi Democratic Party officials, Atty. Gen. Tom Clark has ordered the criminal division of the Department of Justice to see if there is anything illegal in the state's new primary law which requires Negroes to denounce certain federal rights designed for their protection for the right to vote.

The attorney general has undertaken the investigation following a telegraphic protest from A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC who urged the Department of Justice to proceed immediately "to prosecute anyone attempting to enforce the Mississippi law" which proposes as a condition of registration all prospective voters except those voting in the last three primaries to swear under oath that they are opposed to the Fair Employment Practices Commission and federal anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation. Also that they are in accord with "the time honored and cherished traditions of the South."

Clark Is Threatened

Sat-8-16-47

The law was passed last March in a special session of the Mississippi State Legislature. The principles of the law which is designed to maintain "white supremacy" were set forth by the State Democratic Executive Committee. Lamar Puryear, a member of the committee, has advised Mr. Clark that he'd "better not come down here with the idea of meddling into our business—if he does he'd better come armed."

Randolph protested to the attorney general on the advice of Charles H. Houston, outstanding Washington, D. C. attorney, whose experience in the field of civil rights is respected nationally.

Attorney Houston told the Defender that the new Mississippi primary law "is plain unconstitutional." He said the law "requires that Negroes give up federal rights designed for their protection to get a federal rights," which is in violation of the 15th Amendment as interpreted in the second Oklahoma Registration Case, Lane vs. Wilson, 238, U. S. 347, in 1915.

U. S. Killed Oklahoma Plan

In this case Mr. Houston explained, the State of Oklahoma passed a registration requirement which automatically registered white prospective voters, and at the same time set a 12-day period in which Negroes could register or remain permanently barred from registration. The Supreme Court ruled against the state's registrar in this case. The court's opinion was written by Associate Justice Frankfurter in 1938. Mr. Justice Frankfurter stated the registration was held under the statute which was condemned in the first Oklahoma Registration Case—Guinn vs. U. S., 1914, in which the "grandfather clause" was decided unconstitutional.

Says Law Unconstitutional

He said that "unfair discrimination" was retained in this case "by automatically granting voting privileges for life to the white citizens whom the (State's) constitutional 'grandfather clause' had sheltered while subjecting colored citizens to a new burden."

Mr. Frankfurter continued, "the practical effect of the 1916 legislation was to accord to the members of the Negro race who had been discriminated against in the outlawed registration system of 1914, not more than 12 days within which to reassert constitutional rights under which this court found in the Guinn case had been improperly taken from them."

According to Mr. Houston's interpretation of the Mississippi law in the light of this decision Negroes are being subjected to new burdens by virtue of now having to qualify under requirements opposed to their civil rights, and by having been unconstitutionally denied the right to participate in the last three primary elections.

37a(3) 1947

Mississippi (Probe)

Most Powerful Body In World Yields To Dixie Democrats

Pittsburgh, Pa. ~~Courier~~

Real Battle by Two Parties for Negro Votes Predicted; Up to Race to Drive Hard Bargains.

Sat. 1-11-47

OTHER STORIES ON 80TH CONGRESS...PAGE 1, SEC\ O(SECTI

By WILLIAM G. NUNN

WASHINGTON—I doubt the sincerity and the idealism of the Senate of these United States!

I watched the most powerful legislative body in the world yield Saturday to expediency. I saw them sacrifice moralism on the altar of political procedure.

I saw them take the "easy way" out . . . when the weight of an entire nation demanded positive action.

Today, Senator Bilbo should be a FORMER MEMBER of the august body . . . not a member without portfolio, (still on the Federal payroll) returning to New Orleans for an operation.

Because the Republican minority plus your Northern and Western Democrats had the power to OUST BILBO. That they did not do.

The issue was clear-cut. There was no questioning the fact that both right and power were on our side.

BILBO WAS LICKED AT THE START

But the men who could have allowed the Southern Democrats to hold up organization of the Senate and make a hollow mockery out of the principles upon which this country was founded . . . COMPROMISED!

Certainly Bilbo was licked. He faced ignomy and excoriation. It was the dawn of a new era. But the sun of righteousness became clouded by political strategy. The unregenerate South once more proved that a determined minority, with nothing on its side but stubbornness, could out-bluff and dominate a proven majority . . . a majority which had reached 39-19 proportions.

Bilbo Must Go! Sat. 1-11-47

Today, as never before, the rallying cry which The Courier first heralded five long years ago is still the keynote of action for America.

For weeks Bilbo had held the headlines. Certainly a man cannot be tried in the newspapers, but the public escapades of "The Man" had become an international cause celebre.

CTION OF SENATE WAS NAUSEATING

The action of the U. S. Senate in bowing to the will of a small group of Southern race-baiters, who owe their position in the Senate to their "white supremacy" doctrine, was nauseating . . . to me.

What if the filibuster had continued . . . even until today?

What if the President's message on the State of the Union had been delayed?

Upon whose shoulders would the responsibility have rested? There is no compromise with RIGHT, and even the arrogance and defiance of "The Man" . . . that dwarf-like figure who flitted about in the well of the Senate Chamber . . . could not have overcome the determined opposition of those men who Saturday morning had determined to "sit it out."

Certainly the men and the women who placed our Senators behind their mahogany school desks, felt they were owed something. And they were. They were owed a debt built on the foundation of lofty ideals . . . a debt which could only be paid off by stopping Mr. Bilbo "at the door."

AND, THEN CAME SATURDAY . . . AND CAPITAULATION!

Friday afternoon, as I heard Senator Taylor of Idaho blast Bilbo in an impassioned speech, I was proud of the fact that I was an American! Sat. 1-11-47

Friday afternoon, as I saw Senator Robert Taft exhibit the calm-like statesmanship which has made him a symbol of knowledge and power, I took a deep-seated satisfaction in the certain knowledge that I was witnessing the dawn of a new day.

Friday afternoon, as those who sat close to me, uttered their contempt for the baggy-trousered Mississippian, I took pride that these United States had been forged by a bond of common decency which was, at long last, in the ascendency.

Friday afternoon as I witnessed that little band of poll-tax Senators flounder and grasp at the proverbial straw, I felt that I could see the hand-writing on the wall.

And then came Saturday . . . and capitulation!

From the heights I saw GOP leadership plummeted to the depths. And I was forced to the conclusion that our fight has only begun. We'll have to continue to fight just as hard now . . . as ever before . . . for those things which have been guaranteed to us by the Constitution and the State Bill of Rights.

SEES PROGRESS

I believe, however, that under a Republican-controlled Congress, the Negro will make progress in his fight for first-class citizenship.

But he'll have to fight every inch of the way. I'm convinced now that whatever party is in power, that party will give us only those things which they are forced to hand out.

Many of the men in the Senate, I believe, have their eyes cast toward the heavens, but others are small-time politicians, listening to the voices of their masters, and without the courage to sacrifice votes for principles.

I still believe that we'll see enactment of an anti-poll tax measure during the Eightieth Congress.

I think that no longer will the Senate Chambers reverberate to the hate-mouthings of "The Man" Bilbo. He must go . . . and many a Senator is hoping that the condition of his health will make it impossible for him to continue. My personal belief is that if he can't serve, he'll never resign. That's the reason I just can't go along with GOP "strategy" in this regard.

Bilbo's on Uncle Sam's payroll, and if the Senate doesn't vote him out, he'll be there for a long, long time . . . if he lives!

I believe that we'll get tax reductions . . . but only after the budget is balanced.

I believe that there will be drastic changes in the labor laws, but they won't be so drastic that they'll drive the labor vote away from the Republicans.

I believe that we'll get an anti-lynch bill. You must remember that the Republicans must still woo the Negro vote with some positive action . . . and they'll go just as far as we push them.

I have a hunch that Congressman William L. Dawson's measure, which will outlaw segregation and discrimination in the Nation's Capital, has a good chance to pass. I know that powerful forces are at work in this direction, and I hope to see fruition of the dynamic Courier program which last year focused world attention to — the hypocrisy of the so-called democracy which we so vociferously advocate . . . in words.

NO TEETH IN FEPC

I doubt if we'll get an FEPC measure with teeth . . . the type of a measure which Governor Dewey of New York has proven to the rest of the country will work.

Already some Republican leaders are purported to be making excuses . . . excuses which hold up Jewish-Americans as the real problem against enactment, and which also contend that the FEPC plank in the GOP platform was merely inserted for vote-getting purposes. According to some statements laid in the mouth of a powerful Republican figure, the bait didn't work . . . and so, the bill won't be passed.

I look to see a definite attempt made to haul down prices of commodities. It costs too much to live in the United States, now . . . and political strategy takes the viewpoint that it will be easier to force prices down than to continually increase wages.

Housing and education will demand plenty of attention . . . and out of the studies will come definite improvements. Sat. 1-11-47

The Presidential aspirations of Senator Taft and Governor Dewey will emerge more and more as a focal issue. No one can question the ability of the Ohioan, but he lost an important post when Halleck of Indiana became majority leader in the House.

TAFT PRAISED

Taft, however, has assumed chairmanship of two committees which will continually keep his name in the headlines. That he'll do a good job, both in regard to labor and education, is generally admitted. Governor Dewey, on the other hand, is going to continue to make New York State a model of good government, to bolster his proven ability as an able administrator. Sat. 1-11-47

Dark horses for the GOP continue to be Warren of California, Vandenberg of Michigan . . . and don't discount Martin of Pennsylvania. Bricker of Ohio will be lost in the shuffle, insiders assert.

General belief here is that President Truman will become a middle-of-the-roader, intent on being the best President possible, under the new conditions, of ALL the people. He still has great personal popularity, and he'll do everything he can to enhance that asset.

I predict that the split in the Democratic ranks will become more pronounced as time moves on. Without the late President Roosevelt's magic, Democrats in sections where the Negro vote is a power-balance, will listen to the voices of their constituents, rather than to the Southern die-hards.

It's also in the realm of possibility, but not probable yet, that the Democrats will woo more seriously than ever before the Negro vote in pivotal States . . and in doing this, they'll listen less and less to the hate-mongering minority which has been in the saddle so long. I believe that there will be a real battle between the two parties for the Negro vote.

It'll be up to the Negro, in this advantageous situation, to drive the hardest bargains possible.

That's the picture as I've been led to see it, through the eyes of men and women of thought, who are here as the Eightieth Congress gets down to work.

NAACP Receives Affidavits For Vote Ban Fight

Journal & Guide

Special to Journal and Guide

NEW YORK—Two affidavits from Negro voters in Pass Christian, Miss., charging that they were disqualified in the Aug. 5 primary election because they favored FEPC (Fair Employment Practice Commission) were received here by the NAACP and will be used as the basis of civil suits, and for a request that the Department of Justice intervene in Mississippi, it was announced by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel. Sat. 8-16-47

Charles Donaville Jr. and Steve Hunter Jr., both veterans of World War II, of Pass Christian, swore in their affidavit that they had presented themselves at the City Hall Aug. 5 to cast their ballots in the primary. They said they were told that "so far" they had been disqualified, and that they would have to answer a few questions. They were sent to an office where John Ellis, Leo McDermott an danother white man were seated. Ellis asked them why they had been disqualified to which they replied, "We don't know."

Q. "How do you intend to vote, Democratic or Republican?

A. Democratic.

Q. Do you believe in Communism or Fascism?

A. No.

Q. Are you in favor of F. E. P. C.?

A. Yes."

John Ellis then said, "You boys are disqualified." Ellis also told them, they said, that an appeals committee would be set up in Gulfport, but he was unable to say when it would meet or where.

Both men swore in their affidavit that no white persons were challenged or questioned

in any way, and that from their investigation later they discovered that all Negroes who had presented themselves were refused.

James Rhodes and Cornelius Lavaeux, veterans, also made an affidavit stating that they had been questioned by Ellis, McDermott and one other white man and that they had been asked if they believed in FEPC.

They replied that they did and were told by Ellis, "You are disqualified." 8-16-47

STOPPED BY OFFICER

Thomas D. Spencer, also a veteran, made an affidavit stating that upon his reaching the door of the polling place he was stopped by Police Officer Harold Lawner, and that the following conversation took place

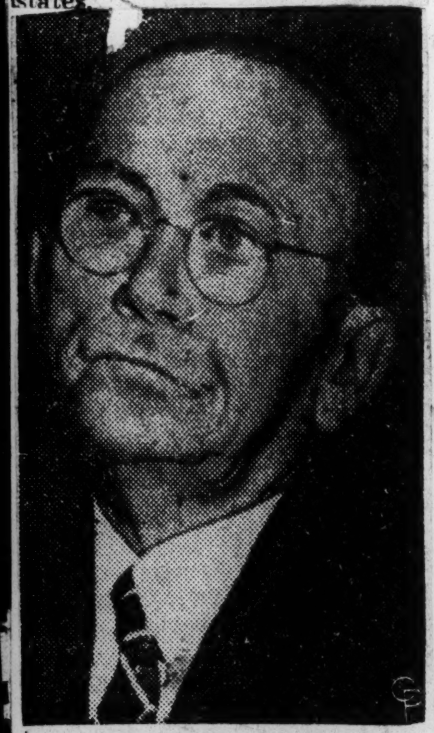
Q. "What do you want fellow?

A. I am here to vote.

Ladner: They are protesting your votes today and there will be no need of your staying here."

The NAACP is seeking further statements and affidavits from Mississippians denied the right to vote, and has asked its branches in Mississippi to collect and forward these to New York.

"The law under which this primary was conducted, with its requirement that prospective voters subscribe to the 'traditional principles' of the party is unconstitutional", said Marshall. "We are requesting action by the Department of Justice and we intend to file civil suits just as we have in other southern states."



SENATOR BILBO

The Montgomery Advertiser

Senator Bilbo Seriously Ill, Doctors Avow

Montgomery, Ala.

Mon-8-18-47

Strength Taxed As New Ailment Attacks Lungs; Diagnosis 'Not Final'

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 17.—(AP)—Theo G. Bilbo, Mississippi's 69-year-old senior senator, took a turn for the worse today at Foundation Hospital, where he has been a patient for 10 days.

Hospital report said that pulmonary embolism, a blood clot in the lungs had developed, but the senator's condition was said not to be dangerous at the moment.

Bilbo entered the hospital for treatment of a cancerous condition of the mouth but other ailments have developed. The new ailments have taken precedence over the cancerous condition.

Bilbo was placed on the serious list for the first time today. Authorities emphasized, however, that the diagnosis was not final. They were continuing their examination.

Bilbo entered the hospital Aug. 7. Two days ago attaches said the senator was suffering from an "unexplained fever" which they said probably resulted from a virus infection.

Operation Delayed

At that time, original plans for another operation on Bilbo's jaw were postponed. The Mississippian underwent his first mouth operation last August when doctors removed a growth which Bilbo said was caused by a "bad-fitting dental plate."

He was operated on again last January f[illegible] surgeons said was the removal of a maligant growth. The operation included cutting a piece of dead bone from the jaw. Mon-8-18-47

Shortly before that, Bilbo temporarily had been denied his seat in the Senate on charges that he had violated federal statutes by preventing Negroes from voting in Mississippi and had misused his office for personal gain in dealing with war contractors.

Bilbo claimed the charges were engineered and directed "from backstage by Negro and Communist organizations."

The question of seating him was pigeonholed by the Senate pending a hearing which was tentatively scheduled to be held after the Mississippian recovered from his illness and returned to Washington.

The series of operations prevented his return, however.

The agreement enabled Bilbo to continue drawing his pay as senator but prevented him from taking the oath for the third term to which he was elected last November.

The move to delay on his seating was led by former Democratic Leader Barkley of Kentucky, who told his fellow senators that "a man's life is more important than a seat in the United States Senate or any other body."

Following his second operation, Bilbo said from his sick bed:

"I am going back to Washington if I live. If I die my spirit will go back there and haunt the hell out of them."

Senate Compromise

Civil Rights Director Lauds Action; CIO Leader Says Issue Still Exists

Afro-American

Both Organizations Express Determination to Keep Bigot From Ever Regaining Seat

1-18-47 sat.

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — (NNPA)—The compromise agreement under which the Senate tabled the credentials of Theodore G. Bilbo and postponed action on the question of his fitness to occupy a seat in the 80th Congress was both praised and denounced, last week.

The praise came from Milton Kaufman, executive director of the Civil Right Congress, New York; while Nathan Cowan, legislative director of the CIO criticized the Senate for not acting on the reports of its Campaign and War Investigating Sommittees.

Sees Rights Protected

In his statement, Mr. Kaufman said: 1-18-47 Sat.

"The majority of the American people will rejoice in the unanimous decision of the United States Senate to ask Theodore Bilbo to go home for two months.

"The rejection of Bilbo is a victory for decency and a blow to the whole system of discrimination against racial and religious minorities which plagues our nation.

"The people will be strengthened and encouraged into demanding that the new Congress remain on the path of protecting civil and democratic freedoms and that the rights of labor, of racial, religious, national and political minorities will be safeguarded.

Thorough Probe Urged

Mr. Cowan said: 1-18-47 Sat.

"The CIO is shocked at the 'compromise' worked out by the U.S. Senate in the case of Senator Bilbo and urges the Department of Justice to make every effort to press a thorough and impartial investigation of both his anti-democratic political activities and the alleged gifts he received from war contractors.

"Evidence presented, particularly by the Senate special committee investigating the national defense program, indicates that even more shocking revelations about Senator Bilbo's war activities may be uncovered.

"This issue is of vital importance to the proper functioning of our democratic government, and to the respect which the American people hold for that democratic government. It is an issue that cannot be allowed to die."

Petitions Flood Senate

In the meantime, the Senate is being flooded with anti-Bilbo petitions. Sen. Arthur H. andenberg (Rep., Mich.), the presiding officer, laid before the Senate, last Wednesday, several petitions against seating him.

Among them was a petition signed by 5,133 residents of the District of Columbia requesting that Bilbo be not assigned to the District Committee. In filling committee assignments the Democrats left a vacancy on the committee, presumably for Bilbo, if he should be seated.

Federal Laws Were Violated Say Senators

FBI Still Probing Into War Contract Deals In State

Chicago Defender

WASHINGTON—A possible federal prison sentence as well as a surgeon's knife faces Theodore G. Bilbo, Mississippi's klan senator, as he arrived in New Orleans this week to undergo another operation for cancer of the mouth and throat.

Not only is Senate action alive to permanently bar Bilbo, who threatens to return in a couple of months to renew his fight to be seated, but evidence has been supplied the Department of Justice to probe Bilbo's violation of federal laws in his deals with war contractors and intimidation of Negro voters in last year's Mississippi Democratic primary. Ill.

Reveals Violations

A minority report, filed by Republican Sens. Styles Bridges, New Hampshire, and Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa, of the Mississippi hearing on charges of intimidating Negro voters, reveal a violation of "three or more federal laws," with each violation punishable by terms up to 10 years in prison. 1-18-47

Federal laws prohibit intimidation or coercion of any voter, forbids any two or more to conspire to injure any citizen in the exercise of federal rights and prohibits any person from denying a citizen any federal rights because of race or color, they said. 1-18-47

"Vile, Contemptible"

"Never to the knowledge of the undersigned has such vile, contemptible, inflammatory and dangerous language been uttered in a campaign for the purpose of procuring nomination and election by an incumbent and member of the United States Senate sworn to uphold the Constitution," the senators' report said.

Bridges and Hickenlooper, who heard testimony against Bilbo at the Mississippi hearings, hold that the klan senator is guilty of inciting whites to mob Negro voters, by his own denial. This directly violates a federal law which calls for a prison sentence. In a minority opinion, they also held that Bilbo specifically violated section 1 of the Hatch Act, and sections 10 and 20 of the U.S. Criminal Code. The FBI is still investigating Bilbo's war contract affairs in Mississippi.

Bilbo becomes the 27th senator to have his seat challenged since 1930, and the 120th senator to be challenged in the history of the United States' Senate.

Four Seek Seat SAT.

According to reports in Jackson, Miss., nominees for his Senate post are Hugh L. White, former governor and now a member of the legislature from Marion County; Walter Sillers, house speaker and one of the state's outstanding lawyers and legislative parliamentarians; Fred Smith, banker and lawyer of Ripley and 1944 Democratic State convention keynote speaker, and Bilbo's son, Lt.-Col. Theodore G. Bilbo Jr., a West Point graduate now stationed in Germany.

Former Governor White is high on the list to get Bilbo's job, observers here reveal. He is a close friend of Gov. Fielding Wright, who may seek Bilbo's Senate seat for a full term in the next primary.

37a(3)

Probers Find Bilbo Guilty

Daily Worker

Miss. Racist Threatens Filibuster

New York, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1.—The Senate War Investigating Committee declared tonight Sen. Theodore Bilbo had "improperly used his high office and had violated a federal statute for his personal gain." The Mississippi racist came back with a threat of a filibuster by his Southern colleagues if Republican senators came through on a plan to bar Bilbo when the Senate convenes Friday.

Thur. 1-2-47

A report signed by six members of the investigating committee pegged Bilbo with numerous "improprieties" in accepting between $57,089 and $88,721 from war contractors he had helped. The committee made no recommendations for Senate action.

Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-O.), announced after a special meeting of the GOP Senate policy committee that a majority of the members favored "stopping Bilbo at the door" and forcing an immediate vote on his fitness to take office.

NOTHING FINAL

Taft said he believed there would be enough anti-Bilbo votes among the Democratic Senators to block "The Man" if the Republicans make their challenge Friday.

Taft added however, that the policy committee would meet again tomorrow morning and no final decision would be taken until then.

"The majority lean to the view that he should be stopped at the door and not permitted to take the oath," Taft said.

Bilbo's alphabetical order would make him second among the senators-elect to take the oath of office. And at that moment the Democrats would hold a 30 to 29 majority in the senate, since only hold-over Senators from the last Congress and newly - elected members already sworn in would be eligible to vote.

If the Republicans challenged at that time, they would have to win at least one Democratic vote to oust Bilbo, under fire for terrorizing Negroes in Mississippi primaries last July and for the improper dealings with war contractors.

FILIBUSTER Thur. 1-2-47

Bilbo told reporters he would look to his fellow Southerners in the Senate to join him in a filibuster if the GOP tried to keep him from taking the oath of office.

"When they object to my taking the oath, everything else has to stop until they vote on the matter," he said. "There will have to be a discussion. My experience for 12 years shows me that those kind of discussions are very extended—sometimes indefinite."

The Justice Department revealed last night that it has been looking into the Bilbo case "for some time" and that all phases of the matter are being investigated.

The War Investigating Committee, controlled by Democrats, summarized its findings as follows:

- There was no impropriety in Bilbo's assisting his constituents in obtaining war contracts, but it was improper for him to accept gifts, services and political contributions from these same contractors.
- **Benefits to Bilbo's real estate holdings from these contractors "were an attempted subterfuge to conceal the donation of funds in payment for services rendered to them by Sen. Bilbo."**

CRIMINAL VIOLATION

- **The donation and solicitation of political contributions from government contractors while they are negotiating or performing such contracts is prohibited by federal criminal statute. The committee estimated that more than $300,000 had been given to Bilbo by contractors for these purposes.**
- It was improper for Bilbo to use the aid he had given these war contractors for the purpose "of inducing them to contribute substantial amounts to his personal charities, administered solely by him." This referred to $27,501.51 deposited to the account of the Juniper Grove Baptist Church, of which Bilbo had, as of Aug. 15, 1946, withdrawn all but $1,285.38 of the funds.

HELPED DRUG ADDICT

- While it was difficult for the committee to express an opinion on the charge that Bilbo had received $1,000 or more for getting an addict a drug prescription, it feels obliged to call the charge to the attention of the full Senate.
- Ex-Sen. Wall Doxey of Mississippi had no knowledge that Bilbo had collected, for Doxey's 1942 Senate campaign, $25,000 from war contractor F. T. Newton and that the committee could not determine whether all of these funds were spent in Doxey's behalf.
- Bilbo received such gifts and services as a paint job on his "Dream House Number One" at Poplarville, an artificial lake and island on which he subsequently built "Dream House Number Two," about $500 worth of furniture for this second home, a swimming pool and a Cadillac sedan worth $1,900, and that a war contractor had sustained a $48,000 loss in operating Bilbo's farm properties on a four-year lease.

Councilman Davis Writes:

Daily Worker

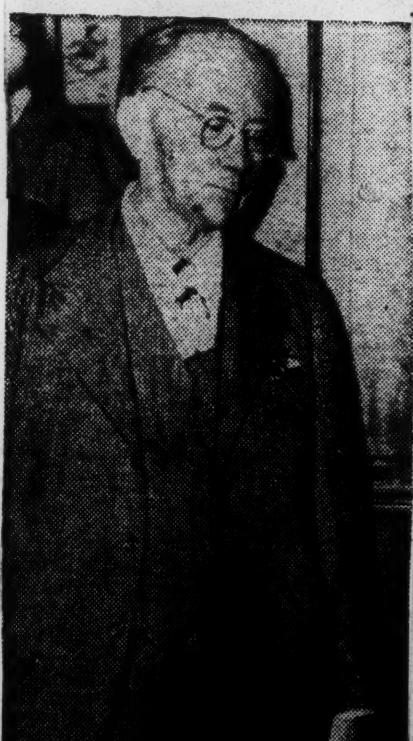
No Deals on Bilbo

New York, N.Y.

By Benjamin J. Davis

WASHINGTON — At the moment these remarks are written, the issue has not yet been decided as to whether Ku Kluxer Bilbo will take his seat in the United States Senate. Mon. 1-6-47

In short, there is still time for labor and the people to compel a decision on this issue which will result in the ignominous unseating of this self-confessed member of a terrorist gang, and which will hasten his eventual retirement to the garbage heap of history.



SLINKS OUT OF SENATE
'The Man' at The Door

But the temporary postponement on this issue in the Senate, does not overshadow the powerful blow which has been dealt to Bilbo, Bilboism and the poll-tax system by the forced retirement —even though temporary—of Bilbo from the regular order of business in taking the oath of office. This is, in itself, almost unprecedented in Senate procedure.

It is absolutely unprecedented insofar as a poll-tax white supremacist having ever been before even temporarily taken down a peg from his swaggering manner in the Senate, where he usually struts as if he personally owns the capitol dome and the Washington monument. Daily Worker

Furthermore, Rankin, Eastland, Ellender, George and Russell of Georgia, Connally of Texas, Maybank of South Carolina none of them ever slept so uncomfortably as they slept the night of Jan. 3, 1947, when Bilbo had to step aside. They know that in one form or another, they are next. The weasel-faced Rankin is probably near political apoplexy. He will now go berserk with red-baiting. The middle name of each and every one of these poll taxers is Bilbo. Who can be surprised if Ellender who conducted the "whitewash" hearings on Bilbo in Mississippi has in a moment of panic, completely shed his thin disguise, and appeared openly as Bilbo's defense attorney!

Something is happening in America, and it is not all bad! It is clear that it is the temper of the democratic masses of the country—and in the first place of the Negro people, who are today in the vanguard of the counter-offensive to expand democracy and stave off fascism in America. The burning eyes of the Negro people, their labor-progressive allies among the whites, are fixed in unrelenting focus upon the members of the U. S. Senate.

Taft and Vandenberg have not changed their spots. Even at this 80th Congress, they hope to cut the guts out of the labor movement—of Negro and white workers—and they hope to give the big monopolies the freedom to boom the country into the worst bust that America has ever known. Even on Bilbo, the Republican general will back up before you can say Jack Robinson if they can find an opening, or if the pressure from the Negro people and their white progressive allies is relaxed for a moment. They can be relied upon as far as a new-born babe can toss the GOP elephant.

One cannot overlook the fact that it was the Roosevelt Senator Glen Taylor who first tossed the bombshell at Bilbo in the proceedings Friday in the Senate. It is good that he did for Taylor brought out that which all the Republicans—each and every one of them dares not mention—that is Bilbo's criminal incitement of violence against the Negro voters in Mississippi in the last elections. The Republicans, in particular Taft, do not mention that because he wants to leave the impression with the poll tax Democrats—with whom the GOP has been in alliance all during successive Roosevelt administrations—that he has no differences with them on the Negro issue. It's only because Bilbo is a naughty boy in letting his war contract bribes get out of control, Taft seems to be saying. Incidentally, if that's true then they better start unseating Republicans as well as poll tax Democrats.

A compact miniature of the labor and progressive movement—some 200 delegates—in alliance with the Negro people was present in Washington on January 3, 1947. They had their effect and they will go back home, inspired with the great voice and leadership of Paul Robeson, and arouse the people to see this fight through. The American Crusade to End Lynching was crusading.

The fight against Bilbo is a symbol of the whole Negro liberation movement, which has its roots in the deep South, the seat of the Negro American's oppression. It symbolizes the Negro's fight for land, equality and freedom in the deep, deep South—it embraces the fight of the poor white against the Bilbo-enforced starvation, poverty and pellagra.

Never were we so close to victory. Telegrams must deluge Taft and Truman and Barkley—advising them against any horse-play, deals or compromises. Bilbo must be indicted, prosecuted and imprisoned—to the limit of the law.

America—north, south, east and west—must be cleansed of Bilboism whether in its crass Ku Klux form or its subtle and hidden manifestations. 1-6-47

Public Service By Bilbo In Spite of Himself?

Courier-Journal
Louisville Ky.

THE nation will have one thing to thank THEODORE GILMORE BILBO for if current events in Washington portend a new Senate rule outlawing the filibuster. In that event, the Southerners who, in the BILBO episode, made quick resort to that obstructive legislative device and thus directed attention to its infamy, will have perpetrated a considerable political irony. They will have conducted a filibuster to end filibusters. And, in so doing, they will have destroyed what has frequently been their own miserable refuge in the Senate from anti-lynching legislation and the like. Sun. 1-5-47

There is no question that the Senate filibuster is an institution which should go. The case against it has been made many times and by many authorities but never more forcefully than by WOODROW WILSON. This was in 1915 when a 22-day filibuster had killed a bill proposing to arm our merchant ships against German submarines. Mr. WILSON said:

> The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action. . . . A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible. The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate be so amended that it can act. The country can be relied upon to draw the moral. I believe the Senate can be relied upon to supply the means of action and save the country from disaster.

These vigorous words were delivered immediately after the adjournment of the Sixty-fourth Congress, in which the armed ships bill had been talked to death. The Sixty-fifth Congress, called into session the next day, at once began considering the President's advice. Previously Senate debate had been almost wholly unlimited, and about the only weapon against the filibuster was the continuous session. The consequence of the Wilsonian blast was a new rule providing that upon the application of 16 Senators filing a petition the question of cloture to limit the debate can be put to the Senate. Its passage, however, requires a two-thirds vote.

That two-thirds requirement has proved to be the principal weakness of the rule. A simple majority was obviously what President WILSON had in mind, and a simple majority is enough. Since the adoption of the rule, it has not been invoked frequently and has been successfully invoked even less frequently. But in almost every case where the cloture petition failed, a majority of the Senate favored it. The minority, however, prevailed under the rule. The reason so many Senators are reluctant to adopt cloture is that each man thinks there might come a day when it might be employed against him and his interests. To a Senator, as ARTHUR KROCK once wrote, "the privileges he enjoys very soon become dear to the most passionate believer—before his election—in majority rule."

The new Congress will make a name for itself, the Republican majority will prove the sincerity of its advocacy of anti-lynching legislation, if the cloture rule is amended so as to require only a simple majority vote. Then we could be grateful to The Man BILBO for a public service performed absolutely and spectacularly in spite of himself. Sun 1-5-47

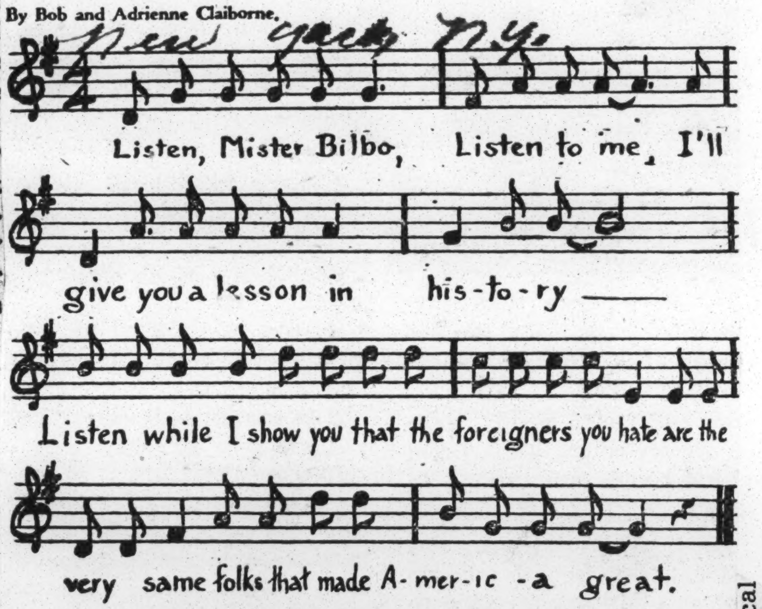
LISTEN, MR. BILBO

The Worker

"Listen, Mr. Bilbo" was written in 1945 by a young New York couple, who were enraged at the vitriolic Senator's bigotry. Since then the song has been sung by millions all over the U. S. It is available as printed sheet-music.

By Bob and Adrienne Claiborne.

New York N.Y.


Listen, Mister Bilbo, Listen to me, I'll
give you a lesson in his-to-ry ——
Listen while I show you that the foreigners you hate are the
very same folks that made A-mer-ic -a great.

2. In fourteen-ninety-two, just to see what he could see,
Columbus, an Italian, looked out across the sea.
He said, Isabella, babe, the world is round,
And the U. S. A.'s just a-waiting to be found.

3. When the King of England started pushing Yankees around
They had a little trouble up in Boston Town.
There was a brave Negro, Crispus Attucks was the man,
Was the first one to fall when the fighting began.

(*Repeat first verse.*)

4. Colin Kelly was the pilot, a-flying down low,
Levin pushed the button that let the bomb go.
They sunk the Haruna to the bottom of the sea;
It was foreigners like these kept America free.

5. You don't like Negroes, you don't like Jews;
If there's anyone you do like, it sure is news.
You don't like Poles, Italians, Catholics, too,
Is it any wonder, Bilbo, that we don't like you?

(*Repeat first verse.*)

1-18-47

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'Operation Bilbo'

Richmond Times

THE Senate will be on trial as much as SENATOR BILBO today when that monstrous mountebank seeks to take his seat in "the greatest deliberative body in the world." The legal ramifications of how best to keep BILBO from serving are too involved for the layman to tackle, but surely some way must be found to prevent this political atrocity from afflicting the nation further.

Latest reports are that BILBO will be asked to step aside today, when he is called to take his oath of office, until the membership has had a chance to examine the charges against him. It seems highly doubtful that he will accede, and a political battle royal impends. SENATOR TAFT believes that the "oust BILBO" brigade can muster enough votes to win.

The case is deep in partisan politics, of course. There is the pressure on the Republicans from elements throughout the country who despise BILBO and everything he stands for, to get rid of him. The GOP wishes to gratify these groups, since they will be useful in 1948. There is also the pressure from Southerners who approve of BILBO's nauseating bigotries, and who feel that if he is thrown out of the Senate, "the cause of white supremacy" will suffer. BILBO probably can count on the support of these people, we regret to say, irrespective of his ill-smelling deals with war contractors, and the "dream houses" he dreamed up with their substantial and oft-proffered aid. Fri 1-3-47

Another factor in the situation is the threats which "The Man" is rumored to have made against certain senatorial colleagues, if they vote to toss him out. The report is that there will be unpleasant revelations concerning certain statesmen, if they are so reckless as to buck BILBO. One is reminded of the similar technique employed by HUEY LONG, who had spies and snoopers with their ears and eyes to keyholes, and who did not hesitate to bulldoze Senators who were too friendly with their stenographers into silence concerning his own behavior. Richmond, Va.

At all events, the zero hour approaches, and we shall see what we shall see. Certainly the Senate will stand disgraced if it fails to rid itself of the political excrescence from the Magnolia State.

Bilbo and the Senate Rules

Courier-Journal
Louisville Ky.

The compromise under which Mississippi's Senator Bilbo agreed to forego being sworn in, while it has enabled the Senate to organize and proceed to business, has settled nothing. Action should still be taken by this august body on the evidence submitted to bar Bilbo from taking his seat. True, if he should be denied his seat, there would be a vacancy and the Governor of Mississippi could, and probably would, reappoint him, and he undoubtedly would be re-elected at a special election.

There is one way, and one way only, in which a Senator who has been convicted of committing acts which unfit him for the Senate can be kept permanently out. That is for the present Senate to change its rules and disqualify for the Senate forever any person once denied a seat by reason of conviction of being guilty of such actions. Also, the Senate should amend the rule on cloture so that only a majority vote would be necessary to invoke, instead of a two-thirds majority as at present. We would then have for the first time in our history majority rule in the United States Senate. Wed 1-8-47

Wed 1-8-47

Jeffersonville, Ind. HERMAN A. WENIGE.

37a(3) 1947 Mississippi (Probe)

Sen. Taylor May Fiddle--But It Was Bilbo Who Burned

The Worker, New York, N.Y.

Sun. 1-12-47

37a (3) (Probe)

The Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON.—According to Mississippi's Bilbo, Senator Glen Taylor (D-Ida) "aint got no sense. He's just a nut. He goes around playing a fiddle with a hillbilly band." But to the American people, Taylor is the Senator who, more than any other, prevented Bilbo from taking his seat in the Senate of the 80th Congress.

Bilbo was in Poplarville, Miss., this week, reportedly en route to New Orleans to undergo a second and more serious operation on his cancered mouth and jawbone.

His friends in Mississippi still call call him senator but here in Washington, there is considerable doubt that The Man Bilbo will ever be entitled to wear the title. Technically, he is "Senator-elect" which means that although he draws $1,000 a month at tax-payers' expense, he has not taken the oath of office and cannot have the privilege of the floor.

His peculiar position was due to his own agreement last Saturday to step aside while 35 other Senators-elect were sworn in and the new Senate organized.

The day before, a motion by Sen. John Overton (D-La), a Bilbo supporter, to have the Mississippian sworn in immediately, was tabled by a two to one vote, with all Republicans and 11 Democrats casting their ballots against Bilbo. The Southern Democrats immediately retaliated by resorting to their familiar weapon, the filibuster, which tied up the Senate for two days.

★

AT THE END of the second day, the Bilbonic clique surrendered. They ended the filibuster. And although they tried to save face by pleading Bilbo's illness and the necessity for him to undergo an operation, it was clear that at least for the moment, they were defeated.

The Southerners asked only that the final disposition of Bilbo's case be delayed for six weeks or two months until he recovered from his operation and that he should receive his salary and expense funds pending a final decision. The latter was granted, and this weighed heavily with Bilbo.

SEN. GLEN TAYLOR

Down in Mississippi he told reporters the Senators were "pretty decent about letting me continue to draw my salary." But under the law, they had no other choice.

As for the rest of it the Senators did not tie their hands. Under the motion adopted unanimously, they may wait until Bilbo's recovery or they may reopen the Bilbo case at any time.

True, final decision on whether or not Bilbo is qualified to occupy a seat in the Senate has not been made. In this sense, he "still has a foot in the door," as CIO legislative **director Nathan Cowan said.**

●

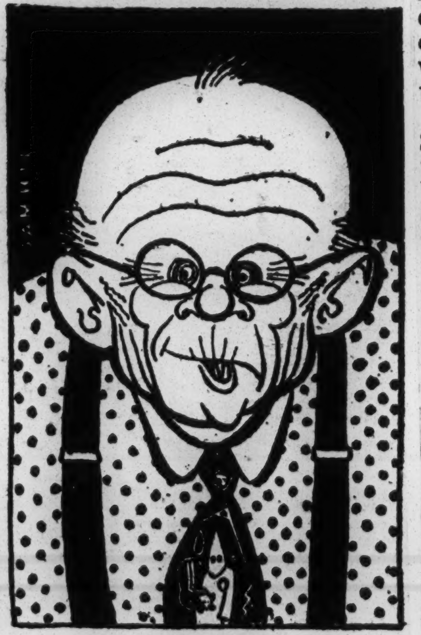
IN A STATEMENT issued on the case, the CIO deplored the Senate's failure to take final action.

"Evidence presented, particularly by the Senate War Investigating Committee, indicates that even more shocking revelations about Bilbo's war activities may be uncovered," said the CIT. "It is hoped that men like Sen. Glen Taylor who led the fight against seating Bilbo will press for further investigation."

There is every reason to believe Taylor will not rest until Theodore G. Bilbo's right to use the title "Senator" is definitely at an end.

It was last July that Taylor first raised in the Senate the matter of Bilbo's violation of the constitution by threats against Negro voters. Taylor appeared before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections and presented a brief citing relevant provisions of the Constitution and the federal laws. The Worker

This week the Republican lead[illegible]ip, and especially Sen. Taft ([illegible]-O) were getting lots of credit for preventing Bilbo from taking his seat in the Senate. But there is no guarantee the Republicans would have fought the matter through. In fact, there was evidence of division and indecision in GOP ranks up to the very eve of Congress' opening. Jan. 12-47



BILBO

But "Cowboy Glen" Taylor, the hillbilly singer, took no chances and presented his own resolution to deny a seat to Bilbo. He followed this with a speech referred to here by some newsmen as "the most brilliant speech in the Senate in years," reviewing the evidence against the Mississippian.

Whatever tendencies the GOP may have had to compromise this issue were smacked hard by the forthright action of the Idaho cowboy.

Bilbo claims he will return to Washington to defend himself but most people here feel he doesn't dare face a showdown fight. Already there are rumors that he will resign and his son, Theodore G. Bilbo, Jr., will run for his seat in a special election. Sun. 1-12-47

Man to Man

Times Dispatch

GLEN TAYLOR, Democratic Senator from Idaho, on the floor of the United States Senate on June 26, 1946:

"A United Press report which appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, June 23, accuses . . . a member of this body . . . of inciting people in his State to use 'any means' to prevent qualified voters of his State from exercising their right to vote for candidates for the United States Senate. The matter should be quickly and fully investigated by the Committee on Privileges and Elections . . . Ours is the duty, as well as the privilege, of passing on the credentials of our members, and we cannot disregard charges such as these without a serious loss of prestige." 1-27-47

The same Senator Taylor, before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, July 1, 1946:" . . . this issue (Bilboism) is one which . . . tests the sincerity of our Senate. It was put before us, if the newspaper reports are correct, by one of our own members, who saw fit to give us advance notice of a widespread plan to break Federal laws. He has allegedly named the time and place and pretty well described the details of the crimes to be committed. The threats are worthy of special credence because they were made in the context of a long history of similar crime. The election is tomorrow. If you act, you must act fast."

Richmond, Virginia

FROM the Harold L. Ickes column of July 17, 1946: "The Senate of the United States can hardly expect the people to have more respect for it than it has for itself. And the Senate's respect for itself, if its attitude toward Theodore G. Bilbo be any yardstick, can be measured in fractions of inches. I wonder if the Senate will ignore its obligation to the people . . . The Constitutional power to purge its own membership was given deliberately and for a purpose. If the United States Senate is willing to accept and fraternize with a man of Bilbo's character, I cannot conceive of anyone to whom it could possibly take exception."

From the Harold L. Ickes column of Oct. 16, 1946: "If, as alleged, this product from the cane-brakes of Mississippi (Bilbo) was elected Senator by 'fraud and violence' and other unconstitutional methods, he can simply be denied the right to take the oath of office."

From the Harold L. Ickes column of

By Harold L. Ickes

Dec. 30, 1946: "It would be difficult to respect a Senate that would admit Bilbo on the record that he himself has tailored. And so, I say that it is the Senate that is on trial. It has the power and the constitutional right. It may even be suggested that it has the moral obligation, to bar the doors of the Senate to a political pariah. Mon 1-20-47

AS A Senator, Bilbo would only degrade the Senate as he has disgraced his party, by flaunting his contempt for the Constitution that he has sworn, over and over again, to uphold and defend. The United States Senate cannot afford to become an accessory after the fact in political high crimes and misdemeanors that would make a mockery of public morality and strike at the heart of our institutions."

Senator Glen Taylor on the floor of the Senate, Jan. 3, 1947: ". . . it is not only Mr. Bilbo who is on trial. Today it is the Senate itself which is on trial. We, the members of the Senate, are not only on trial collectively, we are on trial individually . . . Mr. Bilbo . . . has toured the length and breadth of his State stirring up racial hatred, inciting white to hate black and causing black to hate white. To whites, who are themselves poor, ill-nourished, ill-clothed, and ill-educated, he does not offer prosperity, nourishment, clothing, food, and education. No; he offers to them the delicious sense of feeling superior to someone else, the cheap thrill of membership in a master race, the joy of kicking someone else around. To those on the lowest rung of the ladder, he does not offer a lift; he merely offers to create another rung still lower, so that the progress of man will be a series of descending steps. This is the same sort of cheap thrill that was peddled in Germany by an ambitious house painter some 10 years ago. We know that his doctrines and his methods brought no good to his people or the people of the world."

A great speech this—one that will reverberate throughout the country for a long time to come. The 20 Democratic Senators who defended Bilbo, the indefensible, have this upstanding young Senator from Idaho to thank that the excision of Bilboism was not entirely a Republican operation.

Civil Rights Body Hails Victory As 'The Mouth' Quits Capitol

37a(3)

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

The National Civil Rights Congress yesterday hailed the "unanimous decision of the United States Senate to ask Theodore Bilbo to go home," and declared "the majority of the American people will rejoice." The statement issued by Milton Kaufman, executive director of the CRC which launched the initial campaign to oust Bilbo saw the rejection of Bilbo "a victory for decency and a blow to the whole system of discrimination against racial and religious minorities which plague our nation."

"The Civil Rights Congress applauds the bi-partisan character of the temporary ouster of Bilbo. At the same time warning that the millions of our citizens throughout the nation will not stand for Bilbo sneaking in any other door of the Senate now that the front door is temporarily barred.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5. — Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, beaten in the fight for his seat in the 80th Congress, left for Mississippi today.

A GOP - Democratic coalition slammed the Senate door on the weazened "white suprematist" on charges that he intimidated Negro voters and accepted lush gifts from war contractors.

The Senate action allows Bilbo his $12,500 annual salary and the $2,500 expense account while he undergoes an operation for cancer of the mouth and throat. Mar 1-6-47

The move came dramatically Saturday as the Senate continued into the 11th hour of a filibuster by Bilbo's supporters demanding that he be permitted to take the oath.

They had threatened that until that ceremony was agreed to they would keep talking. The anti-Bilbo forces announced they were determined to keep the Senate in session indefinitely until the filibuster was broken.

Democratic leader Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, who had been striving for three days to compromise the issue, finally succeeded. He suggested that the membership agree to pay Bilbo's salary and those of his office staff until the issue was determined.

Republicans and Democrats unanimously agreed.

An hour after the compromise, the Senate had sworn in its 35 new members who had waited for the filibuster to end. Mar. 1-6-47

THE BILBO COMPROMISE

37a(3)

Daily Worker

By Benjamin J. Davis

New York, N.Y., Mar 1-13-47

THE present status of the anti-Bilbo fight in the Senate is a compromise. Bilbo's seat has been temporarily withheld, with the battle as to whether he will be seated still to take place. That decision is postponed, but the battle must take on new vigor.

However, Bilbo has been put on the payroll and is now drawing salary. He, of course, could have been kept off the payroll as well as kept out of his seat. But it was argued principally by the Republicans that such a compromise was necessary in order to break this filibuster and to get on with the business of organizing the Senate and listening to Truman's speech. (Now that Truman's message represented a total abandonment of Roosevelt's program, it is obvious to labor and the people that the speech wasn't worth listening to, to say nothing of making arrangements to listen to it.)

Since, according to the press, Bilbo will be away for two months to have a cancer cut out of his filthy mouth, he couldn't be in his seat anyway. But the fact that it has not yet been decided that he is entitled to the seat, is of major importance. He, nor no other poll-taxer or white supremacist, has ever been held up before, even temporarily. Consequently, the continuing denial of his seat represents a tremendous partial victory for the anti-Bilbo movement. Mar. 1-13-47

Was such a compromise necessary? No, and the fact that it was made should point up a sharp warning to the Negro people, to the labor and progressive movement which is the backbone of the fight. In the first place, the filibuster could have been broken without yielding an inch to the Bilboites. A simple majority vote (and the Republicans had a majority even at that time) could have made the filibuster breakable by a majority vote instead of by a two-thirds vote. Secondly, the Senate could have kept in session continuously until the wagging tongues of Russell, Ellender and the other polltaxers cleaved to the roofs of their mouths. The organized temper of the democratic people of the country would have smashed any filibuster at that moment.

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NOT ONLY do the people oppose Bilbo taking this seat. But they do not want their hard-earned tax payments being used to pay an outright, fascist Ku Kluxer like Bilbo. They do not want him to get even one foot in the door.

A compromising fight against Bilbo will not beat him; it may even be lost. Only an uncompromising fight against him will win. If left to Taft, Vandenberg and the other GOP bosses—who have been teaming up with the Bilboites to wreck the Roosevelt program—they will compromise the fight, until there is none left.

Therefore, no reliance can be put upon the GOP Senate bosses to carry through this fight and oust Bilbo unconditionally. Only the independent and politically united strength of labor and the people can guarantee the consistency and uncompromising quality which is necessary to accomplish Bilbo's ouster.

It is hoped by Bilbo and his fellow travelers, as well as by some of the Republican leaders, that the two months postponement of the Bilbo fight in the Senate will allow time for the ouster movement to subside, and for the polltaxers to reorganize their forces. That must not occur. In fact, meetings and demonstrations should rise to a crescendo during this period. When this fight is resumed, activity to oust this fascist must be at its apex.

The right must be broadened for anti-lynch legislation, for an anti-polltax bill, for a national FEPC, for the outlawing of the Klan, for the expansion of democracy in the South for the Negroes and the poverty-stricken white masses. The objective is to get Bilbo behind bars, where all Ku Klux terrorists belong. In short, the anti-Bilbo movement represents a people's offensive against a spokesman of native fascism.

Meanwhile, every member of the Senate must be polled and spoken to by the people back home. The filibuster must be outlawed. The heat must be put on Truman and Dewey.

The epochal significance of this battle must be grasped and acted upon especially by the trade unions who have yet to bring into the fray the artillery of their protesting strength. Bilbo must be unseated! Mar. 1-13-47

THE BILBO MATTER

Birmingham, News, Ala.

To the Editor of the News-Age-Herald:

Being quite free from a desire to white wash or condone evil, I nevertheless feel that Southern newspaper may have been too silent concerning the "Bilbo matter". To condemn a fellowman is easy. Mercy applied comes hard. I suspect that Bilbo, from his earliest political activities to this present time, all things duly considered has been more wholesome and beneficial to Mississippi than evil and destructive. After all, Bilbo is not just an individual, he is Mississippi's elected servant. He is a Democrat. He is a thread in the warp and woof of the Democratic Party in the South. Sun 1-5-47

Right--that is, cosmic morality--admits no degrees, either as an abstraction or in the concrete. Nothing is a little less than right and still right. Right plus is inconceivable. There is no such monstrosity as an abstract wrong. All wrong is, of necessity, in the concrete. Now, then, shall we balance these two situations? By having the man who is right extend mercy or love to make up the differences. If I help a blind man to cross the street, and feel that I did it because he was blind, I take personal credit for that small capacit If I didi it because I can see, I thank and glorify God for being able to see. There is a difference.

This writer is one of four brothers. We were not models of sweetness, purity and light. At least, not all of the time. But not one of us ever turned tail or joined the enemy when the other was in trouble, right or wrong. A little charity and quite a measure of guts might kick the Republicans off Bilbo's neck. Sun 1-5-47

Dr. Dan Robinson

Bessemer.

37a(3) ·1947

Mississippi (Probe)

Today And Tomorrow

Bilbo And The Sovereignty Of Mississippi

Birmingham Ala. News

Sen. Ellender, of Louisiana, is quoted in *The Washington Post* as saying the Bilbo case is a "shameful attempt to interfere with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi." That is a serious accusation, and if the senator can sustain it, then not only should Bilbo be seated but the Senate should offer its humble apologies for all the trouble to which two committees of the Senate have subjected him.

Sun 1-5-47

But as a matter of fact Sen. Ellender is himself the chairman of one of the two committees that have investigated Bilbo. Presumably, then, it was not an interference with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi to inquire into the charges that in the primaries and in the election Bilbo violated the federal constitution, the federal criminal code, and the Hatch act.

The committee which investigated these charges consisted of five senators. Three of them, Mr. Ellender himself; Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma, and Mr. Maybank of South Carolina, decided after hearing the evidence that Bilbo "had been duly and legally elected to represent the State of Mississippi." Two of them, Mr. Bridges, of New Hampshire, and Mr. Hickenlooper, of Iowa, decided after hearing the evidence that Bilbo's credentials are tained "with fraud and corruption."

All that a majority of the Senate is trying to do is to deny Bilbo a seat until the whole Senate can decide whether it agrees with Messrs. Ellender, Thomas and Maybank or with Messrs. Bridges and Hickenlooper. Now it cannot be an interference with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi for the Senate as a whole to judge for itself whether it agrees with its own committee. If there was any interference with the sovereignty of Mississippi, it occurred when Mr. Ellender himself agreed to investigate the charges. But if Mr. Ellender could investigate Bilbo's election, then it cannot be "shameful" for the rest of the Senate to investigate Bilbo's election.

* * *

The right of the Senate to be the "judge" of Bilbo's "elections, returns and qualifications," comes directly from the constitution (Article I, Section 5, Paragraph 1). There is no doubt that this important article in the constitution is an "interference" with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi and of every other state in the union. The Senate is the final judge, and not the state which elected him, whether a man is properly elected and duly qualified to be a senator of the United States.

That, whether Mr. Ellender approves it or not, is one of the basic principles of the American government. A state does not have an absolute sovereign right to send anyone it pleases to the Senate. The sovereign rights of the state are limited in this respect by the constitution of the United States. Mr. Bilbo, if he were seated, would not be the senator of Mississippi but a senator of the United States; he would not be an officer of the state but an officer of the union.

There is no question, I think, that this is the fundamental principle of the case. It was established in the Philadelphia convention which framed the constitution. On June 26, 1787, Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, moved that the salaries of senators "be paid by their respective states" rather than "out of the national treasury." The whole question which Mr. Ellender has in mind was raised concretely by that motion; if a senator is the representative of a sovereign state, then his salary should be paid by his state; if he is an officer of the United States, then his salary should be paid from the national treasury.

It was James Madison, of Virginia, who led the opposition to Ellsworth's proposal. "The motion," he said, "would make the Senate like congress (he meant the congress of the articles of confederation) the mere agents and advocates of states' interests and views, instead of being the impartial umpires and guardians of justice and general good." Though the vote was close (six states to five) Madison prevailed, and ever since then it has been the established doctrine that the Senate is not an assemblage of the agents of the states but the organ of a national government.

Birmingham, News, Ala.

The question, of course, arises--and thia point no doubt has troubled Mr. Ellender--as to how-- if the Legislature of Mississippi chooses a senator is, nevertheless, an officer of the national government and not the agent of his state. The answer to that question was given by Sen. Robert Morris in the first Congress when he said that "the Legislatures were only the machines to choose them. We were senator of the United States and had nothing to do with one state more than another." Sun 1-5-47

This view is confirmed by Judge Story in his famous commentaries: "Each (senator) is an officer of the union deriving his powers and qualifications from the constitution, and neither created by, dependent upon, nor controllable by, the states."

What this all goes to prove is that Mr. Ellender is entitled to defend Bilbo, or even to say that he judges him to be duly elected and properly qualified to be a senator of the United States. But he cannot, without opposing the principle of the constitution assert that the Senate, if it disagrees with him is thereby denying to the State of Mississippi any sovereign right which it has posessed since it was admitted to the union

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Bilbo Bulletin

37a(3)

PM N.Y., N.Y.

NEW ORLEANS

It will be a long time before Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) will be able to make his promised fight for a Senate seat. Doctors revealed that last week's jaw operation was a "major" one and that he'll need at least three months more convalescence. Mon. 6-9-47

Ill and Unseated, Bilbo Costing Nation $49,000

Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

Mississippi Senator's Return Here Uncertain; Has Full-Ttime Office Force

WASHINGTON

Despite the continued illness of Senator-Elect Theodore G. Bilbo (Dem., Miss.), work goes on in his office, which has a full staff of employees and will cost the Government some $49,385 this year. Sat 5-24-47

The return of the senior legislator from Mississippi is uncertain. The fight for his seat in the Senate is still pending. With Congress scheduled to close in July, and a special session very unlikely, the issue will probably be passed up until next January.

Salary $15,000

In addition to $15,000 allowed the Senator for salary and personal expenses, he receives $23,880 for his office force.

James O. Day, his executive secretary, receives $8,000 for salary. The Senator's two personal secretaries are with him at his Poplarville home. Sat.

The charges that he violated the Constitution during his primary campaign will be among the first issues facing him upon his return. Alleged acceptance of illegal gratuities from war contracts is also to be faced. 5-24-[illegible]

Capital Confetti - By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

37a(3)

HORATIUS AT THE BRIDGE is one of my idols. I like the man who stands his ground when all the world may be going wrong. I like the man who, unafraid and unmoved, holds off the mob, whether it is a high-class mob or a low-class mob. All mobs follow the direction they think the pendulum is swinging. They get to moving in a certain direction and they can't stop. It is very difficult for the average man, or any man, to resist the impulse to follow the crowd, let alone step out in front of it and try to reverse its direction. But there are men who take on that task, who dare to sprinkle a mob with reason.

Glen H. Taylor, Democratic United States Senator from Idaho, is such a man, I believe. I do not know much about Senator Taylor, have never met him. When he was elected in 1944, the newspapers prejudiced me against him. Stories were written about his youth, his good looks and his experience as a cowboy singer. I coupled Taylor with W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas and sadly wrote him off as a product of that peculiar puerility of some sections of the American electorate which prefers buffoons.

I was just a black man in this land, but I guess I had a right to think. We were trying to end a war which demanded all the strength we had. We were moving into one of the most trying periods in our history. We needed the best leadership of the Nation in Washington. But the white voters of Idaho were sending to the Capitol a cowboy singer. Sensitive to such an incongruity, I flinched. I was wrong. I am glad I was wrong.

I BECAME INTERESTED in Senator Taylor when I read that Theodore Bilbo had called him a "nincompoop." That forced me to read Senator Taylor's speech, made Jan. 3, to bar admission of Bilbo to the Senate. The speech was inspiring Americana and Americanism. Senator Taylor did not have to make that speech. There were no Negroes in Idaho to put pressure on him. Bilbo was a challenge to the ~~morality~~ of the Republican side of the chamber and there were Republicans waiting to speak their piece against Bilbo. But Senator Taylor, unheralded, cut in ahead of them, and passionately denounced the Mississippian.

You may recall how he said that Bilbo is like he is because there are a lot of people in Mississippi who want to feel that there is somebody beneath them and that Bilbo helps them to feel that way. How did Senator Taylor learn that from so far away? The heart teaches men some things. Later, somebody questioned Senator Tay-

I was a victim of the trivia which is all too often featured in our daily press. Glen H. Taylor, though young, though handsome, though talented as an artist, has knowledge, intelligence, heart and passion. He is an able Senator and he is destined to make an historical impression in the Senate if the voters of Idaho let him stay there. Sat. 4-26-47

lor about segregation and discrimination in the Nation's Capital. He was against that. He did not mince words. He was for a law, or laws, or anything else that would reduce and destroy such discrimination. Where did he learn how such things hurt, how wrong they are? The heart again!
Sat. 4-26-47

BUT IT ISN'T of this Senator's attitude toward Negroes, or all human beings as human beings, that I would write. I wrote above that he is as Horatius at the bridge, that he would stand in the path of the mob, high-class or low-class.

I saw him hold the high-class mob off in the United States Senate last week. The Senate was open for debate on the Truman proposal to spend four hundred million dollars in Greece and Turkey for relief (in Greece alone) and to stabilize those governments against Communist encroachment and infiltration. At least that's what they say it's for.

What your attitude toward the Greco-Turk loan is, is unknown to me. I do know, as noted by Walter White two weeks ago, that most Negro leadership comment, in the press and otherwise, has been harshly skeptical of the loan. Negroes have regarded it as the gesture of a bully spoiling for a fight. But most of the white press and most of the influential members of the Senate, led by the nose by the so-called bi-partisan foreign policy clique, have solemnly endorsed this ominous proposal which issued from Truman's lips, but may not have his handiwork

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The Quality Of Mercy

Louisiana Weekly
New Orleans, La.

SENATOR BILBO, who has shamelessly abused the Jews, recently entered Touro Infirmary, New Orleans, to undergo a serious operation. Sat. 2-22-47

Touro Infirmary was founded 106 years ago by Judah Touro, who was the son of a rabbi and whose father was instrumental in establishing Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, which was recently set aside by the United States Government as a national shrine.

Under Jewish management to this day, this hospital practices no discrimination. It is for Jew and Christian alike—for friend and foe—its only concern being the practice of that quality of mercy which is an attribute of God and to which both the Jewish and Christian religions commend us.

"Senator Bilbo might ponder this as he lies abed in long-dead Judah Touro's hospital," the St. Louis Post-Dispatch said editorially on January 17. "He might be grateful that Judah Touro was not the bigot Theodore Bilbo is. For if he had been, Theodore Bilbo would not at this moment be receiving the services of one of the finest medical institutions in the South. . . . Let him look about him and see in the memorial of a man who was too big for racial hatred the most eloquent rebuke to the hatemonger." Sat. 2-22-47

Yes, and let us all do the same thing.

Man to Man

By Harold L. Ickes

THE immediate cause of Theodore G. Bilbo's postponement of his fight for a seat in the Senate, of course, is to be regretted. No one can fail to feel sympathy for a man with such a disease as that from which he is suffering. However, citizens everywhere are entitled to rejoice over the rebuff that has been given to what Mr. Bilbo represented in our public life. The fight on Bilboism has resulted in a notable victory but the struggle should go on. It must not end until every Senator and Representative learns that relying upon the issue of racial intolerance will bar him from the Congress. It must go on until there can be no suspicion that any Congressman would think of using his official position as a means of enriching himself, either directly or indirectly. Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch

It is too bad that all the members of Congress do not come within the category of disinterested and patriotic public servants. Fortunately, it can be said, with every confidence, that the overwhelming number of them are above venality in any form. The honest legislator is entitled to protection against the dishonest one, just as the United States owed it to itself to refuse to permit Bilbo to take the oath of office. There should be some check on the business connections, the investments and the nonofficial income of members of Congress. When I was Administrator of Public Works I required every employee in a position to make important decisions to submit a list of the investments, not only of himself, but of the members of his immediate family. This information was held by me in the strictest confidence, but no employee ever objected to giving it to me. Fri. 1-10-47

WHY should not the Senate and the House set up a small joint committee composed of members of the highest character and integrity to which all Senators and Representatives should be required to make reports of the investments and income of themselves and those of their immediate family? It should be especially incumbent upon lawyer-members to disclose their outside sources of income. It is through law firms that legislators are frequently influenced to vote for or against a certain measure.

While I am a member of the bar I cannot ignore the disposition of many who seek favors from the government to employ a law firm, a member of which may be an influential Senator or Representative. It is unfortunately the fact that there are law firms which are willing to take business that is offered although a member of the firm occupies a prominent and influential position in Washington. The fees that are sluiced into the account of the firm are then distributed, with the statesman-member getting his share on the pretense that it is not he, but his firm, that is doing the particular job. This is an intolerable situation. Since the law-firm approach is the easy one and the one most frequently used to bring influence to bear, every lawyer who is elected to either House or Senate owes it to himself to resign from his firm and retain no interest in the income thereof, except as to business having no public coloration and which was legitimately in the office at the time of his resignation. Fri. 1-10-47

NO MEMBER of Congress who retains his interest in his law firm should go padding about Washington, from department to department, soliciting, and even insisting upon, favorable decisions, following which he will take his cut as a member of the firm.

It is important to counteract the effect of the insinuating and all-pervasive lobbyists in Washington. But it should be realized that it is not so much the lobbyists, in many instances, who influence the legislators, as it is the legislators themselves, acting on behalf of past, present or prospective clients.

Bilboism has only been scotched. It has not been killed. Billboism is not merely a cynical flaunting of constitutional guarantees, it is not merely a callous denial of civil rights. It is more than resorting to terrorism to determine a political result. It is something in addition to accepting gifts from those for whom a favor has been done or the taking of a fee in a drug-addict case. Bilboism is all of these things and, at the same time, it is also a serving of both God and mammon by using official influence to enhance one's personal income.

Perhaps the greatest thing that this new Eightieth Congress could do would be to go straight through to the extirpation of Bilboism of every degree and shade.

Wasting Time on Bilbo

Charleston, S.C. News + Courier

With all the important business to come before the 80th congress, it is unfortunate that the opening session has been tangled up with Bilbo. Many Southerners find it embarrassing to have Senator Bilbo hung around their neck like a penitential albatross. In their resentment they are put in the position of defending a man whose record causes them to squirm. In making Bilbo a partisan issue, the lines are drawn in a confusion of sectionalism, sentimentality and prejudice on both sides.

By declaring hostilities at an end, President Truman shrewdly threw the ball to the Republicans, now taking control of congress. The declaration automatically set in motion certain pre-determined actions, including reduction of war taxes and curtailment of executive powers. Among the latter is the authority to seize industrial property in the public interest when paralyzed by strikes.

Congress must act, and without undue delay, on problems set up by this train of events. It also must respond to the mandate of the November election, which clearly indicated public impatience with the ruthless course of labor unions and demanded legislation to control them. Congress must consider orderly liquidation of wartime agencies, relinquishment of rent and other controls, and the role of America in international affairs. Sun. 1-5-47

These weighty matters, till yesterday's compromise, were held in abeyance in the senate while party lines formed to battle over Bilbo. Regardless of his faults, the man is certified as a representative in the senate of the sovereign state of Mississippi. Granted that the senate is the judge of qualifications of its membership, it also is obvious that the senate is a political rather than a judicial body. Senators are not tried, like ordinary citizens, on the basis of the facts, but in the light of partisan prestige and all the other ramifications of parliamentary government.

Senator Bilbo is neither the first nor the last of tarnished reputation to sit in congress. By pressing partisan issues, his opponents force persons who might be disgusted with him to the support of Bilbo. Though not yet settled, the matter now has been shunted aside so important business can proceed. Sun. 1-5-47

37a(3) 1947 Mississippi (Probe)

MR. BILBO SEATED IN THE SENATE SUBWAY CAR

KEEP ARMS & FEET INSIDE THE CAR

The Mississippi Senator (left), accompanied by Senator Allen J. Ellender and a police officer, riding to the session in the Capitol yesterday.

MISSISSIPPI READY TO RENAME BILBO

Times

Senate Renomination or Post of Governor Open, Due to Resentment, Say Observers

1-4-47 Sun. New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 4—If the United States Senate declines to seat Theodore G. Bilbo after he is tried by that body he can have the nomination again, if he wishes, or the Governorship, according to freely expressed opinion in Mississippi tonight.

This belief stems from resentment over outside interference in Mississippi politics. That resentment contributed to Mr. Bilbo's renomination last July; it would contribute again. Times

It is possible but considered highly unlikely that Governor Fielding L. Wright will appoint Mr. Bilbo to the vacancy created by his expulsion. The Senate could decline again to seat him.

If he should come out for re-election, opposition candidates would be few, if any at all appeared, as an opponent would immediately be labeled "pro-Negro voters," and "pro-outside interference," regardless of any contention to the contrary.

Although he would be strongly opposed if he sought nomination as Governor (in Mississippi tantamout to election), it is not likely he would have serious opposition for Senator. 1-4-47 Sat.

If Mr. Bilbo is not finally seated, and if Governor Wright is called upon to appoint a Senator pending an election, the interim Senator would hold office until the general election. Greek L. Rice, attorney general, has ruled informally that such vacancies in years in which general elections are held are filled in that election, rather than by special election called within ninety days, as in the case of years when no general election is held. New York, N.Y.

Wright a Prospective Candidate

Under such circumstances, the candidate polling the greatest number of votes, not necessarily a majority, is declared elected. There is no run-off election.

Governor Wright, who said he had given the choice of Mr. Bilbo's successor no thought, has stated that Mr. Bilbo should be seated by the United States Senate before any question of his eligibility is raised. The Governor, who succeeded Thomas L. Bailey several weeks ago upon the latter's death, is generally considered a prospective candidate for Governor in the approaching primary.

Senator Bilbo, serving as a member of the Mississippi Senate in 1910, escaped impeachment and expulsion from that body by the margin of one vote.

Articles of impeachment were voted by the House, and Mr. Bilbo's trial before the bar of the Senate covered a period of two weeks.

He had previously admitted accepting a bribe of $645 to change his vote from James K. Vardaman to Leroy Percy in a contest for the unexpired term of United States Senator A. J. McLaurin, but had stated he accepted it solely to show that bribery and other corrupt methods were used to defeat James K. Vardaman.

The bribe money was allegedly given to Mr. Bilbo by L. C. Dulaney, prominent Delta planter, one of Mr. Percy's lieutenants at Mr. Dulaney's trial on the charge of bribe-giving, held in the circuit court of Yazoo County. Mr. Bilbo swore that the currency he had received from Dulaney was turned over to Sheriff R. J. Harding, of Hinds County, and Sheriff Harding swore that he had sealed the money in an envelope and placed it in a bank vault.

Defender Voted for Ouster

Counsel for Mr. Dulaney then presented testimony by an agent of the United States Treasury that a goodly number of the bills in the envelope had not been issued from the Treasury at the time Mr. Bilbo allegedly accepted the money.

At the impeachment trial Mr. Bilbo was defended by two of his colleagues, Senators Will McDonald of Bay St. Louis, eminent lawyer and former jurist, and Wil Sanders of Kosciusko, a newspaper publisher.

When the roll was called in the State Senate, Mr. McDonald voted for impeachment.

One member changed his vote and thus prevented the motion to expel from obtaining the required two-thirds majority. He was Senator M. F. Bush, of New Hebron.

Hear Bilbo's Side

Times Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

About the recent discussion of the Bilbo case through the press, I would like to make a few comments, if permissible.

In reading the account of this incident, of the various charges and accusations made against the accused, one is reminded of Cicero's orations against Cataline, whose reputation has suffered for 2,000 years because we have heard only the prosecutor's side.

It seems not only unjust, but absurd, to accept at face value all charges made against a man by his enemies. Any reader of history is familiar with the fact that in democratic states when individuals begin to exert too great an influence in their political life, the governments have recourse to ostracism. This procedure was followed in the Athenian democracy. Aristole refers to it in his writings on politics.

Times Dispatch

When we analyze this case it seems as if Bilbo is being persecuted for a principle, namely, white supremacy. But is this so wrong? Richmond, Va.

It appears that the scalawags and professional muckrakers in the North have reached the conclusion that the political goose of the South is cooked and are making ready for the feast, even as their fathers before them. If they would desist in their efforts to control the social and political life of Bilbo and the South in general and use their remarkable talents against the subversive elements now in the land, they would render a much greater service to themselves and a great majority of their fellow Americans.

Sat. 1-18-47 C. BUTLER.
Richmond.

'A Well Man,' Surgeon Says Of Sen. Bilbo

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSON, Miss., April 19—(AP) Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, is a "well man" and "will go back to Washington to represent Mississippi," said Dr. Alton Oschner, surgeon who performed two operations on the Senator for cancer. Constitution

Dr. Oschner told reporters that after he had performed the second operation for cancer of the mucous membrane of the mouth he feared that a recurrence might set in but that it had not. He added that Bilbo might require two or three months to recuperate but "he has no cancer now." Sun. 4-20-47

"In this respect," he said, "he is like thousands of other people who have had cancer and have undergone successful treatment or surgery."

BILBO IS ACCLAIMED AT CHURCH DEDICATION

Times
New York, N.Y.

POPLARVILLE, Miss., March 2 (AP)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, wearing a mask to hide scars of a recent mouth operation, heard himself described as a man of vision who made possible the $100,000 Juniper Grove Baptist Church and parsonage, which were dedicated today. Mon. 3-3-47

The Mississippi Democrat did not make an address, because of speech difficulties resulting from the removal of part of his lower jaw by the operation. He sat in the second pew of the church, behind the deacons.

Speaking for Mr. Bilbo, State Senator H. K. Rouse delivered to the deacons a deed to the land on which the church and parsonage stand and a receipt for cancellation without reimbursement of a $503 debt to Mr. Bilbo incurred when he paid insurance premiums on the church property.

The dedication ceremonies, including a barbecue at which 3,000 pounds of beef were served, marked completion of a Bilbo-sponsored building program begun in 1928 to construct on property adjoining Mr. Bilbo's own "dream house" mansion a $75,000 rural Baptist church and a $25,000 parsonage.

The Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith of Shreveport, La., head of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, in a brief address, described Mr. Bilbo as "the most persecuted man in the world."

News & Courier

Graves on Bilbo

To The News and Courier:

Mr. John T. Graves is in error in his column in The News and Courier January 11. His column in part I quote, referring to Senator Bilbo: "What threatens his seat is that he is accused of selling his race down the river, not that he has refused. It is not his attitude on the negro question." Wed. 1-15-47

Now, let's refute Mr. Graves's statement. The main investigator against Senator Bilbo is and has been Senator Taylor of Idaho. On July 1, 1946, and July 26, 1946, he made speeches in the United States senate concerning Bilbo and elections in Mississippi. Friday, January 3, 1947, the opening day of congress, Senator Taylor made a speech covering three pages and a little over in the daily Congressional Record; very, very little mention is made of the fraud charges against Bilbo. Charleston, S.C.

Mr. Graves should read the Congressional Record of Friday, January 3, 1947, covering the speech made by Senator Overton, of Louisiana. Also the speech made in the senate Saturday, January 4, 1947, by Senator Allen Ellender of Louisiana.

J. A. SMITH.
Dillon.

JACK TARVER

Fri. 4-18-47

Mississippi's Loss Is the Nation's Gain

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Indications now are that Mississippi's Sen. Bilbo will draw his $15,000 salary this year without attending a single legislative session.

And hush money well spent it'll be, too.

Bilbo recently underwent what he describes as an operation to enlarge his mouth. Unfortunately, modern surgery has yet to perfect a similar operation for the brain.

So far as I can determine, the only persons in Congress to miss Bilbo thus far are the Republicans, who like to have him around to embarrass the Democrats.

Of course, his absence from the Senate is unfair to Mississippi, especially since so many of his constituents vote for him just to get him out of the State.

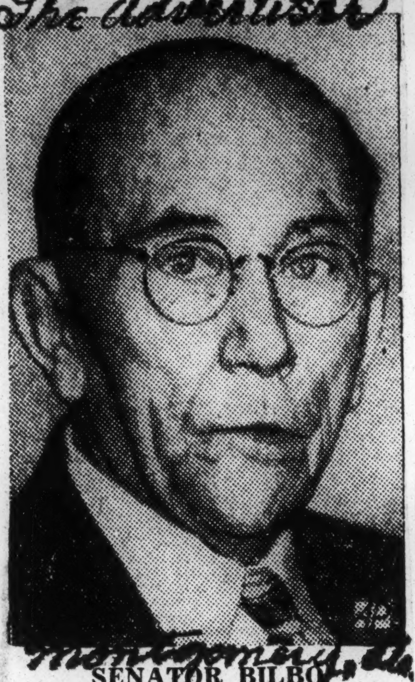
The Man's prolonged absence from his post revives an old query: On his annual return to the Collector of Internal Revenue, what—if anything—can he list as "Earned Income"?

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

One has only to reflect a moment to realize that Bilbo in absentia is a bargain at $15,000 a year. With newsprint selling at $90 a ton, we've saved more than his salary in the Congressional Record alone. Fri. 4-18-47

Will He Return?

The Advertiser



Montgomery, Ala.

SENATOR BILBO

WASHINGTON, April 28.—(AP)—Senator Bilbo's aides said today they have no idea when he will return here to claim a Senate seat.

Dr. Alton Oschner, who performed two operations on the Senator for cancer, has said that Bilbo is a "well man" and "will go back to Washington to represent Mississippi."

Bilbo's return to claim a Senate seat probably would touch off a bitter Senate debate.

The Republicans have insisted that he should not be seated while the Senate considers charges that he misused his office for personal gain in dealings with war contractors and violated Federal statutes by preventing Negroes from voting.

When the Mississippi Democrat left the capital in January, Senator Taft (R), Ohio, said no further action would be taken until Bilbo could return for a hearing could be held on whether the charges warrant permanent and final ouster. Tues.

Bilbo later said that if he lived through an operation he would continue his fight for a seat in the Senate "till hell freezes over." 4-29-47

BILBO IS PLAYING A SYMBOLIC ROLE

New York Times

To His Fellow-Mississippians He Stands for Resistance to Outside 'Interference'

Sun. 3-9-47

New York, N.Y.

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., March 8—Debt-free and author of a new book setting forth the creed of "white supremacy" so dear to his heart, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo is now resting at his "dream house" in Poplarville with assurances pouring in that his "popularity" in this State has increased immeasurably.

Senator Bilbo has served notice publicly that nothing will deter him from demanding his Senate seat "immediately" after surgeons have pronounced him "fit for duty." However, there seems little doubt that at least another three months must elapse before he receives a "medical mandate."

The attitude of Mississippians in general was well illustrated this week when the State Legislature, meeting in extraordinary session, received resolutions in both branches calling upon the United States Senate to seat Mr. Bilbo in recognition of the constitutional right of the Magnolia State to have national representation "of its own choosing."

New York Times

Resolution Approved

The House unanimously approved the resolution and it appeared certain that the Senate would concur. The author of the resolution expressed local sentiment when he said, "This petition merely asks the Senate to do what it should have done in the beginning. If they want to try Senator Bilbo they can still try him."

The question of the Senator's "popularity" is open to interpretation. The soundest view would appear to be that Mississippians feel their State has been unfairly rebuffed, if not actually insulted, by the Senate's refusal to seat Mr. Bilbo and that it all stems from the meddling of "radical influences" from the North that have no understanding of "Southern problems." Sun. 3-9-47

Thus, many of Bilbo's former enemies now concede that he could be re-elected at this time with many thousand more votes. His political precepts have gained no adherents but as a symbol of "State honor" he is a "popular" figure. In the people's eyes the martyrdom belongs to the State, but for purposes of expression, Senator Bilbo is the one in the jaws of the lion.

New York, N.Y.

Bilbo Draws His Pay and Loafs

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND By Drew Pearson

Washington.

SENATOR-ELECT THEODORE G. BILBO of Mississippi, now drawing his monthly salary of $1,250 while rendering no service to the nation, is sure to get an additional 30 days in which to recuperate—at the expense of the taxpayer, of course. Thurs. 2-6-47

On January 4 the Senate, by unanimous consent, laid Bilbo's contested credentials on the table for a period of 60 days.

This backstage arrangement had been worked out by Senate leaders after Bilbo told Dixie colleagues he was "flat broke and in desperate need of hospitalization." Both sides accepted the compromise in order to break a filibuster upon opening the 80th Congress.

Bilbo's 60 days "on the table" expires March 5 and he is slated to appear in the Senate March 6 to take his oath and seat, something G.O.P. leaders now find it expedient to postpone for at least another 30 days.

Senator Robert A. Taft, chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, has calculated that at just the time Bilbo is due to appear, the Senate will be debating major labor legislation which he very much wants the Senate to pass prior to March 31—the date on which John L. Lewis' strike "truce" expires. The last thing Taft wants at this time is a Bilbo filibuster.

Therefore, Senator Alben Barkley will ask and obtain unanimous consent to carry Bilbo on the pay roll for another 30 days on the ground that another month is necessary for Bilbo's recuperation. 2-6-47

Bilbo Will Undergo Series Of Operations, First One On Tongue

Montgomery Advertiser
5-2-47

NEW ORLEANS, MAY 1.—(AP)—Sen. Theo G. Bilbo, shown by a medical examination to be in "very good health," within a month will undergo the first of a series of operations to restore his mouth and chin to normal, his physicians said tonight.

Montgomery, Ala.

The Senator underwent examination at Ochsner Clinic today.

The first operation, his physicians said, would be performed on the tongue of "the man". Bilbo has encountered considerable difficulty in talking since the first of two operations to remove a mouth cancer.

This operation is to be followed by two or three others on the senator's jaw and chin. His chin was removed in a second cancer operation some months ago.

After examination here today, Bilbo returned to his Poplarville, Miss., home.

Reece Hits 'Bilboism' In the South

Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va.
Sun. 1-19-47

CHICAGO, Jan. 18—(AP)—B. Carroll Reece, Republican national chairman, asserted tonight that Republican victories last November would be "nullified" unless the party wins "the battle for the presidency in 1948."

Reece, in an address prepared for a meeting of Cook County (Chicago) party precinct workers, said "we must realize that the campaign of 1946 was only the first major battle in the war to restore and preserve the American system.

"We won a great victory but today we have control of only one of the three major branches of the Federal government. The opposition still has the executive branch—and appointees of the opposition constitute an overwhelming majority of the judicial branch."

He said that in the South the Democratic party "rules by a racial dictatorship, a dictatorship which may aptly be described as 'Bilboism'."

Reece asserted that Theodore Bilbo, Democratic Senator from Mississippi who was barred, at least temporarily, by the Republican majority in the Senate, from taking his seat, "in my opinion, never will be allowed to take that seat." 1-19-47

BILBO CONVALESCING

He Is Resting After Major Jaw Operation in New Orleans

N.Y., N.Y. Times

NEW ORLEANS, June 8 (U.P.)—Doctors revealed today that an operation performed on Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's jaw last week was of "major" nature and that the unseated Mississippi Senator faces at least three more months' convalescence. Mon. 6-9-47

Before entering Foundation Hospital here for the operation last Friday, Mr. Bilbo had said he expected to be ready for plastic surgery reconstruction operations within three or four weeks.

Doctors said the operation last week, which took three hours to complete, was the third for Mr. Bilbo since he came to New Orleans last February to receive treatment for a malignant growth in his mouth.

Give & Take

Time
Chicago, Ill

The gravy train made another Mississippi whistle stop. **Senator Theodore G.** ("The Man") **Bilbo** finally came across with the $100,000 church and parsonage he had been promising constituents ever since 1928. About 10,000 of them flivvered down to Juniper Grove to get in on the 3,000-lb. beef barbecue. The Man had offered to let the whole 80th Congress come along in a body, but everybody seemed to have previous engagements. The Rev. **Gerald L. K. Smith** showed up, though, to say that Bilbo was "the most persecuted man in the world." The Man himself wasn't talking: his mouth was still bandaged from a recent operation. But after the shindig the bandages parted and in popped a cigar. Mon. 3-10-47

Time Chicago, Ill.
Mon. 3-10-47

37a(3) 1947

Mississippi (Probe)

W. E. B. DuBois

Chicago Defender

Encouragement in Bilbo Case

THERE IS DISTINCT encouragement for the American Negro and American democracy in the Bilbo case. Whether he is eventually denied his seat in the United States Senate or not, these things are clear: first, the Republican party feels compelled to make bid for the Negro vote; secondly, the well-known denial of democracy in the southern South has been publicized to an unusual extent; third, it was made clear that the influence of money upon elections in the United States is widespread and effective and the Senate was careful not to have the matter explored very far.

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 2-1-47

37a(3)

The situation that now confronts us, is whether the bid of Republicans and Democrats for the Negro vote is high enough. What we ought to demand of either or both parties is the enforcement of democratic methods in the South. We ought to impress upon the people of the United States that this is not merely a Negro question: it is a question of effective democracy.

There can be no third party movement in the United States until the Southern oligarchy and rotten borough system is put out of business. I have been hammering at this truth since 1924 when I published a map and figures in the **Crisis** to show how the South was dominating the nation and making democratic methods impossible. It is exceedingly interesting to find in a recent editorial in the New York **Times**, the exact argument which I used 21 years ago, to show the present situation which has persisted for three quarters of a century.

Out of Power 16 Years

FOR 16 YEARS now the Republican party has been kept out of power because of the political domination which the disfranchisement of both white and black voters in the South has given to a handful of Southerners who have not only used the political power of the disfranchised but also influenced legislation through their chairmanships of the most important committees in Senate and House.

Sat. 2-1-47

Something ought to be done and done now. And yet no steps are apparently being taken. The reason is that, as Mr. Taft craftily indicated in his recent Southern trip, the financial investment of the North in the South gives the Republican party still the hope that this Southern political power can eventually come into their hands without facing the Negro problem. We should make it clear that this is not only impossible, but improbable; and that we know exactly what is taking place.

'Good for the Democrats'

The Winds Of Time

ON THE OTHER HAND, so far as the Democrats are concerned, Mr. Truman's message was good; but we know from bitter experience that Mr. Truman does not stand back of his own words and his own convictions. We must, therefore, work upon the liberal wing of the Democratic party and impress upon them the fact that the reactionary remnant of their party in the South has got to be displaced and they can eventually depend upon Negro votes to do this.

Anti-lynching and poll-tax legislation is important but we can expect little from them until our political power is increased; and on the other hand, beneath and beyond political power, is a chance to make a living; a chance to get an income which will make us independent of the coercion of monopoly.

Bilbo Rumored On Death Bed Interviewed By Negro Editor

The Montgomery Advertiser

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 16.—(U.P.) — Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D), Mississippi, his outspoken battle for white supremacy silenced by sickness, called a Negro newspaper editor to his bedside recently and told him that his battle with the black race was one of self-preservation, it was disclosed today.

Leon L. Lewis, managing editor of the "Negro South", got in to see the ailing senator when white reporters and editors who had clamored for weeks for interviews were turned down.

Bilbo, his sharp-edged temper softened by sickness, lies in Foundation Hospital, where doctors are trying to build up his strength to sustain another in a series of operations for cancer of the mouth.

Reports are rampant throughout the state where Bilbo rose to political fame that he is about to die from complications. The senator's private physician, Dr. Alton J. Ochsner, the noted cancer specialist, does not confirm the report.

Bilbo is "resting comfortably," he said, although he is slightly feverish, and has a slight case of neuritis, which has existed since he entered the hospital two weeks ago.

A "no visitors" sign is tacked to the door of Bilbo's room, but the Negro editor got in through special permission of doctors. Lewis said he and Bilbo had been friends for years.

Lewis came early to the point of his interview, asking the senator who had fought Negroes politically for decades:

"Do you believe Negroes should be allowed indiscriminate use of the ballot?" Sun-8-17-47

The reply came in a voice far removed from the rasping high-pitched tone that Bilbo used in his famous campaign of 1946 when he exhorted Mississippians to keep Negroes away from the polls if they had to employ force.

"Yes," Bilbo told Lewis, "I believe Negroes should have that right, and in Mississippi, too—when their main purpose is not to put me out of office and when they won't be influenced by those who try to besmirch the reputation of my state."

Bilbo has long accused "meddling Yankees" of pouring millions of dollars into Mississippi elections in an effort to defeat him.

Last year he told the voters to take the money and then "vote like hell for Bilbo."

The Negro's interview with Bilbo was published today.

He told Lewis the reason he fought Negroes politically is "for the same reason you would fight those who try to take your job. Self preservation is the first law of nature." Sun-8-17-47

But he denied that he hated Negroes or that he had interfered with their progress. He said he was their friend.

"I am honestly against the social intermingling of Negroes and whites," he said, "but I hold nothing against Negroes as a race. God made them as they are and they should be proud of that God-given heritage as I am proud of mine."

Mouth Cancer Plagues Bilbo, Doctor Reveals

Chicago Ill.

NEW ORLEANS—It was disclosed Saturday from Washington that the operation performed on Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi several months ago at Touro infirmary was for cancer of the mouth.

In view of the Washington revelation, Dr. Alton Ochsner, of the Oschner clinic divulged that he had examined Bilbo a week ago and advised him that he should immediately undergo another operation. Defender

It was announced at the time that the original operation in August was for "inflammation of the mouth."

These disclosures were made on Saturday soon after Bilbo said he was leaving "immediately" for New Orleans to enter Touro Infirmary for another operation.

A letter describing Bilbo's condition and written by Dr. George W. Calver, Washington physician, was read to the Senate late Saturday. It said: Sat.

"After the completion of his primary campaign, Senator Bilbo reported to my office with a badly ulcerated mouth. He was sent to the Medical Center for study and his condition was diagnosed as cancer. He was referred to Dr. Alton Oschner of New Orleans for consultation and indicated treatment. Dr. Oschner removed a mass of tissue from the Senator's mouth with the hope that all the cancerous growth had been destroyed.

"During his convalescence, the Senator developed an infection in the jawbone at the site of the operation. One small sliver of dead bone was removed. There is another large one still in the wound with an apparent extension of the infection. This dead bone should be removed immediately and other enlarged glands be investigated for an extension of the cancerous growth without delay.

"I consulted with Dr. Oschner by telephone this morning and he concurs in this recommendation and advises me that the convalescence from the operation will take approximately two months."

Dr. Oschner said Saturday he had not heard from Bilbo recently. He said that several days probably would be required to obtain hospital reservation for the stormy petrel of Mississippi. 1-18-47

Bilbo until recently had vehemently denied that he had cancer of the mouth, and that his speech impediment was caused by such trouble. He attempted to place the blame for the voice defect on a new set of false teeth.

Commend GOP's on Bilbo Stand

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON—(NNPA)—J. Finley Wilson, Elks grand ruler Monday, called the action of Republicans Senators in holding to their intention of stopping "the Man" Bilbo at the door "a prelude to the second Emancipation," which will come during GOP control of Congress.

As a result, Mr. Wilson predicted the Republicans will win the Presidential election in 1948 and finish the job Lincoln began 82 years ago." 1-18-47 Sat.

Elks in Affray

Charles P. Howard of Des Moines, assistant ruler of the Elks, with Mr. Wilson, was active in carrying on the Elks' fight to oust Bilbo.

He declared if Bilbo returns to renew his fight for a Senate seat "we will be standing at the door determined to see that he does not get in."

The Elks began the fight against Bilbo at their convention in August, passing a resolution presented by the civil liberties department to place its financial resources and grand lodge personnel behind the fight to oust the Mississippi bigot.

Begins New Fight To Gain Place By Political Trickery

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill
37a(3)
1-18-47

BULLETIN.

MERIDIAN, Miss.—A determined effort upon the part of Bilbo's followers to retain his demagogic influence in the United States Senate was disclosed here Monday when a petition was started urging that Bilbo's sister be appointed to the office of senator if he is definitely barred.

The sister, Mrs. Jessie Smith, of Poplarville, could not be reached for a statement. 1-18-47

The move is headed by K. C. Woods of this city. If Bilbo is not eventually seated the petition will be forwarded to Mississippi's governor, F. L. Wright, for his consideration before he decides upon a successor to temporarily fill the office. There is also a move on foot to have Governor Wright re-name Bilbo, so desperate is the Senator (?) to cling onto his job. Sat.

By VENICE SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—The people of the United States have for the time being been rescued from the menace of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat of Mississippi, temporarily denied the oath of office largely because of the split-second intervention of Sen. Glenn H. Taylor, fighting Democratic defender of democracy from Idaho.

Taylor, who last June initiated a one-man non-supported battle against Bilbo on the basis of his alleged intimidation of Negro voters in Mississippi, refused to stand by and let the Republicans steal his play for the sake of political gain. 1-18-47

Beats Ferguson To Draw

By swift parliamentary maneuvering, the singing cow-boy Senator literally swept the floor from under the feet of Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan, and introduced his own resolution to refuse "The Man" Bilbo his Senate seat.

At the suggestion of Senate Minority Leader, Alben Barkley, Democrat of Kentucky, the Senate agreed unanimously to leave Bilbo's credentials on the presiding officer's desk until later in the session, thereby freeing "The Man" to leave immediately for New Orleans, where he will undergo another operation for cancer of the mouth.

The move paved the way for completing the organization of the Eightieth Congress which had been delayed for 29 hours by an irreconciliable conflict of views on whether Bilbo should be permitted to take the oath of office.

Barkley Completes Defeat

Coming from the Democratic leadership of the Senate, Barkley's suggestion served official notice on the Bilbo forces that their cause was lost, and that they could not except full Democratic support, without which their fight was hopeless.

Defenders of the Mississippi race-baiter had earlier sensed the futility of trying to buck the overwhelming "oust Bilbo" tide which the Taylor resolution had set in motion. Moreover, they looked upon the Republican threat to change the Senate rules to allow the filibuster which they had precipitated to be ended by a mere majority vote rather than the presently required two-third to invoke cloture as more than an idle gesture. What is more, they knew that there were anti-Bilbo Democratic forces, and made the fight non-partisan as Taft had continuously said it should be, although there had been doubt expressed in wide quarters that Taft had ever intended the stab at an ouster proceedure to be more than a gesture aimed at getting the Negro vote in 1948. They argue that once the move to kick Bilbo out had been initiated, and the credit for the fight had been established on the side of the Republicans, that Taft had intended making a deal which would permit the GOP's to bow gracefully out of the picture, and shift the blame to the Democrats for Bilbo's retention.

37a(3)

These assertions have been based on two grounds, first—as long as Bilbo remains in the Senate, he could be constantly pointed out as representative of the Democratic party. Second — Taft's recent speech-making activities in the South have been interpreted as intended to bolster southern support for his 1948 presidential aspirations.

This turn in events in the Bilbo case, however, has left Taft red-faced, and probably spells finis to the cordial working relationship which he had enjoyed with his former southern reactionary colleagues.

He was forced to make an open break with the southerners to save his party's face.

Barkley's move to delay action on Senator-elect Bilbo's credentials was couched in a dramatic statement in which he said, "A man's life is more important than a seat in the United States Senate or any other body."

He told the Senate that it would probably be two months before Bilbo would be able to return to Congress on the basis of a diagnosis made by Dr. George Calver, official Congressional physician, which described Bilbo's illness as cancer of the mouth.

The diagnosis was made at the Bethesda Naval Hospital center, Barkley stated, where Bilbo had been referred to Dr. Alton Aschner of New Orleans for treatment. This treatment consisted of removal of part of the lower jaw after which an infection of the jawbone developed.

This infection has necessitated the return of Bilbo to New Orleans where he faces the removal of a large piece of jawbone, two glands, and possibly a malignant growth in one cheek. The operation will be performed as soon as possible at Touro Infirmary for which Bilbo left Washington by automobile on Saturday evening.

Took Life In Hands 1-18-47

Release of the news of the gravity of his condition showed that the determined pint-sized peddler of race hatred from Mississippi had taken his life literally in his hands for the past two months in a do-or-die effort to get himself entrenched in the Senate for another six-year term to continue his bigoted attacks on minorities and all legislation in which they have a vital stake. Sat.

Bilbo's case is on ice for the time being, but if he returns, he must still answer the charges which have been brought against him to enable the Senate to make a decision as to whether he shall be excluded or seated.

Predictions here are prevalent that Bilbo sees the handwriting on the wall, and holds little hope for recouping his Senate seat. Some go so far as to say, if he recovers from the grave operation on his mouth he will resign from the Senate when and if he is seated, as the strain will be too great on him physically, the general contention is that the Senate has had its last dose of Bilbo and there are reports that the Governor of Mississippi is already considering a likely replacement. On the other hand, if the Mississippian ventures a return, he will have to answer charges by the Senate War Investigating committee that he used his high office to assist war contractors in getting huge war construction contracts, from whom he accepted personal compensation gifts and services, in exchange. That he moreover, accepted substantial amounts of money for a personal charity administered solely by him. He is also charged with the violation of certain federal statutes which carry stiff penalties.

Report Without Advice

The report was approved by all of the Republican members and two Democrats, Chairman Harley Kilgore, West Virginia, and James Mead, New York. It was presented by the chairman of the Senate, without recommendation. A copy was sent to the Department of Justice. Although majority report of the Campaign Investigating committee, concurred in by Chairman Ellender, Senators Maybank, South Carolina, and Thomas, Oklahoma, all Democrats, claimed that no evidence had been produced to show that Bilbo engaged in intimidation of voters, the minority report submitted by Republican Senators Hickenlooper, Iowa, and Bridges, New Hampshire, let loose a scathing attack on Bilbo. Ill.

Bilbo Knew He Had Lost Fight but Needed Money — Pearson

Afro-American
1-25-47 Sat. Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Senator Theodore G. Bilbo knew that he had lost his fight for a Senate seat but pleaded for the 60-day "vacation-moratorium" so that he might draw enough money to pay for his operation, according to Drew Pearson, noted columnist.

Writing in his column, Washington Merry-Go-Rround, on Jan. 15, Mr. Pearson said that Bilbo himself confessed his defeat in a conversation with Senator Clyde Hoey of North Carolina. 1-25-47 Sat.

Would Have Had to Walk

Declaring that he was flat broke and did not have even fare back to Mississippi, Bilbo is quoted as having told Senator Hoey:

"Now, I have looked up the law, and if I step aside for two or three months, I can draw my pay and have enough to cover my hospital bills for a second operation on my mouth."

Although Senator Hoey himself doubted that pay would be forthcoming, Mr. Pearson said, he went to Democratic Leader Alben Barkley, who verified Bilbo's interpretation.

One Wanted Proof

The two Democrats then conferred with Republican Senators Robert Taft of Ohio, Wallace White of Maine and Eugene Milliken of Colorado. 1-25-47 Sat.

All but Mr. Millikin were for giving him the respite, said Mr. Pearson, and the Colorado Congressman agreed to "go along" after being assured that Dr. George W. Calver, Capitol physician, would verify the need of the operation.

Bilbo Takes It on the Jaw

Afro-Am. — Baltimore, Md.
37a(3)

Although it took a compromise to do it, Mississippi's Senator Theodore G. (KKK) Bilbo has so far been kept from his seat in the U. S. Senate.

While opposed to any form of compromise, particularly one which permits the hate-spewing Mississippian to continue to draw a salary for doing nothing, there are some of us who are willing, nevertheless, to concede that in Bilbo's case, the money is well-spent. Sat. 1-11-47

Confronted with a critical mouth operation for cancer —his second in less than six months—Bilbo faces heavy odds against returning to Washington. Even should he return, it is highly improbable that he can successfully overcome the mounting opposition to his being seated as a member of the 80th Congress.

Sat 1-11-47

With Republicans now in the saddle and with a considerable number of Democrats also in opposition, the fight against Bilbo has shifted from a fight against a lone member of the Senate to a fight against the violation of certain principles of morality and decency. In other words, it is the Senate, more than Bilbo, that is on trial.

Breaking of the two-day filibuster which momentarily delayed the seating of 35 other Senators was indicative of some smooth cloak room maneuvering and Democrats and Republicans alike can share in the acclaim for this strategy.

As far as Democrats are concerned, no strength will be lost by ousting Bilbo since his successor, of necessity, will also be a Democrat. But just as surgeons seek to cut out the cancerous growth from Bilbo's mouth, so did the majority of his Senate colleagues seek to cut from that body an ugly and malignant growth which was gradually sapping its usefulness and undermining its esteem in the public eye.

With Bilbo away for at least two months, the Senate can now join with the House in tackling the more important matters which affect the lives of all of us. Once they become accustomed to operating without Bilbo and find how smoothly things move along, they'll probably kick themselves for not having taken this step long ago.

37a(3) 1947

Mississippi (Probe)

Is Bilbo Actually Ousted?

37a(3)

Black Dispatch

Temporary denial of a seat in the Senate of the United States to Theodore G. Bilbo should not be the cause of immediate rejoicing. The Senate did not act on the serious charges brought against the Mississippian; it simply deferred action. What will actually happen when action is finally taken is a matter of much concern to this writer.

For instance, the Mississippian was granted his pay allowances, and we doubt seriously the legality of the payment of any salary funds of the U. S. to private citizens not in the employ of the government. In our judgment, Bilbo is by the payment of these funds recognized technically by the Senate as an inactive member, and we predict when "The Man" gets his mouth reamed out and returns to Washington from New Orleans this sort of approach will be made to the official membership standing of Bilbo. The Southerners may have already slipped a curve past the wiley Republicans, and if our suspicions are correct it may take a two-thirds majority to expel. Oklahoma City, Okla.

Then, too, Bilbo's warning brought support from unexpected quarters. Bilbo had announced that he was digging up evidence similar to what has been brought to life respecting him, on other senators who had been unusually active in handling war contracts and other questionable matters, and it will always be a question in the minds of voters in several states whether or not the support Senator Bilbo received in his temporarily frustrated attempt to be sworn in, was not acquired by fear of certain senators that Bilbo might expose them. A recess is always bad for any cause. It gives the opposition time to reorganize its forces. What sort of deals will the "afraid" enter into against the "unafraid" while Bilbo receives treatment for diarrhea of the mouth. Sat. 1-11-47

Despite the fact that Elmer Thomas, senior senator from Oklahoma ,has seen fit to line up in active support of Bilbo, Negroes over the United States should keep in mind that eleven honest and sincere believers in justice, fair play and decent government were found in the Democratic column when the roll call was made. Look at this list of Democrats who voted against Bilbo: Downey of California, Fulbright of Arkansas, Green of Rhode Island, Lucas of Illinois, McMahon of Connecticut, Murray of Montana, Myers of Pennsylvania, Pepper of Florida, Taylor of Idaho, Tydings of Maryland, and Wagner of New York.

Tydings, Pepper and Fulbright come from the Deep South, and it is both stimulating and inspiring to note this upward spiral of conscience down in Dixie. It is the finest barometer we have observed respecting the chanding political spirit below the Ohio river. The truth is, these Southerners ,down in a section where the black vote is negligible, are to be given far more credit for their stand than Senator Wagner of New York, and Myers of Pennsylvania, or Lucas of Illinois. There is a certain amount of defense technique in the position an officeholder takes in the North when an issue like the Bilbo matter arises. There are three-quarters of a million Negroes in New York and comparable numbers in Illinois and Pennsylvania. A U. S. senator has to be careful that he does not offend that many people up North, while down South, with its vicious one-party system and disfranchisement, such matters count for little.

Tydings, Pepper and Fulbright are creatures of politics, and it would be suicide for them to vote against Bilbo unless they knew in doing so they had the support of the majority of their constituency. A far more liberal sentiment exists in Oklahoma, and it is almost unbelievable when one observes Senator Thomas taking the lead in defense of Bilbo—Senator Thomas, who supported FEPC, anti-lynching legislation, and who for many moons has been recognized in Washington, by Negroes, as one of the most liberal senators coming from the South.

Well, there's nothing in the drug store than can get Senator Thomas well now. He ought to know that in addition to Negroes there are thousands of whites who realize Senator Bilbo is a stench in the nostrils of America. When the time came to fight for decent government in Washington last week Senator Thomas was found supporting indecent government. When he joined the filibuster, dissipating the time of the Senate discussing marriage and divorce and introducing former Senators Thomas Gore and Josh Lee, he stepped instantly from the ranks of liberals into the gutter of reaction and shame. Perhaps he has an answer for those who look with questioning glances and astonishment in his direction, but Elmer Thomas has cut his bridges behind him when he connives with and supports the program of Bilbo and the late Eugene Talmadge.

One could think slightly different regarding Senator Thomas if he had not been a member of the committee that investigated the conduct of Senator Bilbo during the recent primary. The supposition would be that the senior Oklahoma law-maker did not have all of the facts, if he had not sat in Jackson and heard every word of the testimony presented there, and after hearing testimony that showed there are a million Negroes in Mississippi, and that of this number 66,972 are returned veterans, and that following threats, intimidation and clubbings, as a result of Senator Bilbo's vitrolic campaign speeches, not more than 3,000 of these black citizens voted, the senior senator from Oklahoma announced that conditions were no different in Mississippi than they once were in Oklahoma, and that he is for Bilbo.

We think the senior senator from Oklahoma owes his native state an apology. Oklahoma has never been the savage state Mississippi is today, and we do not believe the men who across the years have held office in the Sooner State have ever wallowed in the squalor of venality and shame as exposed in the Jackson and Washington hearings.

The testimony showed that Mississippi Negroes were required to meet qualifications not demanded of white voters. Senator Thomas heard the clerk of Adams county, at Natchez (Clifford R. Field) give the following testimony:

Sat. 1-11-47

> "The only other thing I did was to ask them (Negroes) to read the section of the constitution of Mississippi where it explains the election of the governor of the state of Mississippi. I did not require that of the whites, but I did require it of the colored . . . I had no other reason than that they were colored . . . As I said a little while ago to this gentleman (meaning the chairman) we want the primaries white, and anything that will make it a little bit harder for the colored man to become a voter, that is the way I look at it."

37a(3)

And the senior senator listened to testimony of more than 100 Negro witnesses who told how it was made "a little harder" for blacks to vote down in Mississippi during the recent primary. Witnesses told of warnings at night, as prescribed the best method by Bilbo in his speeches; of clubbings, of the placement of Negro ballots in separate envelopes instead of the legal ballot box, of the advocacy of violence and defiance of the United States Supreme Court by Senator Bilbo. Senator Thomas heard all of this, and yet decided he would support fascism and tyranny as exposed down in Mississippi.

Senator Thomas heard all about the "old southern custom" wherein the successful candidate bribes the defeated through the liquidation of the disappointed one's "operating deficits. He heard and saw Ross Collins in beliggerent action when a witness was testifying about the more than $25,000 given to Bilbo by war contractors, and while in a certain sense we can understand why many white Southerners sometimes look lightly upon the disfranchisement of Negroes, we cannot find justification or reason for Senator Thomas' support of Bilbo, following disclosure of his shady dealings with war contractors, and the funds which Bilbo alleges he solicited for the Juniper Grove Baptist church. This is, in the judgment of the Black Dispatch, the most reprehensible act of Bilbo—his attempt to hide behind the altar of God with his ill-gotten gains.

The fight is in no wise over. There should be no rejoicing yet. The position in which Bilbo now stands may yet land him in the Senate. His credentials have been received. He's on the pay roll, and he left for New Orleans with the understanding that he still had the right to fight

to be sworn in. Sat. 1-11-47

One senator opened the Bilbo fight shouting about state rights. This publication is pleased that he put the shameful affair on this basis. He could have also said he was fighting for one-party government, which after all, is fascism. This Bilbo investigation, whether the Mississippian is seated or unseated, is constructive in that it lifts the lid so that all American citizens may take a peek at the corruption and all of the degradation and shame that stems from und[illegible]tic practices in the South.

A Shoddy Invocation of States' Rights

If the Southerners who are trying to seat Bilbo in the United States Senate would say some convincing and unambiguous words in denunciation of that malodorous pal of war contractors and Ku-Kluxers, their legal arguments would be more graciously received. The trouble is that Senators Ellender and Overton, of Louisiana, Maybank, of South Carolina, and their fellow-defenders of the statesman from Mississippi have, as far as we can learn, let fall no single word in criticism of "The Man." They confine themselves to arguments about States' rights, arguments which have intrinsic merit, but which, when uttered without one syllable of criticism of Bilbo, naturally are interpreted as meaning that they think Bilbo's course has been a proper one. Richmond Times-Dispatch

It is unfortunately true that the Senate is not believed by experienced constitutional lawyers to have the right to bar Bilbo, or anybody else who has been duly elected, on grounds of moral turpitude. Dealings with war contractors come under the heading of matters which must be considered by the Senate after a Senator takes his seat, and the prevailing view is that the Senate doesn't have the right to prevent a Senator from being seated, unless there has been irregularity in his election. The majority of the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee held that no such irregularity or fraud had occurred when BILBO was chosen, and recommended seating him. Hence the difficulty of banning him on such grounds, despite his open threats during the campaign to prevent Negroes from voting. On the other hand, six of the nine members of the Senate War Investigating Committee which looked into BILBO's financial dealings with war contractors issued a report asserting that he had used his office improperly for personal gain.

Richmond, Va.

The Southerners who are using all possible expedients to seat BILBO, professedly because of State's rights, would be much more convincing, as we say, if they would express grave doubts as to this man's moral fitness to be in the Senate, and would pledge their best efforts to get him out, after he is seated. But they seem to be bound together in a solid phalanx, grimly determined to stop the machinery of government, unless they are given their way.

Sun. 1-5-47

There has seldom been a shoddier invocation of the cause of State's rights, or a more transparent effort to seat one of the most despicable men the South has ever sent to the Senate. When Southerners defend their Senators who behave in this fashion, it is easy to see why the rest of the country views certain aspects of Southern civilization with contempt and disgust. Sun. 1-5-47

MR. BILBO'S "JAW"

Montgomery Advertiser

Press stories keep us informed on the progress of Senator Bilbo's convalescence. At the moment he is undergoing another operation to restore his jaw. This time a chip off his hipbone is being "grafted" onto the damaged jawbone.

After this operation, the Senator vows, he'll "eat three huge steaks every day, demand his Senate seat, and talk more than ever." Montgomery, Ala.

But Mr. Bilbo seems in no special hurry to "demand" his Senate seat. Congress will have adjourned by the time the defective jaw is strong enough to masticate the steaks the Senator has promised himself, and he will wait until "sometime in the fall" before he goes back to Washington. Meantime he draws full salary plus all allowances of a United States Senator.

Which prompts the question. When is a Senator not a Senator? Mr. Bilbo has not taken the oath of a Senator, yet he draws all the salary and other extras just as though he were fully qualified. It would seem that the simple fact of election to office does not make one an official until other qualifications are met. By this reasoning, then, Mr. Bilbo is not a member of the Senate and therefore not entitled to a Senator's salary. Mon. 6-9-47

Essentially the question is: Do the terms of Congressmen, Senators, Presidents, or others elected to public office begin with the official vote-count, or do they begin with the oath of office? If terms begin with inauguration or with the oath of office, then who is accountable for the thousands of dollars of public money which Theodore G. Bilbo is receiving in salary and expense money?

Lest We Forget

BY FRANK L. WILLIAMS

St. Louis, Mo. Argus

37a(3)

KEEP MR. BILBO OUT OF THE SENATE

News items seem to be leaking out of the cloak rooms and the Senate Office building to the effect that southern members of Congress are planning a strategy whereby they may land Theodore Bilbo into a seat in the Senate, during the closing days of this session of Congress. Fri. 7-4-47

Full sympathy goes to Mr Bilbo on account of his physical affliction. He is waging a bitter war against one of mankind's bitterest enemies. But this, to be sure, has nothing to do with his place in Mississippi and in this nation. Moreover, he has not been wanting in helpful opportunities and the award of great honors. The path he has chosen might easily have been abandoned for one easily accessible. Greed and ambition blinded him to a safer and better way. His state needed a leader: he lost his opportunity to furnish that leadership. His state honored him with a membership in the Senate of the United States. His conduct has been such as to cause some of his fellow members to regard him as unfit for membership in that distinguished legislative assembly. Either Mr. Bilbo does not understand his obligations as a Senator of the United States and the oath he took to guarantee the performance of these obligations, or all the nobler instincts of his nature have been consumed by the unbridled passions of his lower self.

Judged by either one of these alternatives, Mr. Bilbo should be denied a seat in the Senate of the United States, as a member of that body selected by the State of Mississippi. Fri. 7-4-47

The Senate of the United States is the judge of the qualifications of its members. The Senate cannot be blamed for rejecting a person for membership whose conduct and character render him unworthy to assume such a membership.

The State of Mississippi must realize that its representative must possess the qualifications not only satisfactory to itself but such qualifications as will satisfy the members of the Senate. The gentleman is both a Senator of the United States and a Senator from Mississippi. These two aspects of official life do not conflict with each other. They supplement each other.

The rejection of an unworthy individual who has been selected to serve as his state's representative in the United States Senate makes for good government in the state and good government in the nation. The quality of a citizen's character is an essential part of his qualification for citizenship. When a state is fully aware that only those who can give a good account of their stewardship will be accepted, only worthy and distinguished persons will be selected. Unworthy citizens knowing that they will not be seated are not likely to impose themselves upon their fellow-citizens. This practice guards the welfare of the state and the federal government in that it makes secure the wise selection in the states of those who are to serve the federal government.

No part of the country is perfect. Neither in the practice of a democratic form of government nor in the practice of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth, has our nation attained a full measure of achievement. But the people in the eastern, northern and western sections of country far out-distance the people of southern sections in the practice of the democratic and Christian life. To be sure there are individuals in all sections who live on the highest levels of civilization, but the South shows fewer than any other section of the nation. Controls of government and religion are less in evidence than in other sections of the nation. The 'torch of intelligence' burns less brightly there. Tidal waves of emotions overwhelm common sense and a practical judgment. The common dignity of our human nature has never had a place in the minds of many people. Justice and equality of opportunity have no place in the social ideas prevailing in this section. Fri. 7-4-47

Senator Bilbo presenting this certificate of election to the Senate at the opening of the 80th Congress, was denied a seat, because, after an investigation of his conduct in a primary and general election; and an investigation of his relation to managers of defense plants, he was deemed unworthy, and having violated his oath of office. These two committees have not made their reports public, and it is not generally known what they will reveal. But a sufficient number of facts came to light in the investigations at Jackson, Mississippi and in Washington to cause Bilbo's friends to avoid a public hearing, and to have the committee to report at a "more convenient season."

No individual is a citizen of the United States who is unwilling to support the Constitution and other laws of the land. Mr. Bilbo studiously seeks to disregard these laws. He is anxiously striving to abolish Negro citizenship of the nation. He would deprive him of all his rights and privileges. He would eliminate the Negro from citizenship of the nation.

Bilbos Condition Is Still Unchanged

Thurs. 8-21-47

37a(3)

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 20.—(AP)—The condition of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi was reported today as generally unchanged at Foundation Hospital here. The Mont. Advertiser

After a minor operation Monday, in which a vein was tied off to remove a blood clot on the lung, the patient has settled down into routine, the hospital reported late today. Thurs. 8-21

Bilbo is talkative, resting well and taking nourishment, and "things seem to be going along nicely," hospital officials said.

His condition was described today as "continuing good," but he is still listed as "seriously ill." This means, it was explained, that the patient is not considered at the convalescent stage.

Bilbo, who was elected to a third term in the United States Senate last year, returned to Foundation Hospital on Aug. 2 for tests preparatory to an operation for restoration of his chin bone.

The bone was taken out in one of a series of operations for removal of a cancerous growth. When Bilbo arrived he was suffering with a fever and a nerve inflammation which was reported to have caused a partial paralysis.

Bilbo still has to go to Washington to claim his Senate seat, which is under challenge on the grounds that Negroes were intimidated from voting in the Democratic Primary; and that he accepted favors from war contractors.

37a(3) 1947 Mississippi (Probe)

Republicans Stop Bilbo At Door Of Senate

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 1-11-47

(From The Lighthouse And Informer)

The fiery United States Senator Theodore G. Bilbo who has represented the commonwealth of Mississippi in the Senate for twelve years, and who strutted across the State of Mississippi issuing pure poison to Negroes, in that, he used every form of intimidation to prevent them from exercing their Constitutional rights to vote, was stopped at the door of the U. S. Senate, when he presented himself to be sworn in by a Republican controlled Senate. 37a(3)

The customary tactics that have been employed by Southern lawmakers for many years to put across their program in the Senate, the filibuster, was quickly organized by a group of Southerners who were interested in having the Senate give to Senator Bilbo his seat in that august body.. But when those who made the boast they would talk until the cows come home or until the Republicans come to their senses and permit the Senator to be seated, realized they were up against a determined group of Senators, they gave up.

Senator Barkley of Kentucky made the dramatic announcement that Senator Bilbo was a sick man and would be compelled to undergo another operation for cancer of the mouth, which would cause him to be away from Washington at least sixty days, and suggested that the Bilbo case be tabled without prejudice, and that other Senators who had not taken the oath of office be given it. That suggestion was quickly agreed to by the Republican majority and the Senator from Mississippi packed his grip and left the nation's capital where he had reigned as 'king' for a number of years, for his home in Mississippi.

Evidently the Senator or his supporters saw the handwriting on the wall and were able probably through the assistance of others to properly interpret the writing. The writing properly interpreted means an end of the acrobatic tactics of the firey Senator from Mississippi in the nation's capital. Should he return and ask for his seat, he will be confronted with a solid Republican majority in the Senate and probably some Democrats, which certainly means he cannot pass an aggregation like that. Daily World

The United States Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Bilbo, if the reports are true, has for a number of years run rough shod over helpless and defenseless Negroes in Mississippi, but he finally met his Waterloo at the door of the Senate. Sat. 1-11-47 Atlanta, Ga.

Ingratitude is a basic sin and we are taught by the Holy Writ that the soul that sinneth shall die.

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT BELIEVES BILBO "UNFIT"

World Memphis, Tenn.

Fri. 1-3-47

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, in "My Day," her syndicated column, last Saturday, [illegible] her belief that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo "is unfit for service in a great legislative body in a great democratic country. 37a(3)

Commenting on news reports that the two Democratic members of the Senate campaign investigating subcommittee which held hearings in Jackson, Mississippi, on charges that Bilbo had intimidated and prevented colored people from voting in the Mississippi Democratic primary of July 2 would make a favorable report exonerating Bilbo, while the two Republican members may sign a strong minority report against him, Mrs. Roosevelt said:

"I have no personal feeling against Senator Bilbo as an individual, but I have a great feeling that as a public servant he does little to add luster to the dignity and weight of the Senate as a great nation's top legislative body. I do not know whether technically he has done anything actually wrong, and I know very often that public men may be accused of wrongdoing in which they have had no hand. Their friends are often their worst enemies.

CONSIDERS SAYINGS

"Therefore, in weighing Senator Bilbo as a public servant (and I am totally uninterested in him as a private citizen), I think one must take into account only what he himself has said.

"There is one great question today that great nations like ourselves, made up largely of minority groups, must face. New standards have come to be accepted by great numbers of people throughout the world who believe that democracy cannot really exist unless all people, regardless of race or religion, are accepted as equal citizens and are assured of the rights inherent in their citizenship. Senator Bilbo, himself, has stated his lack of belief that these human and legal rights can be applied to all citizens equally. In doing so he marked himself, I believe, as unfit for service in a great legislative body in a great democratic country.

"Of the other things, I am no judge. I would have had to hear the witnesses and I would have had to talk to the man, not the senator. So there one must rely, as a citizen, entirely on the reports of the investigating body.

"In this other matter, however, as a citizen, each one of us has a right to make up his mind, since to say what we feel is essential to the progress of democracy. It well may be said that a Senator from Mississippi is elected by his own people and in that state it is still a very small portion of his own people who elect him. But even though he is elected by that group of American citizens, he represents before the world an opinion that he expresses in a great legislative body that represents the opinion of the whole United States. World

JEALOUS OF STANDING

"I am extremely jealous of our standing in the world. I have great faith in democracy when the majority rule really operates. I believe in the slcw process of democracy and in the fact that people may make mistakes and work through to proper solutions in the long run, given the time to do it. Memphis, Tenn.

"Just at present, however, our time is short and we who believe that democracy is the form of government and the way of life that will give the greatest number of people the greatest opportunity to be free from fear and want and to build peace in the world, must try to see that those who represent not one state, as they may think, but the nation as a whole truly represent what we think is essential to future peace and world fellowship." Fri. 1-3-47

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

The Outlook Is Not Comfortable

No more unsound reason could have been advanced in support of Theodore Bilbo than that of State's rights.

To say that it is only the business of the States themselves whom, and what kind of men, they send to the Senate of the United States is an argument that won't stand up. Tues. 1-7-47

After World War I the late Sen. Lodge, of Massachusetts, took the lead in organizing a Senate bloc against the League of Nations.

That action reached all the way into this generation. Had he not done so there might not have been World War II. Your son or husband would not have been called to war. Thousands would not have died.

Sen. Lodge was of very real meaning to the peoples of all the States. He is but one example of many. The Senators are constantly pushing national legislation which, though it may be applied regionally, affects us all. A bill regulating grazing and water rights in Wyoming, affects the price of meat in Ypsilanti and Atlanta.

Bilbo had insulted the whole nation. His shocking lack of good taste and manners were but two of the Bilbo products for which the whole country suffered. Morality and common decency have won a victory and those who defended Bilbo will, one may be sure, regret it. Certainly it was not a State's right matter. If he later is tried and dismissed from the Senate, as he should be, and Mississippi sends him back again, the Senate certainly can again refuse him his seat.

The South and Southerners generally make a grievous error when they defend evil and corruption merely because it bears a Southern label. And the fact there probably are others as guilty as Bilbo does not at all lessen the guilt of Bilbo.

Issues The South is not going to find this Republican Congress a comfortable one. There already is being planned, should Mississippi return Bilbo, a congressional action which will be severe and which will cause great bitterness in the South.

In fact, it may be brought to the floor without Bilbo. South Carolina's action in repealing all her election laws and Georgia's plan to do the same, may touch off this action. Certainly it will come before the 1948 elections. Georgia's planners would do well to think hard. The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

The radical Republicans point out, in the Bilbo case, that never have more than 18 percent of Mississippians of voting age participated in any election that named Bilbo to office. They plan to bring to the floor a demand that the Fourteenth Amendment provisions be enforced. This amendment requires that if any State shall deny qualified Negroes the right to vote, it shall have its representation in Congress reduced in proportion to the number suffering discrimination. Tues. 1-7-47

There is almost certain to be a Federal anti-lynching law with teeth in it for sheriffs and other peace officers who do not enforce the law. I long have opposed such legislation, and still do, but no Georgian can stand and argue against it with much force when we recall the four lynch-murders in Walton County and the subsequent chapter. The argument against Federal anti-lynch law has been advanced on the ground that it is a matter for State law enforcement and for education and the arousement of public opinion against it.

• • But, in our own case, public opinion has not assisted

Opinion

and local law enforcement has proved impotent and, in a sense, somewhat disinterested. The Constitution

So, we are pretty sure to have a tough Federal law simply because we haven't made good our own arguments.

Whether we have the highly controversial FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) depends largely on which faction of the Republican Party gets the nomination in 1948. The South opposes this act most furiously. It is not a sound bill. It is largely political. It will become a political club and it will create as many abuses as it corrects. Atlanta, Ga.

But, the honest Southerner will have to admit that failure to allow the skilled Negro to work, even in segregated areas, gives proponents of the bill a whip hand. Tues. 1-7-47

All this is not comfortable, but no amount of saying, "Let us alone," is going to change it. And no complaints about outside interference will change it. It is not pleasant to contemplate and it is all the more uncomfortable because we know that some of it comes because of our own failures and that we have, in a sense, failed ourselves and our region. That we still haven't learned that justice and fair play are the best policies, just as the old Blue Back Spelling Book said, is obvious from the Southern defense of Bilbo and his works.

In Defense of Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

37a(3) miss. (Bilbo)

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

Congressional Record

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington, D.C.

Monday, February 17, 1947

Mon 2-17-47

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Summit Sun, Mrs. Mary Cain, editor and publisher, Summit, Miss., date of February 13, 1947: 2-17-47

IN DEFENSE OF MISSISSIPPI

Under the above caption, brilliant Clayton Rand, of Gulfport, writes:

"Not since the War Between the States and Reconstruction has the fair name of Mississippi been so besmirched and maligned. Libeling Mississippi has become the favorite pastime of radio broadcasters and news commentators, from Washington to Moscow. To millions of people Mississippi is a State populated only by bigots and yokels. Capitalizing on the Bilbo fiasco we are publicized by greasy-tongued scandalmongers to gratify the greed of the perverted and prejudiced. Unfortunately, we are on the defensive.

"Neither in the light of history nor in the living present is Mississippi a prostitute in the sisterhood of States, to be slurred and insulted by publicity pimps and political nincompoops.

"We may hold no brief for Bilbo, but we can speak for Mississippi. As States go, she is not rich, but we are not ashamed of our poverty. Primarily rural, her people have fought against overwhelming odds to enrich the Nation's economy. Starting almost from scratch, no State is making more rapid progress in industrial development.

"With the highest birth rate in the Union, Mississippi leads in the production of men and women, many of whom have gone forth to all the States to help build the fortunes of the whole country. Mon 2-17-47

"Mississippi is no benighted part of a proud Republic. Ours is a singular achievement. Otherwise, how could we be, as the super-critics say, a State populated by illiterate peckerwoods, and then lead the other States in the production of literature?

"Never in the history of Mississippi have her people tried to dictate the internal affairs of other States. Yet for more than a hundred years now we have been relentlessly pestered by snoopies telling us what we ought to do in Mississippi. We do not like some of the things they do, some of the candidates they elect; but that is their business, and why in hell don't they leave us alone? The most interesting thing about America is that all Americans are not alike. We Mississippians may be a little peculiar, for we prefer to be individualistic and independent. Mon. 2-17-47

"If Mississippians enjoy paying a poll tax, is it not their own business as much as it is the right of Minnesotans to penalize the sale of oleomargarine, or Nevadians to provide reliefs from matrimony with easy divorce laws, or citizens of other States under community property laws to cheat the Federal Government out of income taxes by permitting a husband to split his earnings with his spouse? Massachusetts has a law forbidding a man to kiss his wife on the Sabbath.

"Is there any more reason why we should compel each State to conform to the same federalized pattern than to enforce our citizens into uniformity by requiring them to stereotype their thoughts and acts or to eat spinach? Shall we substitute for the regimentation of the individual under alphabetical agencies the regimentation of the States under the GOP?

"Is it not as silly to extinguish the peculiar characteristics and customs of the State as it is to destroy the personality of the individual? Under our singular form of government, is not the sovereignty of the State as essential to the preservation of the Republic as the freedom of the individual citizen?

"Haven't we had enough of these butt-headed buttinskies who would change us? Shall we not declare open season against all meddlers into the internal affairs of Mississippi? Fighting is a tradition with us, proven on countless battlefields and at as many forums. Congressional Record

"Mississippi is the mother of soldiers and statesmen. But we are a State of pikers if we refuse much longer to meet what has become a challenge to our pride and patriotism.

"Mississippi needs a statesman in the United States Senate, a fearless advocate, fully qualified and equipped to meet all comers in a match of wits and words. But more than that, we need a quickened conscience among our people, expressing itself in bold print and courageous speech. Mississippi cannot take the slander of loose tongues much longer and retain her self-respect. Don't you think we have been kicked around enough?" Washington, D.C.

To which every Mississippian worthy of the name will add a hearty "Amen!" but editor Ned Lee goes further. "Wit and words," thinks editor Lee, "are not enough." A real fight to the finish is what we must have. And he proposed to begin that fight from his paper such mud-slingers at Mississippi as Walter Winchell, whose column he has carried for many years. And he added, "In connection, we heard a local lady say that never in all the rest of her days will she use again a certain hand lotion long associated with the name of this South-hating and South-insulting, reckless, unthinking, and ignorant columnist-radio commentator." Mon 2-17-47

The lady is doubtless right. As long as we take the comments of men like Winchell and continue to buy the products they sponsor, those sponsors will continue to let them go on spreading poison. But if sales slumped, the sponsor would soon cause Mr. Winchell and his ilk to pull in their fangs.

We're not possessed of a vindictive spirit but we are inclined to agree with Editor Lee that the fight must be carried on in every Mississippi home. If we analyzed the South haters and refused the products they boost, we might hear a different story from them.

Moreover, it's high time some of us went into other States and told of some of the horrible things we could find there. For instance, New York slums could be described in the minutest detail, and we could keep harping on it until every State in the Union was conscious of the filth and insanitary condition of the average New York slum district. Every State in the Union has its weak points. We are not alone. The trouble with us is that we're too busy trying to clean up our own yard to tend to those of our sister States—but they're never too busy to pop over and tell us how to manage ours. 2-17

Bilbo's Drumhead Trial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

37a(3) miss. (Bilbo)

HON. CLYDE R. HOEY

Congressional Record

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Washington, D.C.

Friday, January 10, 1947

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix to the RECORD a very well-considered editorial entitled "Bilbo's Drumhead Trial," from the Boston Herald, together with an article by Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School, in which he gives a clear discussion of the constitutional question involved. Certainly, neither the Boston Herald nor Mr. Chafee can be charged with southern prejudice. Fri. 1-10-47

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Herald of January 6, 1947]

BILBO'S DRUMHEAD TRIAL

You can hate "The Man" with all the righteous hatred of demagogy, bigotry, and cheap ignorance, but you cannot summarily deprive him of his rights without also doing grave violence to the very decencies he has himself attempted to tear down. The Senate's exhibition over THEODORE G. BILBO does no credit to it, nor does it promote the principle of government by laws and not by men.

Prof. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School, in a thoughtful letter in the Mail Bag, deplores the move to refuse BILBO a seat as a dangerous practice against which Senator Hoar once warned. The more emotional haters of BILBO will regard this as legalistic hair-splitting, and much too good for the Mississippian. But in the careful observance of our democratic guarantees for even the most unworthy lies the freedom of all of us.

The Senate undertook its action Friday on the basis of the reports of two committees—Campaign Expenditures and War Investigating. The first concerned his intimidation of Negro voters and the other his use of his high office "for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors." Under the Constitutional provision that the Senate "shall be the judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own Members," the intimidation charge, if formally confirmed, could be a basis for the exclusion of BILBO on a mere majority vote. But on this matter the majority report of the committee found no basis for the charges. Only the minority held him guilty.

This was, of course, a whitewash by Chairman ELLENDER, of Louisiana, one of the pro-Bilbo leaders. The Senate would most certainly reverse it in any formal consideration. But there had been none, and the BILBO exclusion move came on a committee election report finding him guiltless. Fri. 1-10-47

As for the bribery findings, these do not concern "election returns and qualifications" under the clear meaning of the Constitution. They are properly matters for expulsion by a two-thirds vote after a free opportunity for debate, not for peremptory exclusion at the door on a majority vote.

Congressional Record

This does not mean that the filibustering Southerners were exactly on the side of the angels. In their battle to get 1 Senator seated they prevented 35 other Senators from being sworn in, not to mention tying up Congress and presenting a sorry picture of democracy in action to the rest of the world.

The departure of BILBO to the hospital has temporarily suspended the issue. He is technically neither excluded nor admitted. But in effect he has been deprived for the time being of his seat, by a process of summary justice that is, as Professor Chafee says, unpleasantly like lynch law, and Mississippi has lost half of its senatorial representation.

Attempts by the North at compulsory reformation of the South are likely to have the reverse effect. BILBO was the worst possible symbol of State's rights for his fellow Southerners to champion, but most of them rallied to his side. This revival of the Civil War might have been avoided by a more considered attack. Washington, D.C.

THE MAIL BAG

A PLEA AGAINST LYNCHING BILBO

To the EDITOR OF THE HERALD:

Little as I like Mr. BILBO, of Mississippi, I believe that the Senate Republicans are doing him a grave injustice in trying to stop him at the door. Assume that the charges against him, if properly proved, are a sufficient ground for disqualifying him by a majority vote—this is certain as to the charges of intimidating Negroes, although there is considerable doubt whether the better-supported charge of receiving money from war contractors does not have to be established by the two-thirds vote required by the Constitution for expulsion (art. I, sec. 5). My only point now is that the effort to disqualify BILBO before he takes the oath violates well-considered precedents of the Senate.

When the eligibility of Senator Smoot, of Utah, was contested on March 5, 1903, on a charge of polygamy, Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, said:

"The orderly and constitutional method of procedure in regard to administering the oath to newly elected Senators [is] that when any gentleman * * * presents * * * a certificate of his due election from the executive of his State"—which BILBO has done—"he is entitled to be sworn in, and all questions relating to his qualification shall be postponed and acted upon by the Senate afterward. * * * [Otherwise] a third of the Senate might be kept out of their seats for an indefinite time on the presenting of objection, without responsibility. * * * [Consequently] a change in the political power of this Government which the people desired to accomplish would be indefinitely postponed."

No Senator questioned this statement. The same day Mr. Smoot took the oath of office. The committee investigating his election reported in June 1906 that Smoot was not entitled to a seat, but this report was rejected by the Senate on February 20, 1907. During the intervening 4 years, Smoot voted with the other Senators, except that he did not vote on questions concerning his own eligibility. Webb and Pierce, "Senate election case" (1913), at pp. 929, 930; see also 1227. Washington, D.C.

Senator TAFT claim that there are precedents the other way, but they are not supported by thoughtful reasons like Senator Hoar's. The Smoot case has governed most subsequent cases of contested Senators, including the famous case of Newberry, who was elected from Michigan in 1918.

The present disregard of this practice of letting the contested Senator take his seat provisionally comes with very bad grace from the Republican Party, which took full advantage of it in the case of Newberry, a Republican. He was allowed to sit, although his election was immediately contested by Henry Ford (the opposing Democratic candidate); Newberry's vote for the Republicans helped greatly in keeping the United States out of the League of Nations; subsequently, after several years of usefulness to the Republicans in a closely divided Senate, he was disqualified for enormous expenditures in the primary. Fri 1-10-47

The Massachusetts legislative practice conforms to Senate practice in the cases of Smoot, Newberry, and others. Cushing, "Reports on Contested Elections to Massachusetts House" (1853), pp. 474, 153 note; compare p. 439. The strongest precedent known to me for the present contrary position of the Republican Senators was furnished by Rhode Island Democrats. On January 1, 1935, they barred two duly certified Republican State Senators at the door (like BILBO), thus getting a bare Democratic majority of the Senate, which was immediately used to throw almost everybody in reach out of office, including the whole Supreme Court of Rhode Island. This striking illustration of the validity of Senator Hoar's reasoning against "stopping at the door" is hardly a precedent for Senator TAFT to cite with enthusiasm.

A decision on BILBO need not be delayed for years, like the decisions about Smoot and Newberry. After BILBO has been allowed to take the oath and has been provisionally stated in accordance with the well-considered practice of the Senate, there is no reason why the question of unseating him should not be brought before the Senate as soon as the orderly conduct of business permits and the disposition of more pressing matters, such as legislation on portal-to-portal claims. Whatever charges are now prematurely urged to bar BILBO at the door will be just as persuasive to bar him later, after he has had the usual trial before the Senate.

The Bilbo case touches a sensitive spot in several States in the South, and it is very important that it should be handled with scrupulous respect for established precedents. Every effort should be made not to offer BILBO's supporters any excuse for hailing him as a martyr to injustice. Congressional Record

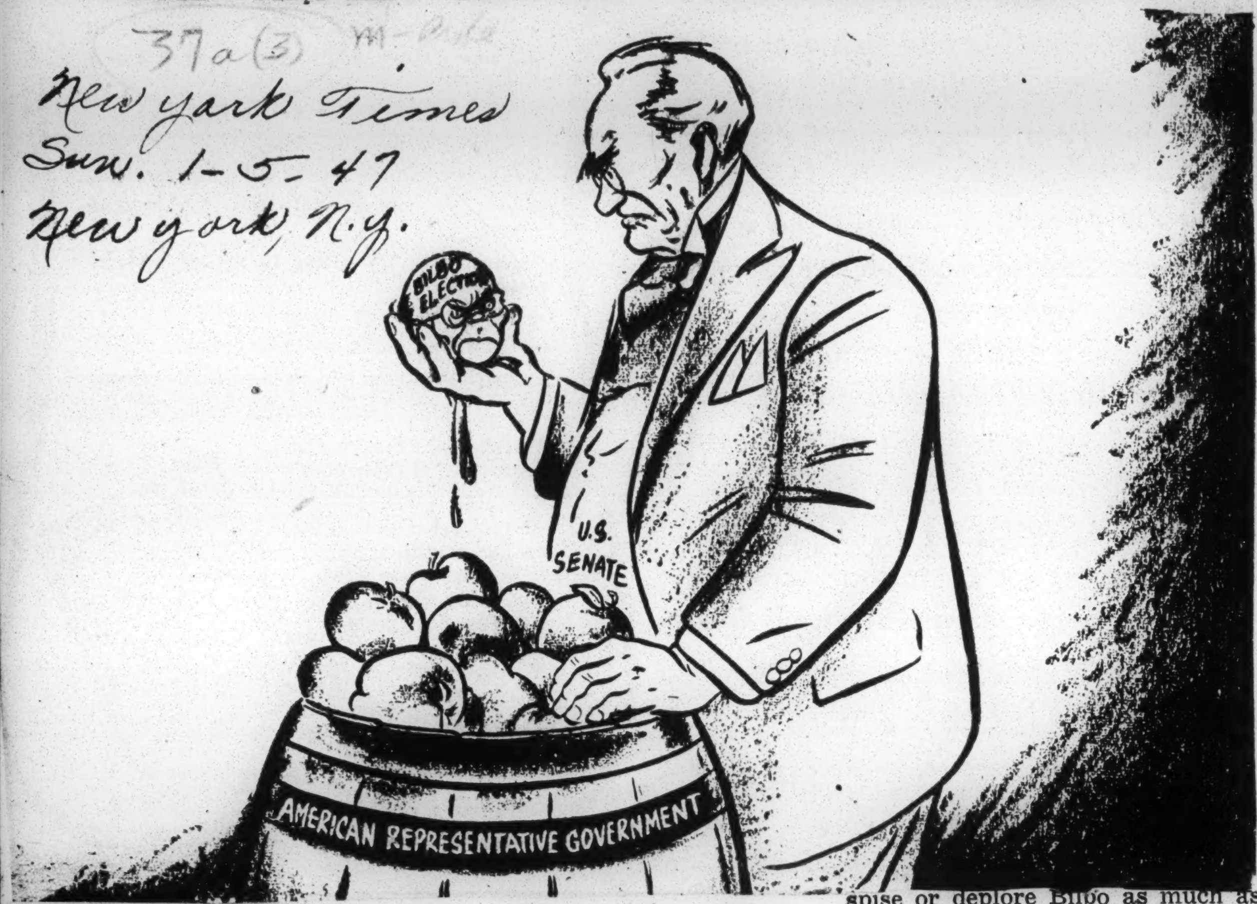
Give BILBO a fair and regular trial, and then deal with him as he deserves. The opponents of BILBO and lynching ought not to lynch BILBO. Washington, D.C.

37a(3) 1947 Mississippi (Probe)

"BAD APPLE"—AS ONE CARTOONIST SEES IT

37a(3) M-Probe

New York Times
Sun. 1-5-47
New York, N.Y.



BILBO'S CASE INVOLVES MANY COMPLEX ISSUES

37a(3) Miss-Probe

Senators Who Personally Deplore His Activities Feel They Must Stand by Him to Save Sectional Rights

New York Times
Sun. 1-5-47
New York, N.Y.

SOUTHERNERS THINK OF PAST

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4—There is more to the case of Theodore G. Bilbo, Senator-elect from Mississippi, than would normally or naturally occur to the great number of citizens who feel a sense of outrage over his public and private career. Beneath the unpleasing superstructure that has been furnished by the testimony heard in the Senate committee of inquiry, and the report of its Republican members, there is an issue of great concern to sectional and popular minorities.

It is this issue which induced Senator Alben W. Barkley, the Democratic leader, to decline to agree in advance that Bilbo should not be permitted to take the oath of office when he came forward Friday with his credentials from the government of Mississippi. And it is that issue which brought him support, to this degree at least, from other Senators, generally Southern, who despise or deplore Bilbo as much as any one in the North could.

The South had an unforgettable and bitter experience with unlawful and oppressive majority rule in the Era of Reconstruction, and that experience strengthened the doctrine of States' rights, which was already powerful. In the course of that oppression Southern members of Congress with credentials as legal as any others presented were denied their seats. And Congress admitted to represent these States carpetbaggers and scalawags, both white and Negro, whose credentials were tainted with fraud, corruption and violent disenfranchisement.

Traditional Argument

Yet the South also has steadily maintained the principle expressed in the Constitutional clause which asserts that "each House shall be the judge * * * of the qualifications of its own members," and on this rests the argument given for denial in the first instance of a Senate seat to Bilbo. The provision originated in the days of the Stuart Kings in Britain and was used to prevent the Crown from packing Parliament. It was alive in full force when William Penn gave his Charter to Pennsylvania in 1701 and when the Constitutional Convention was meeting at Philadelphia in 1787. Therefore it was inserted in the Constitution, though James Madison, to make sure that a minority in attendance would not be able to expel a member of Congress, added the safeguard that the matter could not be disposed of by less than a "quorum."

Hence the South is traditionally in favor of the clause with Madison's amendment. But it traditionally disapproves of the use of the clause to permit a simple majority to compel a Senator-elect, bearing his State's regular credentials, to "stand aside" until his case has been investigated. This procedure enables a simple majority to keep him out of the Senate by declaring his election invalid and the seat vacant, a method devised by Senators Elihu Root and Albert J. Beveridge in 1912 to exclude Senator-elect William Lorimer of Illinois, despite the provision of Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution that two-thirds are required to "expel." You are not "expelling," reasoned these Senators, when the member has never been admitted. The Senate agreed and the decision stands.

New York Times
Sun. 1-5-47
New York, N.Y.

The Brookhart Contest

But in the successful Iowa contest against Smith D. Brookhart, 1925-26, Article I, Section 5 was construed to mean that, while two-thirds is required to "expel" for actions committed after membership, a simple majority could "expel" for a finding that a member's election was tainted. So, though this precedent is doubtful because charges of "moral turpitude" enter into the Bilbo case and did not in the Brookhart episode, and many hold such charges must be sustained by two-thirds, there it is.

The South, being a national minority with a history of majority oppression during Reconstruction, dislikes the precedent and has fought to maintain the two-thirds rule wherever it can be applied in public actions. At the Democratic National Convention of 1936, President Roosevelt and National Chairman James A. Farley had made such inroads among the Southern politicians that a motion was carried to abrogate the rule requiring a two-thirds majority before a Presidential candidate could be chosen. But the South has regretted its submission to that change ever since.

New York Times
1-5-47 Sun.
New York, N.Y.

States' Rights Involved

Another basic issue in Southern eyes is, as has been said, States' rights. Senators who opposed barring Bilbo when he presented his credentials are thoroughly acquainted with the argument that a member of their branch is a Senator of the United States instead of the Senator of a State. But since his title must come from a State to be valid they see an involvement of these rights. And there is a third issue.

Though deploring the manner in which Bilbo has stressed "white supremacy," a number of Southern Senators fully sympathize with the objective. Also they are certain that his rejection by a majority would mainly be punishment for these activities and a political play for the Negro vote by the Republicans. If this impression becomes general, and they think it might, these Senators fear the effects on public order in their own States.

They want the case against Bilbo to center instead on charges of personal dishonesty and, if he shall be expelled, to have the action plainly based on a finding as to that. Some expect to vote that way if the opportunity shall be presented. But they are determined that Bilbo's ouster, if it comes, must not bring into question the validity of Southern primary and election exclusions through the color line, the poll-tax and other disenfranchising processes.

The Man Becomes a Symbol

Thus it is, as so often before in history, that a disreputable person has become to some reputable ones the symbol of constitutional liberties and of the protections carefully set up for minorities and against autocratic power in British and United States law. If none of these issues was visible to certain Senators in the Bilbo case, they would gladly bar him "at the door" and listen with open minds to charges of his personal dishonesty. When this is clearly understood the Democratic fight to seat Bilbo will be seen in its real perspective—not as approval or defense of him, not as condonation of many of his actions which have brought discredit on the Senate to which his champions belong, but as an intended assertion of what seem basic political and ideological principles to these Senators and the section they represent.

New York Times
Sun. 1-5-47
New York, N.Y.

The Senate Democrats are divided on the issues, but if they were all from the South, or if they were all strict constitutionalists, only one or two would vote to bar Bilbo at the door. Even when the Root-Beveridge formula was perfected in the Lorimer case, some of the most respected men in the Senate refused to accept it. Among the twenty-eight votes cast against declaring his seat vacant were those of Senators who were the moral as well as the intellectual leaders of that branch of Congress.

Gov. Wright To Name Bilbo For Interim Term If He's Denied Seat

The News
Birmingham Ala

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 9—(AP)—Gov. Fielding L. Wright said last night he plans to appoint Theodore G. Bilbo senator for an interim term if the Senate denies him his seat without a hearing or on the basis of charges growing out of his election campaign. Thur. 1-9-4

The governor's comment came in the wake of a newspaper account of conversations he had with several Mississippi legislators concerning Bilbo, whom the Senate declined to seat when it convened last week.

Wright said he had discussed his plans for naming Bilbo for an interim term in the belief that his remarks to the Mississippi legislators were off the record.

"I did not intend to inject myself into the controversy in Washington, which I have avoided so far," he added.

Bilbo, at his "dream house" at Poplarville, Miss., where he is awaiting a call to go to a New Orleans hospital for an operation on his mouth, said he was "profoundly and inexpressibly grateful" for Gov. Wright's decision.

"I think the governor's decision is just recognition of the will of the great majority of the people of Mississippi," Bilbo said. "I feel honored."

Wright's statement came after a day in which the Jackson Business and Professional Women's Club announced adoption of a resolution endorsing Mrs. Thomas L. Bailey, widow of the late governor of Mississippi, for the senatorial interim term if one should occur.

Mrs. Bailey declined to say whether she would be interested in such an appointment.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Let Congress Keep Up the Job

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 1-8-47

With Bilbo out of the way, and the effort to make of him a martyr, we trust the Congress will proceed to investigate Vito Marcantonio, the Communist Representative from New York City.

37a (3)

It has been proved from his own record that he was an old-time associate of the vice racketeers in his district. There was a murder done on election day and the man murdered was working for the candidate opposing Marcantonio.

Wholly aside from his Communism, there is enough evidence at hand to indicate real doubt exists as to his worthiness to sit in the Congress.

It will be too bad if the Bilbo case remains the only one to be investigated. The committee digging into the record of Congressman Andrew May, of Kentucky, uncovered enough leads to permit them to go after other members of the House and Senate who might have been guilty of unethical and illegal practices during the war.

Bilboism It will be too bad, too, if we assume that the action in the Bilbo case puts an end to bigotry and to racial prejudices against not merely Negroes, but Mexicans, Oriental peoples, Jews and others who constitute minority groups in this country. The Constitution

Action by the Congress was a magnificent step in the right direction. It was action on a sound basis, without any hypocrisy or any of the hysteria usually accompanying such actions.

This was possible, I think, because the extremists were out of it. It was an action based on simple justice and nothing else.

This is what the nation needs more of—plain, simple justice. We have got to see that the conditions imposed upon the Mexican minority and the Negro minority, in those areas where they are most concentrated, is unnatural, uneconomical and inhuman in many respects. Correcting it does not involve mixing of the races or any form of so-called social equality, but calls merely for simple justice. Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 1-8-47

Sen. Taylor, the Idaho Democrat who introduced the resolution against Bilbo, did a masterful job. He said that he knew the problem of race relations in the South was a complex one requiring patience and good will and that he was willing to move as slowly as necessary.

"I ask only one thing: that we do move forward, that we do not turn back the clock. And I will vigorously resist any attempt to move in the opposite direction, the direction of ill will. . . Mr. Bilbo has moved in that backward direction. . . ."

That is what we must do as a nation—move always in the right direction.

National Intolerance, as the nation is finding, does not exist primarily in the South. There are daily evidences of it from coast to coast. The Constitution

The most disturbing fact is that we very stupidly refuse to attack these problems for ourselves. The worst feature of the Bilbo case was that the job had to be done by Congress. Atlanta, Ga.

Everywhere there seems to be an increasing wish for the Federal Government to intervene, and to correct something which should have been done by the people themselves. Wed. 1-8-47

The breakdown of local self-government cannot but fail if the trend continues of asking the Federal Government to do all the really difficult jobs of government and law enforcement.

The Congress can do a great service by policing its own ranks. It should be a source of profound concern to that body that the people generally hold Congress in low esteem.

The Congress, having started with refusing to seat Bilbo, must strenuously search out any other guilty members and show them the gate. Such an action would restore the prestige of Congress and stimulate better government all the way down the line.

Dixie Solons Cry 'State's Rights'

The Constitution Fri. 1-3-47

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2—(AP)—A filibuster in behalf of Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, threatened Thursday night after Senate Republicans formally directed their Steering Committee to try to halt him at the Senate's threshold.

Sen. Maybank, Democrat, South Carolina, told a reporter that he and certain other Southern Democrats were prepared to "debate a week or longer." He said that if necessary, he would read every line of the voluminous record of a Senate investigation into Bilbo's re-election.

This could prevent all senators elected in 1946 from taking their seats and snarl up organization of the Senate.

Asserting that action against Bilbo should wait until any charges of mis-doing are "proved" Maybank said:

"The Constitution of the United States gives states the right to send two senaors here.

"Wes are determined to see that no Republican is seated tomorrow unless Bilbo takes his seat.

This is no demagogue issue. It's a State's rights issue and an issue of the Constitution of the United States."

MOSCOW, Jan. 2—(AP)—The newspaper Ukraine Pravda called the U. S. Senate investigation of Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, a farce Thursday and intimated that the United States had no business objecting to elections in Bulgaria and Romania when it allowed such elections at home.

There were these other developments in the case of Sen. Bilbo, who is accused of intimidating Negroes from voting and of violating the law in his dealings with war contractors: The Constitution

1. Sen. Bridges, Republican, New Hampshire, informed newsmen 48 Senate Republicans attending a conference voted unanimously in favor of a plan to challenge Bilbo at the door. Atlanta, Ga.

2. A Senate Democratic official, who declined to be quoted by name, told a reporter he believed Republicans "have the votes" to keep Bilbo from taking his seat and to refer ouster charges against him to the new rules committee, headed by Sen. Brooks, Republican, Illinois. This official said enough Democrats would vote with the Republicans to attain this result. owever, a filibuster could delay a vote indefinitely. Fri. 1-3-47

3. Sen. Hoey, Democrat, North Carolina, declared to reporters that "failure to seat Sen. Bilbo would be like sentencing a man without a fair trial." He said "the proper procedure would be to swear him in without prejudice, which would mean that he could have a fair trial both on his fitness to be a senator and with respect to any violations of law."

4. Sen. Millikin, Republican, Colorado, chairman of the Senate Republican conference, said he wanted to make it very clear that "there can be nothing come up tomorrow that will finally decide the Senate's action in the Bilbo case." The only question to be decided, he said is whether Bilbo shall be allowed to take the oath—"the decision on the merits will come up later."

Sen. Taft, Republican, Ohio, told a reporter after a conference with Democratic Leader Barkley, Kentucky, that no agreement had been reached on procedure in the Bilbo case. He added, however: The Constitution

"We have the votes to keep Bilbo from taking his seat. I am certain of that." Atlanta, Ga.

When the Senate convenes tomorrow, Leslie L. Biffle, a Democrat and its secretary, will be presiding. At that time, there would be 30 Democrats and 29 Republicans as holdovers eligible to vote on a challenge to Bilbo.

Republicans reportedly have drafted a resolution which would deny Bilbo's right to take his seat immediately and refer the charges to Brooks' committee.

It was understood this resolution will call for a report from the Brooks Committee to the Senate not later than Jan. 18, when the ouster arguments would begin in the Senate itself. Fri. 1-3-47

GOP and Democratic Senate leaders deadlocked on how the proposed move to bar the Mississippian should be handled.

They failed to agree on procedure after the Republican Senate Steering Committee had voted to try to halt Bilbo at the door of the Senate when he appears to take his oath, and after two GOP Senators announced that Bilbo will be charged with violation of "three or more" federal laws.

Sen. Taft told a reporter that he and other Republican leaders had suggested to Barkley that Bilbo be barred at the door of the Senate

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Here's Text of Letter From Doctor for Bilbo

The Constitution

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4—(AP)—Following is the text of a letter on the illness of Sen. Bilbo written by Dr. George W. Calver, the Capitol physician, and read to the Senate late Saturday:

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"After the completion of his primary campaign, Sen. Bilbo reported to my office with a badly ulcerated mouth. He was sent to the Medical Center for study and his condition was diagnosed as cancer. He was referred to Dr. Alton Oschner, of New Orleans, for consultation and indicated treatment. Dr. Oschner removed a mass of tissue from the Senator's mouth with the hope that all the cancerous growth had been destroyed. Atlanta, Ga.

"During his convalescence, the Senator developed an infection in the jawbone at the site of the operation. One small sliver of dead bone was removed. There is another large one still in the wound with an apparent extension of the infection. This dead bone should be removed immediately and other enlarged glands be investigated for an extension of the cancerous growth without delay. Sun.

"I consulted with Dr. Oschner by telephone this morning and he concurs in this recommendation and advises me that the convalescence from the operation will take approximately two months.

"Respectfully yours, 1-5-47

"GEORGE W. CALVER."

Hats Off!

PM. New York, N.Y.

To two Corpus Christi, Tex., newspapers, the Times *and* Caller, *for editorials on Bilbo's fitness—or lack of it— to serve as Senator. With a forthrightness too often lacking in papers south of Mason and Dixon's Line, the* Times *spoke out against Bilbo as an avowed Klan member, declaring that his "open embrace of Klan membership violates his Senatorial oath." If the charges against him in connection with Mississippi war contractors are true, the* Caller *says, then "denying him a seat in the Senate . . . isn't enough . . . and would be a mere slap on the wrist."* Thu. 1-16-47

New York, N.Y.

Bilbo and Touro

PM. New York, N.Y.

Dear Editor:

According to PM, Bilbo entered the Touro Infirmary for surgery. Does Bilbo know that Touro was a renowned Jewish Rabbi during Revolutionary days and that he was honored by a visit from George Washington in his synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island? The Isaac Touro Synagogue is probably the oldest in the country.

SIDNEY JEROME
New York

PM.

37a(3) 1947

Mississippi (Probe)

Man To Man

By Harold L. Ickes

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Tues. 1-14-47

Fight Against Bilboism Must Go On

37a(3)

The immediate cause of Theodore G. Bilbo's postponement of his fight for a seat in the Senate, of course, is to be regretted. No one can fail to feel sympathy for a man with such a disease as that from which he is suffering. However, citizens everywhere are entitled to rejoice over the rebuff that has been given to what Mr. Bilbo represented in our public life. The fight on Bilboism has resulted in a notable victory but the struggle should go on. It must not end until every Senator and Representative learns that relying upon the issue of racial intolerance will bar him from the Congress. It must go on until there can be no suspicion that any Congressman would think of using his official position as a means of enriching himself, either directly or indirectly.

It is too bad that all the members of Congress do not come within the category of disinterested and patriotic public servants. Fortunately, it can be said, with every confidence, that the overwhelming number of them are above venality in any form. The honest legislator is entitled to protection against the dishonest one, just as the United States Senate owed it to itself to refuse to permit Bilbo to take the oath of office. There should be some check on the business connections, the investments and the non-official income of members of Congress. When I was Administrator of Public Works I required every employe in a position to make important decisions to submit a list of the investments, not only of himself, but of the members of his immediate family. This information was held by me in the strictest confidence, but no employe ever objected to giving it to me.

Intolerable Situation

Why should not the Senate and the House set up a small joint committee composed of members of the highest character and integrity to which all Senators and Representatives should be required to make reports of the investments and income of themselves and those of their immediate family? It should be especially incumbent upon lawyer-members to disclose their outside sources of income. It is through law firms that legislators are frequently influenced to vote for or against a certain measure. By employing a particular law firm, a member of which may also be a member of the Congress, retainers and fees can be collected and a share of them go to the lawyer-legislator. This is a situation that calls for discriminating but firm handling if the Congress is to rid itself of the suspicion with which some of its members are frequently regarded.

While I am a member of the bar I cannot ignore the disposition of many who seek favors from the Government to employ a law firm, a member of which may be an influential Senator or Representative. It is unfortunately the fact that there are law firms which are willing to take business that is offered although a member of the firm occupies a prominent and influential position in Washington. The fees that are sluiced into the account of the firm are then distributed, with the statesman-member getting his share on the pretense that it is not he, but his firm, that is doing the particular job. This is an intolerable situation. Since the law-firm approach is the easy one and the one most frequently used to bring influence to bear, every lawyer who is elected to either House or Senate owes it to himself to resign from his firm and retain no interest in the income thereof, except as to business having no public coloration and which was legitimately in the office at the time of his resignation.

Tues. 1-14-47

No member of Congress who retains his interest in his law firm should go paddling about Washington, from department to department, soliciting, and even insisting upon, favorable decisions, following which he will take his cut as a member of the firm.

The Advertiser

It is important to counteract the effect of the insinuating and all-pervasive lobbyists in Washington. But it should be realized that it is not so much the lobbyists, in many instances, who influence the legislators as it is the legislators themselves, acting on behalf of past, present or prospective clients.

Montgomery, Ala.

Bilboism has only been scotched. It has not been killed. Bilboism is not merely a cynical flaunting of Constitutional guarantees, it is not merely a callous denial of civil rights. It is more than resorting to terrorism to determine a political result. It is something in addition to accepting gifts from those for whom a favor has been done or the taking of a fee in a drug-addict case. Bilbosim is all of these things and, at the same time, it is also a serving of both God and mammon by using official influence to enhance one's personal income.

Tues. 1-14-47

Perhaps the greatest thing that this new 80th Congress could do would be to go straight through to the extirpation of Bilboism of every degree and shade.

COMPROMISE WINS

37a(3) Miss

The Times

Barkley Effects Peace, Bilbo to Go South for Operation on Jaw

New York N.Y.
Sun. 1-5-47

CREDENTIALS ACCEPTED

Taft Agrees to Delay Trial Till Senator Recovers—Both Sides Are Pleased

By HAROLD B. HINTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4—Under the necessity of an immediate operation on his jaw for cancer, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat of Mississippi, voluntarily stepped aside today and broke the apparently irreconcilable conflict of views whether he should be permitted to take the oath of office.

He will leave for New Orleans at 4 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The sudden break in the situation that had promised to tie up the Senate for several days, preventing its organization for the transaction of business, was credited at the Capitol to the intervention of Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Democratic floor leader.

Sun. 1-5-47

Jealous of the Senate's good name before the public, Senator Barkley has been extremely desirous of ending the unprecedented tangle into which it was thrown yesterday.

Senator Bilbo said that he would return as soon as possible to renew the fight for his seat, to which he was elected for a third term by the voters of Mississippi last July 2. His attorney, Forrest B. Jackson, said the Senator wanted it understood that nothing but the most urgent medical advice would have persuaded him to stand aside.

Senate Deadlocked at Start

Today's session of the Senate began with the same uncompromising atmosphere in which it proceeded yesterday. All Republican members, and a few Democrats, were determined that Mr. Bilbo should not be allowed to take the oath of office—that he should be "stopped at the door." A dozen Democrats were equally determined that he should be seated, and were prepared to debate the issue for days, if necessary.

At a Republican conference held just before the Senate convened it was decided to sit through the night and into tomorrow, or longer, if necessary, in a program of waiting until the Southern Democrats were talked out.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Republican Steering Committee, laid his floor plans accordingly and warned members on his side of the aisle not to get beyond recall distance in case a sudden motion to recess were offered.

About the middle of the afternoon, while Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, held the floor in the course of a three-hour speech on the conduct of elections in Mississippi, unusual movements were noticed on the floor. Mr. Taft and Mr. Barkley disappeared for a considerable period at the same time.

Gallaries Suddenly Fill Up

Mr. Bilbo, who had been following the proceedings on the floor, as he did yesterday, retired to the cloakroom with Mr. Jackson. A group of Senators friendly to his cause went there soon afterwards. It was obvious a compromise was in the making.

Sun. 1-5-47

Shortly after 4 o'clock the nearly empty galleries suddenly filled. The arrivals were wives and friends of Senators-elect who had come from their home towns to see their men sworn in. The expectant Senators had passed the word that the time was at hand.

Mr. Barkley interrupted Mr. Ellender, who was loath to yield the floor, apparently not having been informed of the deal in the making. He wanted assurances he could have it back and Mr. Barkley told him he could have it if he still wanted it after he heard the impending announcement.

"All Senators, and the country at large, are anxious for the Senate to compose this situation in which it finds itself, and to proceed to organize the Senate so that it functions," Mr. Barkley said, after a quorum call had filled the chamber.

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History of Illness Recounted

He recounted the medical history of Senator Bilbo's illness, starting with the diagnosis of cancer of the jaw made at the Naval Hospital here last August. The diagnosis was confirmed by Mr. Bilbo's own specialist, Dr. Alton Oschner, of New Orleans, who operated last Aug. 31.

Sun. 1-5-47

A second operation was to have been performed on Dec. 26 Mr Barkley explained. Senator Bilbo declined to go through with it, as it would have prevented his appearance on the opening day of the new session of Congress to attempt to take his oath of office.

Now, Mr. Barkley continued, in the light of the prolonged contest which appeared certain in the Senate, he had advised Mr. Bilbo he would be endangering his health and, possibly his life if he insisted on postponing the operation any further. He said that the projected operation would remove a further portion of Mr. Bilbo's lower jaw, two glands in his throat and a possibly malignant growth in one cheek. The operation and convalescence would require at least two months, he went on.

Mr. Barkley introduced into the record a statement by Dr. George W. Calver, Capitol physician, concurring in the diagnosis and vouching for the urgent need of the operation. Dr. Calver stated that a portion of dead bone was in imperative need of removal.

Taft Accepts Proposal

He then asked for unanimous consent that Mr. Bilbo's election credentials lie on the table without prejudice and without action until such time as Dr. Calver should certify that the Mississippi Senator was well enough to reappear or until such time as the Senate should desire to take up the matter afresh.

Sun. 1-5-47

Senator Taft agreed to the request on behalf of the Republicans. There was no comment from the Democratic side and the order was entered by Leslie L. Biffle, secretary of the Senate under the Democratic majority rule, who has occupied the presiding chair pending the organization of the Senate and he election of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican, of Michi- an as president pro tempore.

Aside from their concern over r. Bilbo's health, the outcome of e matter was highly gratifying Senators on both sides. Both ctions had talked themselves to positions from which they uld not honorably retreat. The ly solution would have been an posed victory by the Republi- s—a solution which would ve engendered bad feeling and animosities which might have lasted through much of the session.

The result left the banners of both sides still flying. Senator Ellender, one of the Bilbo leaders, rushed over to Senator Owen Brewster, Republican, of Maine, immediately the compromise was announced, shook his hand and clapped him on the back.

Mr. Brewster was the next Senator to take the oath after the Bilbo matter was disposed of. He had been sitting patiently listening to all sorts of arguments which had nothing to do with his own situation.

The pro-Bilbo movement was headed by Southern Democrats who insisted that the State of Mississippi had the constitutional right to have seated any Senator it sent to Washington with proper credentials. They were joined today in this view of the case by two Western Democrats, Senators Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico and Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado.

Bilbo Assured of Salary

The few other Democrats, from the East and Far West, tended to side with the Republicans in the position that the Senate could challenge any elected representative of any State in the discharge of its judgment on the qualifications of its own members. Senator Taft said that the Senate, under similar circumstances, had declined to seat an applicant ten times and had seated him nine times, so that no clear precedent was involved.

The Bilbo forces charged that the majority of the Senate wa prejudging the case against Mr. Bilbo by refusing to seat him. They advocated leisurely investigation by the Rules Committee of the charges that the Mississippi Senator-elect had intimidated Negroes in his last campaign and had accepted improper benefits from war contractors he aided. Sun. 1-5-47

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Republican, of Iowa, contended that Mr. Bilbo was in the same position as a man against whom an indictment had been brought. He was referring to the unfavorable report by the War Investigating Committee, and to the minority report of the Campaign Expenditures Committee, both of which urged that Mr. Bilbo be excluded from the Senate. Under these circumstances, he said, it was proper to apply restraints on Senator Bilbo.

Senate employes said that Mr. Bilbo and his office staff are assured of their Government salaries pending disposition of the question. It was said that they automatically went on the payroll when the Secretary of the Senate accepted Mr. Bilbo's credentials.

Physician's Report on Bilbo

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4 (AP)—Following is the text of a letter on the illness of Senator Bilbo written by Dr. George W. Calver, the Capitol physician, and read to the Senate late today:

"After the completion of his primary campaign, Senator Bilbo reported to my office with a badly ulcerated mouth. He was sent to the Medical Center for study and his condition was diagnosed as cancer. He was referred to Dr. Alton Oschner of New Orleans for consultation and indicated treatment. Dr. Oschner removed a mass of tissue from the Senator's mouth with the hope that all the cancerous growth had been destroyed.

"During his convalescence the Senator developed an infection in the jawbone at the site of the operation. One small sliver of dead bone was removed. There is another large one still in the wound with an apparent extension of the infection. This dead bone should be removed immediately and other enlarged glands be investigated for an extension of the cancerous growth without delay.

"I consulted with Dr. Oschner by telephone this morning and he concurs in this recommendation and advises me that the convalescence from the operation will take approximately two months.

"Respectfully yours,
"GEORGE W. CALVER."

Federal Agents Investigating Bilbo's Affairs

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
37a(3)
Wed. 1-1-47

GOP Announces 'Finish Fight' To Oust The Man; Democratic Help Asked

WASHINGTON, Dec. 31—(AP)—The Justice Department disclosed tonight it is inquiring into the affairs of Senator Bilbo (D), Mississippi, and the Senate Republican steering committee signalled a finish fight to oust him.

A Justice Department official who is fully acquainted with the inquiry told a reporter that "it has been in progress in Mississippi and Washington for some time."

The inquiry, he said, "is independent of that made by Congressional committees. It covers every aspect of the Bilbo case."

The official said Justice Department agents have been in Mississippi "for some time studying the affairs of Senator Bilbo."

When asked if this inquiry included reports of intimidation of Negroes in the primary in which Bilbo was renominated, he said: "Certainly."

The Republican steering committee voted unanimously to try to press its ouster fight.

Senator Taft, of Ohio, chairman of the GOP policy group, announced this decision with the terse statement that Bilbo "will be attacked." The Constitution

"When, where and how will be decided later," Taft told a news conference after a four-hour session of the steering committee.

The Ohio Senator pointed out that the committee's recommendations are subject to approval by the full Senate Republican membership. Atlanta, Ga.

Earlier Bilbo apparently won a round in his fight to keep his seat.

Ellender told reporters that he "unquestionably" favors seating Bilbo. He added that he and his two Democratic colleagues on the committee, Senators Maybank, of South Carolina, and Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma, will file a majority report, probably when Congress convenes Friday.

Republican members of the committee, Senators Bridges of New Hampshire and Hickenlooper, of Iowa, said they are preparing a minority report.

Bridges only comment was that "we are not going to be in "agreement" with the Democratic Senators. Wed. 1-1-47

Meanwhile, the new Senate Republican steering committee also pondered the Bilbo case and Chairman Taft, of Ohio, made a bid for Democratic support in ousting the Mississippian.

"We may not come to any party decision finally," Taft told reporters. "I doubt if we take a vote. We may not want to make it a party matter."

Noting that two Democrats—Senators Mead, of New York, and Kilgore, of West Virginia—had signed a forthcoming report of the Senate war investigating committee on Bilbo's relations with contractors, Taft said:

"If the Democrats are amenable to the report, signed by Democrats as well as Republicans, we don't want to say to them 'this is just a party question and we're going to decide it'." The Constitution

The report is to be released Thursday. A member of the committee said in advance that it is critical of Bilbo's dealings with war contractors. Atlanta, Ga.

In addition to the two Democrats, the report has been approved by four Republicans—Senators Brewster, of Maine, Ferguson, of Michigan, Knowland, of California, and Ball, of Minnesota. Wed. 1-1-47

Bilbo testified at committee hearings that he helped obtain war contracts, but he vigorously denied that he received any payment for this. He said Christmas gifts and other favors he received from contractors were the custom in the South.

37a(2)
Advertiser
1-9-47
Montgomery, Ala.

POSSIBLE SUCCESSOR?—The former wife of Mississippi's Senator Theodore G. Bilbo announced in Jackson that their son, Lieut. Col. Theodore G. Bilbo, Jr., (above) might be a candidate for the office to which his father was elected if a vacancy occurs. Col. Bilbo is on duty with U. S. occupation forces in Germany. (AP Photo).

Bilbo Will Be Reappointed 'If Necessary'

Advertiser 1-9-47 Th.
Montgomery, Ala.

Mississippi Governor Says Commission To Be 'Wired' To Senator

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 8.—(AP)—The New Orleans Times Picayune, in a signed story from Edgar Poe, correspondent at Jackson, Miss., said tonight that Gov. Fielding Wright told members of the Mississippi Legislature today he definitely would reappoint Sen. Theo G. Bilbo for an interim term if the Senate denies Bilbo a seat when he returns to Washington.

The legislators were not identified in the story which said several legislators who have conferred with the governor in the last few days have quoted him as saying he not only would reappoint Bilbo but would telegraph him his commission.

The story further quoted the solons as saying the governor had told them that despite his decision, "he did not intend to cross the appointive bridge until and if such a bridge arises."

Meanwhile, the story said, the Business and Profession Women's Club announced adoption of a resolution endorsing Mrs. Thomas L. Bailey, widow of the late governor, for the senatorial interim term, if one exists.

Under Mississippi law, should the Senate refuse to seat Senator Bilbo, the governmor would appoint a senator to serve until next November when one would be elected in a general election.

No Indications Of Bilbo On Federal Docket

JACKSON, MISS., Jan. 8.—(AP)—Although the Department of Justice announced an investigation of Senator Bilbo (D), Mississippi, in Washington last week, U. S. District Attorney Toxey Hall said here today that no report on the Bilbo investigation had been referred to him.

Hall announced that the Federal Grand Jury for the Southern District of Mississippi will convene in Jackson Jan. 15 but that only "routine cases" are indicated for investigation.

Hall said no reports had been made to him by any Federal agency on subjects connected with the senatorial investigation of Bilbo's election practices and connections with war contractors.

Testimony before two Senate committees at recent hearings alleged that the Mississippi Senator used intimidation to prevent Negroes from voting in the Democratic primary, and accepted gratuities from war contractors in the form of money and labor on projects at his Poplarville dream house and Baptist Church interests.

Bilbo denied that he had done anything wrong.

When Congress convened last week the Senate postponed seating of Bilbo for at least two months while he underwent a second operation on his mouth in New Orleans. advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Bilbo is not at his home and expects to go to New Orleans the latter part of this week for the operation.

Meantime in Washington today, Senator Hatch(D), New Mexico, suggested that if any charges are to be placed against Bilbo, the action be taken immediately so that the senator might Thurs 1-9-47 have time to draw up a defense. No formal motion was made, however, and the senate took no action. Thurs 1-9-47

'TAKE YOUR CHOICE—'

'I'll Go Back,' Says Bilbo, Replying to 'Bunch of Lies'

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
37a(3)

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 1—(UP)—"I will go back and fight till hell freezes over—then skate like hell on ice," was Sen. Theodore Bilbo's reply Saturday to the "bunch of damned lies" that he would give up his fight for a seat in the U. S. Senate.

Bilbo, who was discharged from Touro Infirmary Saturday following a cancer of the mouth operation, wanted it known that "I'm going back to the Senate and demand my job that I and the people of Mississippi are entitled to."

Furthermore, he said, if the Senate should deny him a seat, he would become interim Senator and then a candidate for re-election in the November election.

Bilbo left the hospital in his big, black Cadillac Saturday for his Poplarville, Miss., "dream house" where he will await still a second operation when a piece of hip bone will be grafted to give him a new jawbone structure.

"The Man" was in good spirits as he pronounced himself "free of all cancerous growth." After his jawbone is replaced, he said, "You will never know I've been sick; I'll be a well man." Sun. 2-2-47

The 69-year-old Senator smilingly said: "If I die, my spirit will go back and haunt the hell out of 'em (his 'enemies' in Washington), especially Glen Taylor, of Idaho. But I'm going back—I figure on living 100 years."

Bilbo reiterated his belief that the Senate would "not turn me down." He didn't believe, he said, that "the Democrats and Republicans would let Communists and all-out Negro groups tell the American Senate what to do."

"Besides," he said, "they haven't got anything against me and they know damned well they haven't."

Bilbo looked forward to the publication of his first book, "Take Your Choice—Separation or Mongrelization," which is being printed by the Dreamhouse Publication Company, at Poplarville, meaning the publisher is the Senator himself. He said he looked for the first edition to come out around Feb. 15.

"It should have been written on asbestos," Bilbo declared, "it's that hot."

37a(3) 1947

Mississippi (Probe)

RULES BODY MOVES TO TAKE BILBO CASE

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Senate Committee's Majority Decides Election Contests Are in Its Jurisdiction

Wed. 1-8-47

37a(3)

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7—When Senator Theoore G. Bilbo, Demorat of Mississippi, returns to renew his fight for a seat in the Senate, he will find his case in the hands of a Republican-dominated Rules Committee, according to indications today. The Campaign Expenditures Committee, which rendered a favorable majority report in his election case, will apparently be permitted to live only until Jan. 31.

Senator C. Wayland Brooks, Republican of Illinois, called an informal meeting of the majority members of the Rules Committee today. It was decided unanimously by the eight Republicans to take jurisdiction over all election contests immediately, and to extend the life of the Campaign Expenditure Committee, headed by Senator J. Ellenden, Democrat of Louisiana, until the end of the month only to wind up its affairs.

The Ellender Committee, dividing on strictly partisan lines, three Democrats versus two Republicans, turned in majority and minority reports on the charges that Mr. Bilbo incited intimidation of Ne-ro voters during his primary campaign in Mississippi last June. The majority absolved him, while the minority found him guilty of violating Federal statutes and the Constitution.

Up to Full Rules Committee

The Times

The decision of today's informal meeting will have to be ratified by the full committee, when it is legally in existence, but it is not expected that the formal addition of its five Democratic members will alter the Republican view. The entire Senate will have a voice in the matter when it considers the resolution to prolong the Ellender Committee until Jan. 31. The temper of the Republican majority was made obvious during the bitter debate on the Bilbo case in the first two days of the session.

When the Mississippi Senator left for New Orleans for an operation on his jaw, it was announced by Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democrat, of Kentucky, minority leader, that the operation and convalescence would take at least two months. If that prediction holds true, there will be no Ellender committee when he gets back to Washington. New York, N.Y. Wed. 1-8-47

The Democratic members of the committee, Mr. Ellender, Senator Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma, and Senator Burnet R. Maybank, of South Carolina, led the floor fight for seating Mr. Bilbo and may be expected to do so again when the matter comes before the Senate.

CIO Assails Bilbo "Compromise"

Condemnation of the Senate's "compromise" in deferring a decision in the Bilbo matter was voiced today by the CIO, through its legislative director, Nathan Cowan. It urged the Department of Justice to continue its investigation into Mr. Bilbo's affairs. New York, N.Y.

"It is a sad comment on the greatest deliberative body in the world," the CIO announcement said, "that it should allow its record to be besmirched by failing to take action on the facts as presented by authoritative Senate committees. Wed. 1-8-47

"Evidence presented, particularly by the Senate special committee investigating the national defense program, indicates that even more shocking revelations about Senator Bilbo's war activities may be uncovered." The Times

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Southerners Launch Their Filibuster

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sat. 1-4-47

Those Who Would Oust The Man Get Nowhere; Fight Goes On Today

Vote Is 39 To 19

Idaho Democrat Makes Motion Against Bilbo, 11 Others With Him

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3—(AP)—Balked in their efforts to seat Senator Bilbo (D), Mississippi, Southerners struck back today with a filibuster which prevented the organization of the new Senate.

After hours of tumultous debate and parliamentary skirmishing, the chamber recessed early this evening until noon, EST., tomorrow.

No final decision had been reached on whether the Mississippi Senator, accused of intimidating Negroes from voting and of violating the law in his dealings with war contractors, should be barred or not.

But for the time being at least, he was prevented from taking the oath.

Raising the banner of States' Rights, a group of Southerners began a talkfest which delayed the swearing in of 36 new and re-elected Senators and the formal Republican accession to power which the November voters decreed. The Advertiser

But Senator Ferguson (R), Michigan, in the forefront of the movement to bar Bilbo, told a reporter that Republicans are "determined to break this filibuster."

After tomorrow's session, he said, advocates of seating Bilbo, will be given "time to think it over Sunday." Montgomery, Ala.

"If they still are filibustering Monday," he said, "we are going to keep the Senate in session night and day until they give up." Sat.

Senator Barkley, of Kentucky, Democratic leader, told reporters after the Senate quit for the day that he is offering the Republicans a compromise under which Bilbo would be seated for the time being and his case called up for Senate action Jan. 17. 1-4-47

The Ohio Senator said the Republicans would discuss the Barkley proposal and other angles of the Bilbo case at a conference tomorrow morning. 37a(3)

Anti-Bilbo forces demonstrated their strength in two test votes—one went 38 to 20, the other 39 to 19—but Bilbo's supporters picked up the debate each time and went right on.

Sharp words flew in the Senate chamber and in the office where the Southerners organized for the defense of Bilbo.

"Simply rotten, putrid politics on the part of the Republican leadership," was the way Senator Ellender (D), Louisiana, described to reporters the GOP decision to challenge Bilbo's right to take the oath. The Advertiser

But it was a Democrat, Senator Taylor, of Idaho, who offered the first motion against seating Bilbo and he used even more pointed language himself. Montgomery, Ala.

Charging that Bilbo tried to intimidate Negroes from voting in last summer's Missisisppi primary, Taylor said that Bilbo made his campaign speeches "in an atmosphere redolent of the odors of hate, of burning flesh, of tar, of feathers and gunpowder," and "has taken the solemn, midnight pledge of membership" in the Ku Klux Klan. Sat. 1-4-47

Bilbo, wearing a brown tweed suit and red-and-silver necktie, moved to an adjacent seat and listened carefully. He had gone as far as the Senate rostrum, ready to take the oath, but was turned back by debate on Taylor's resolution.

As the talk went on and on, the unsworn senators-elect fidgeted impatiently. The voters decided that the new Senate is to have 51 Republicans and 45 Democrats. But after Baldwin took the oath, the count stood: Democrats 31, Republicans 29.

This roll call, which some interpreted as a signpost toward the final lineup on the seating, found 11 Democrats teamed with the Republicans against Bilbo. They were Downey of California, Fulbright of Arkansas, Green of Rhode Island, Luray of Illinois, McMahon of Connecticut, Murray of Montana, Myers of Pennsylvania, Pepper of Florida, Taylor of Idaho, Tydings of Maryland and Wagner of New York.

Thomas found a ready-made text. He said he thought the Senate ought to be fully informed of the findings of the majority of the campaign investigating committee, of which he is a member, and began reading its long printed report.

Senator Maybank (D), South Carolina, told a reporter he and his cohorts were ready to talk all night and all day tomorrow, if necessary, with Thomas as the lead-off man. Others on Maybank's speaking list included himself, Ellender and Senator Russell (D), Georgia. The Advertiser

Before the Senate convened at noon, the southerners had made clear their determination to give Bilbo an opportunity to be sworn.

After a strategy huddle of a dozen of them in Ellender's office, the Louisianan told reporters that in his opinion the Republican drive against Bilbo stemmed from the fact that the Republicans "are making an effort to catch the nigger vote" for 1948. He emphasized that he did not say "Negro." 1-4-47 Montgomery, Ala. Sat.

His Credentials 'Tabled' Pending Future Hearing

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Sun. 1-5-47

Senate Finally Opens; The Man Heads South For Cancer Operation

37a(3)

BY JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4—(AP)—Ailing Sen. Bilbo (D., Miss.) stepped aside Saturday night at the end of a bitter two-day battle over his right to his seat and the new Senate finally got under way.

By agreement of Republican and Democratic leaders and Bilbo himself, his credentials were received but "tabled" pending a hearing later, and he headed back South for a second cancer operation.

With Bilbo sitting in the cloakroom, Democratic Leader Barkley, Kentucky, outlined the agreement to the crowded chamber and packed galleries. It enabled Bilbo to draw his pay, but not to take the oath for his new third term.

By unanimous consent, the agreement was immediately approved by the Senators.

* * *

THEN THE SWEARING IN of the new and reelected senators, interrupted Friday by the Bilbo fight, was resumed. Only Sen. Baldwin (R., Conn.) had been sworn when Bilbo came up in the alphabetical order and the ouster move started, leading to an organized defense by Southerners which Republicans branded a filibuster. The News

With the battle dissolved, Sens. Brewster (R., Maine) and Bricker (R., Ohio) were sworn in by Leslie L. Biffle, the Democratic Senate secretary who was presiding, and others followed. Birmingham

With a tensely dramatic statement that "a man's life is more important than a seat in the U. S. Senate or any other body," Democratic Leader Barkley, Kentucky, won permission to delay action on Bilbo for six weeks or two months until doctors certify he can return to Washington. Sun. 1-5-47

The resulting agreement marked the first victory of the 80th Congress for Republicans.

* * *

THEY HAD INSISTED that the Mississippian not be seated among them while the Senate considers charges that Bilbo misused his office for personal gain in dealings with war contractors and violated federal statutes by preventing Negroes from voting. By Saturday's action they gained their point at least temporarily. The News

Bilbo, described by Dr. George W. Calver, the capitol physician, as suffering from a cancerous ailment, told a reporter immediately after the Senate acted that he is not giving up his fight for a seat.

"If I live, I'll be back here with my fighting clothes on," Bilbo declared. Birmingham, Ala.

Bilbo said he had been assured that his pay and that of his office staff, headed by John J. Lumpkin, will go on just as if he were officially a member of the new Senate.

Sen. Hoey (D., N. C.), one of a group of Southerners who had been demanding that Bilbo be given the oath of office and tried later, said it is his understanding the Mississippian will be given an opportunity to speak in his own behalf in the Senate, even if he is not seated on his return. Sun. 1-5-47

* * *

WITH THE BILBO CASE on the shelf, the Senate turned immediately to its organization, electing Sen Vandenberg (R., Mich.) as its pr siding officer.

When Sen. White (R., Me.) su ested Vandenberg's election, Bar ey proposed Sen. McKellar (D.,

ndenberg, who told his colagues::

"I am deeply grateful to my friends on both sides of the aisle. . . . I shall undertake to the best of my ability to justify your confidence."

News-Age-Herald

The dramatic break in the Bilbo case came after Senate Republicans, headed by Taft (Ohio) had voted to keep the body in session continuously until they could force showdown vote. Birmingham, Ala.

Throughout the afternoon, cloakroom conferences were held seeking a compromise. These finally came to a head when Barkley interrupted Sen. Ellender (D., La.), who had held the floor most of the day in Bilbo's defense, with the request to make a statement.

* * *

Sun. 1-5-47

WHEN THE CROWDED SENATE and jammed galleries fell silent, Barkley told his colleagues solemnly Bilbo faces the possible removal of a large portion of his jaw, two glands in his throat and a malignant growth in his cheek.

Bilbo must return to New Orleans, where he underwent a mouth operation several weeks ago, for another operation, the Democratic leader said.

"The senator from Mississippi came to me Saturday morning," Barkley continued. "I told him that the preservation of a man's life is more important to him than a seat in the Senate or any other body."

Barkley then had the clerk read a statement by Dr. Calver.

The physician said it would take about two months for Bilbo to recover from the second operation, and Barkley said this means that Bilbo will be away from the Senate for "at least six weeks or two months."

Barkley then obtained the unani-

…mous agreement that Bilbo's credentials remain "without prejudice and without action" until either the capitol physician certifies Bilbo is able to return, or Congress decides there should be action. Sun.

Sen. Taft said the compromise "has the unanimous approval of senators on this side of the aisle (Republicans)." 1-5-47

Senate Records Show 79 Cases Of Seats Refused

News-Age-Herald Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4—(AP)—Records of the Senate back to 1794 show there have been 79 cases in which the Senate has refused to accept men elected or appointed to that body. 37a(3)

Some were expelled and in other cases the Senate refused admission or to accept credentials. Sun. 1-5-47

The vast majority of those expelled or those whose seating was refused were occasioned by the seccession of Southern states in the Civil War and the confusion in the years immediately thereafter.

The most recent cases in which seats were denied after election were those of William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania, and Frank L. Smith, of Illinois, to the first session of the 70th Congress.

Vare presented his credentials prior to Dec. 5, 1927. The Senate passed a resolution, Dec. 9, 1927, denying him a seat pending final action on a report of a special committee investigating his case. The Senate then agreed to a resolution, Dec. 6, 1929, to deny Vare a seat.

After Smith filed his credentials in December, 1927, the Senate approved a resolution declaring him not entitled to Senate membership.

There have been six instances in which senators have been removed from office by less than a two-thirds vote. Sun. 1-5-47

'MARTYRDOM' HELD A BIG AID TO BILBO

37a(3)

The Times

His Gain in Political Strength Stressed as State Moves to Revise Primary Law

New York, N.Y.

By **FREDERICK SULLENS**

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 18—That Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, who underwent a surgical operation in New Orleans this week has gained political strength throughout Mississippi because of the effort to unseat him in Washington is conceded even by his bitterest enemies. They frankly say that if his case should today be submitted to the voters he would triumph by a large majority. Jan. 1-1947

This newly awakened sympathy is due largely to the belief that Republican leaders in the Senate made an effort to deny a seat to Mr. Bilbo without a fair and impartial hearing on the charges against him. It is contended that this was not only a denial of a Senate seat but also an invasion of Mississippi's sovereign right to have two members of the Senate and a flagrant attempt to abrogate the doctrine of States' rights.

Racial Opposition a Factor

Much more of Mr. Bilbo's new "martyrdom," however, is due to the fight waged against him by various Negro groups and racial-equality organizations. Frankly, the question of white supremacy is now uppermost in the minds of the people. The fact that Negroes, perhaps 3,000 or 4,000 in number, did actually participate in Democratic primaries during the Senatorial campaign last year is causing a decided stir among white voters. The stage is being set for one of the most memorable political campaigns in the history of the State.

Gov. Fielding Wright and the Legislature are destined to be in the limelight soon. It remains to be seen whether it is legally possible to sidestep the United States Supreme Court decision in the Texas case giving Negroes the right to vote in Democratic white primaries. Sun. 1-1947

Governor Wright is now holding a series of group conferences with members of the Legislature at various points in the State. Specifically, he desires to know whether they favor a special legislative session and, if so, whether they favor a revision of the primary laws.

A proposed new plan has been written by Chairman Walter Sillers of the House Judiciary Committee, oldest member of the lawmaking body, who incidentally is being prominently mentioned as a probable choice for Senator if Mr. Bilbo is finally barred from the Senate.

Bilbo Loses In Fight For Senate Seat

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Still On Payroll, He'll Undergo An Operation For Cancerous Growth

37a(3)

Senate Organized

Sun. 1-5-47

Vandenberg Is Presiding Officer; President To Make Address Monday

By **JACK BELL**

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4.—(AP)—Republicans won their fight late today to deny Senator Bilbo (D), Mississippi, his seat at the opening of the new Senate and took formal control for the first time in 14 years.

By consent of the ailing Bilbo the question of seating him was pigeonholed for at least two months pending a hearing and he headed back south for a new cancer operation.

Swiftly then, after the two-day delay caused by the battle, the Senate elected Senator Vandenberg (R), Michigan, as presiding officer and the rest of the GOP organization setup—Carl Loeffler secretary and Edward McGinnis of Chicago sergeant at arms.

It notified President Truman that it is ready for business and received his best wishes. Then it adjourned until Monday when, in joint session with the House, it will hear the President's message on the state of the Union.

With Bilbo sitting in the cloakroom, Democratic Leader Barkley (Ky.) outlined the agreement to the crowded chamber and packed galleries. It enabled Bilbo to draw his pay, but not to take the oath for his new third term.

By unanimous consent, the agreement was immediately approved by the senators.

Senators Sworn In

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"If I live, I'll be back here with my fighting clothes on," Bilbo declared. Montgomery, Ala.

"I shall go immediately to the Touro Infirmary at New Orleans and place myself again under the care of Dr. Alton Oschner, one of the greatest surgeons in the country," he said. Sun.

"I'm trying to save my life. The doctors say an emergency operation is necessary." 1-5-47

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Senate Has Refused Seats To 79 Others

The Advertiser

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Bilbo's 'Trial'

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In the VOP of Jan. 18, I read the letter "Hear Bilbo's Side," by C. Butler. The question was asked as to what Bilbo seemed to be tried on. Evidently "white supremacy."

We people living in a democracy should not down any race of people. No one in the eyesight of democracy is any better than the other. That's why people like Hitler and his henchmen were fought against. Who fought for this? You yourself maybe; the butcher, the man next door, the postman, the school teacher, the businessman, and on down.

They didn't care about who the man was next to them, what rank of life he came from, or who gave a drink of water on the front. They had no thought of one race being better than the other. They fought against principles and ideas contrary to true Americans.

These are the people who want Bilbo's ideas destroyed.

If you have never seen one people believing itself superior to the rest you would not know what it would bring. Ask the Czech, the Frenchman orf the Chinese what it was like to them. Knowing the answer, I think you would want Bilbo's ideals out of the Senate. Judge not a man by his color, but by the deeds he does.

Richmond. J.H.40.

Times Dispatch

Dietary Note

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I have been a subscriber to The Times-Dispatch for many years. Its main attractions to me have been the paper's splendid editorials and the column of Thomas Lomax Hunter. Richmond, Va.

During the coal strike when John L. Lewis had the whole country tied in knots, The Times-Dispatch was on the right track for a while. However, someone must have cracked the whip somewhere along the line, for they began to crawfish. But not Mr. Hunter. Wed-1-22-47

The fellow may like his diet of salt fish, 'possum, groundhogs, etc., along with a little snakebite medicine now and then, but that diet seems to give him the intestinal fortitude to write what he thinks about unions or anything else, and to stick to his convictions.

More power to you, Mr. Hunter; you are speaking for Virginians.

IMFO LOMAX.

Culpeper.

Yale Prof Tells Bilbo It Isn't So

P.M. New York

Thurs 1-23-47

By United Press

NEW HAVEN, Jan. 16.—Prof. Ralph S. Linton today angrily denied a statement attributed to him by Theodore G. Bilbo, that all races "would be yellow in nine generations," and declared that he had been "deliberately misquoted." 1-23-47

Furthermore, said the Yale anthropologist, "I have said that if

that statemen appears in print again I'll sue, and I mean it."

37a(3) 1947

Mississippi (Probe)

SOUTHERNERS IRED

37a (3)

The Times

Barkley Insists Senator Be Seated, Others Plan Battle on Floor

New York

MAY HALT SENATE A WEEK

Majority to Move to Block Bilbo Pending a Debate, About Jan. 14, on Case

Fri. 1-3-47

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2—Senate Republicans decided unanimously today to keep Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, from taking his oath of office pending a full debate on the floor of the case or cases against him. The date of Jan. 14 was most frequently mentioned for starting the full-dress discussion.

This means that, when the Senate convenes at noon tomorrow for the opening of the Eightieth Congress, Senator Wallace H. White Jr., of Maine, Republican floor leader, will offer a resolution that the oath be denied to Mr. Bilbo. To reduce the chances of a filibuster by Southern Democrats, he is expected to insert in the resolution a date at which the matter will come before the Senate.

It was uncertain tonight, however, whether this concession would allay the outspoken resentment of some Southern Democrats, including Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, and Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina. Both of these Senators indicated today they would be prepared to talk for some time, possibly as long as a week, against any such resolution.

Compromise Efforts Fail

The Republican decision to risk a filibuster at the opening of the session followed unsuccessful efforts to evolve a compromise acceptable to the Democratic leadership. Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Democratic floor leader, insisted on seating Mr. Bilbo "without prejudice" tomorrow, as was done in the case of Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, in 1941.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Republican Steering Committee, sounded out Mr. Barkley. When agreement was found impossible, Mr. Taft obtained from the full Republican committee late today authority to devise whatever preliminary strategy is needed to keep the Mississippi Senator from being sworn in tomorrow. Fri. 1-3-47

Among the suggestions advanced to Mr. Taft was one that the new Senators be sworn in by reverse alphabetical order so that Mr. Bilbo's name would come up nearly at the end of the list. It has been the custom for the contrary order to be used, but there is no rule.

If the suggestion were adopted, it would mean that enough Republican new members would have been sworn in, by the time Senator Bilbo's turn arrived, to insure passage of the resolution. However, Mr. Taft said he had enough votes in any event, as some Democrats are expected to join the majority.

Bilbo Consults Advisers

The Republican steering committee believes that any Democratic filibuster would be of short duration, particularly if a reasonably near date, such as Jan. 14, were set for the Bilbo debate. A Democratic filibuster, it was pointed out, would keep a Democratic President from delivering his annual message on the state of the Union, his message on the economic condition of the country and his budget message.

Senator Bilbo attended the Democratic conference earlier in the day when minority tactics were discussed. Mr. Ellender introduced a motion to bind all participants in the conference to support Mr. Bilbo's claim to his seat, but so much opposition developed that he withdrew it.

After that meeting, Mr. Bilbo went into conference with his advisers and was unavailable for comment on the Republican plan to keep him out of the Senate, at least until after Jan. 14. He has said that he would not consent voluntarily to stand aside when it came his turn to take the oath of office.

Senator Eugene D. Millikin, of Colorado, chairman of the Republican conference, said that "nothing can come up tomorrow that will decide the Bilbo case or cases." He stated that the action of the conference today was not in the nature of pre-judging the Bilbo matter, and that the Republicans still hoped it could be debated on its legal merits and not on a factional basis.

37a (3)

For his part, Mr. Taft said that the move was merely an attempt to secure a more orderly debate on the issue, by moving it forward to a point where plenty of time would be available without blocking the customary opening routine activities of the Senate. He wanted the members of the Senate to have time to read the reports of the War Investigating Committee, which charged Mr. Bilbo with statutory violations, and the majority and minority reports of the Campaign Expenditures Committee. Fri. 1-3-47

Minority Views Are Given

The Republican members of the latter committee, Senators Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, and Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, made public their minority views today. The Democratic majority report, by Senators Ellender, Elmer Thomas, of Oklahoma, and Maybank, has not been given out, but Mr. Ellender has made plain that it would uphold Mr. Bilbo's right to be seated so far as concerns the charges of intimidation of Negroes in his last primary campaign.

The conclusion of the minority report was as follows:

"We are of the opinion, based upon the inescapable conclusion that must be drawn from the entire record, that Theodore G. Bilbo, by his own deliberate acts and under his individual responsibility, is guilty of such actions and conduct in connection with the 1946 primaries and election in the State of Mississippi as are contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate, dangerous to the perpetuity of free government, and taint with fraud and corruption the credentials for a seat in the Senate presented by said Theodore G. Bilbo."

The two Republican Senators said that they believed the burden of testimony established a conspiracy, initiated by Mr. Bilbo and carried out by the election officials of Mississippi, to deprive Negroes of the vote last July 2. They asserted that three Federal statutes were violated, which they listed as follows:

1. The Hatch Act, making it unlawful to intimidate or coerce any person in the exercise of his right to vote, under penalty of a fine of $1,000 or a year's imprisonment.

2. Section 19 of the United States Criminal Code, making it unlawful for two or more persons to conspire to threaten or intimidate another in respect to his rights under the Constitution or under Federal statute, under penalty of a fine of $5,000 or ten years' imprisonment.

3. Section 3 of the U. S. Criminal Code forbidding deprivation in any State, under guise of any law, of constitutional rights because of color or race. Fri. 1-3-47

Hold State Law Superseded

It has been Mr. Bilbo's contention that Mississippi law forbids Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries, and that his actions in the campaign last spring were lawful in that State. Messrs. Bridges and Hickenlooper took the view that Section 20 of the U. S. Code superseded any Mississippi law or interpretation thereof.

Their report also called the attention of the Senate to "the vile, contemptible language used by Senator Bilbo in his campaign." Mr. Hickenlooper said they did not consider this matter vital to the issue, since bad taste would not suffice to keep a man from holding office "if his public wants to go along with it."

Anticipating Mr. Bilbo's argument of State's rights, the minority report stated that there was intended no attempt to interfere with the right of the sovereign State of Mississippi to elect its own officials, but stressed that an individual's character became of concern to the Senate when he presented himself as a candidate for the upper House.

The minority declined to accept Mr. Bilbo's testimony that he urged use of "any lawful means" to keep Negroes from voting in the primary of last July 2. It said that throughout the press of all shades of opinion the phrase "by any means" was quoted with unanimity, and it concluded that "the individual statements and cumulative results intended was the barring of all Negroes from the polls, by any means, lawful or unlawful, including the use of violence, if necessary."

Acts Called Harmful

"Without doubt," the report continued, "three are serious historic and traditional, social and economic, problems in existence in the State of Mississippi and in other southern States between the white and colored populations. We are of the opinion that these problems are of great concern to the thinking members of both races, and that considerable effort is being put forth by the leadership of both races in an attempt at orderly and progressive solution.

"We cannot avoid the conclusion that the acts and conduct of Senator Bilbo have seriously damaged and retarded the sound efforts of thinking people of his own State, of both races, toward orderly and progressive solution of problems which they believe to be most vital."

37a (3) M-Probe

The Lawyers Guild distributed a brief today to all members of the Senate, urging exclusion of Mr. Bilbo. Fri. 1-3-47

"Theodore G. Bilbo," it said, "by his open and notorious incitement and solicitation of the white citizens of Mississippi to use physical violence, coercion and fraud in order to deprive the Negro citizens of that State of the right to vote in the Democratic primary of July 2, 1946, by his admitted membership in the Ku Klux Klan and by his espousal of racial and religious hatred, has demonstrated his unfitness for the office of Senator of the United States, has vitiated the election through which he seeks to be seated in the Senate and should not be permitted to take the oath of office as a member of the Senate of the United States."

Filibuster Plan Outlined

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2 (AP)—A threat of a filibuster developed tonight against the Republican plan to bar Senator Bilbo at the Senate's threshold, Senator Maybank of South Carolina said that, if necessary, he would read every line of the voluminous record of a Senate investigation into Mr. Bilbo's re-election.

This could prevent all Senators elected in 1946 from taking their seats and delay organization of the Senate.

Asserting that action against Mr. Bilbo should wait until any charges of misdoing are "proved," Mr. Maybank said:

37a (3)

"The Constitution of the United States gives States the right to send two Senators here.

"We are determined to see that no Republican is seated tomorrow unless Bilbo takes his seat. This is no demagogue issue. It's a state's rights issue and an issue of the Constitution of the United States." Fri. 1-3-47

A Senate Democratic official, who declined to be quoted by name, told a reporter he believed that the Republicans "have the votes" to keep Mr. Bilbo from taking his seat and to refer ouster charges against him to the new rules committee, headed by Senator C. Wayland Brooks, Republican, of Illinois. This official said enough Democrats would vote with the Republicans to attain this result. However, a filibuster could delay a vote indefinitely.

Senator Clyde R. Hoey, Democrat, of North Carolina, declared to reporters that "failure to seat Senator Bilbo would be like sentencing a man without a fair trial." He said "the proper procedure would be to swear him in without prejudice, which would mean that he could have a fair trial both on his fitness to be a

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senator and with respect to any violations of law

Carter Labels Senator Bilbo As 'A Martyr'

The Advertiser

Montgomery Ala

37a (3) M-Probe

Pulitzer Prize Winner Blames Mississippian In Campus Speech

Tue. 1-7-47

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 6.—(AP)—Hodding Carter, Pulitzer Prize, winning editor of the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times in an address here today struck out at the senatorial tactics denying Sen. Theo G. Bilbo his congressional seat which, he said, raised Bilbo to the status of a "Southern martyr."

Speaking to members of the New Orleans Branch of the American Association of University Women on Tulane campus, Carter condemned Bilbo but pointed out the senator left Washington "a confirmed Southern hero because he had been singled out to bear the brunt of the whole nation's intolerance."

"An assortment of radio commentators, columnists, Republicans and Democrats had a go at bating Bilbo while overlooking the noisiest messes in their own backyards," Carter said.

"The result was that Mississippi responded just as Bilbo knew it would—it thumbed its nose at the outside world and sent Bilbo back to Washington. And there was not as much violence in his district as there was in that of Rep. Vito Marcantonio's district in New York." The editor added.

"Therefore, this investigation of the denial of the right to vote

simply served to confirm for Mississippians their fears of extreme outside pressure against their political and social procedures. As a result, when Bilbo left Washington, he left it as Bilbo, the Southern martyr, instead of as 'Bilbo, the profiteer,'" Carter said. Tue. 1-7-47

Carter said observers will question a congressional procedure which, along party lines, singled out one man "however evil," for "political punishment to the exclusion of any others."

Defeat of Bilbo must not be mistaken for defeat of bigotry in the United States, Carter said. Americans, he said, have shown a great willingness to rely on Federal intervention in this case as "a panacea of discrimination and intolerance."

Intolerance, he said, does not exist primarily in the south, "nor is it directed to Negroes alone. From coast to coast 25,000,000 Americans—Jews, Oriental people, Mexicans and Northern Negroes—feel the rash of discrimination.

The author and editor also expressed concern over what he termed the precarious position of democracy in a world of want and intolerance and said the few western democracies may awaken someday to find themselves the "persecuted minority."

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2 COMMITTEE POSTS ARE HELD FOR BILBO

The Times

Democrats Amend Proffered List—Barkley Protests on Allotment for Party

New York, N.Y.
Tues. 1-7-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6—The Democratic steering committee left two Senate committee vacancies for Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, who departed yesterday for New Orleans, where he will undergo an operation prior to returning to take up his fight for admission to the Senate.

The Democratic list for committee posts was presented by Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, minority leader, when the Republicans put theirs forward. However, Mr. Barkley had to withdraw it when it was discovered a few errors had been made. These were corercted after the Senate had recessed, and the corrected list was made public.

Mr. Brkley complained about the ratio of Republicans to Democrats on the Rules, Labor, Appropriations and Public Lands Committees. On the eleven other committees authorized by the Reorganization Act, there are seven Republicans and six Democrats.

Taft Defends Ratio

The Appropriations Committee consists of twelve Republicans and nine Democrats. The Rules, Labor and Public Lands Committees each are made up of eight Republicans and five Democrats. Senators Robert A. Taft of Ohio and Erward V. Robertson of Wyoming said that on those committees the majority needed more complete control than would be guaranteed by a majority of one vote.

The veteran Democrats were placed on such powerful committees as those on foreign relations, finance, appropriations and the armed forces. Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York remains on the Banking Committee as ranking minority member and on the Foreign Relations Committee as third ranking minority member.

Democrats dropped from the Foreign Relations Committee were Senators Claude Pepper of Florida, Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island, Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico, Lister Hill of Alabama and Scott W. Lucas of Illinois. Senator James B. Murray of Montana asked to be excused from this assignment so he could serve on the Public Lands Committee.

Limited to Two Committees

Under the Reorganization Act, each minority Senator is permitted to serve on only two committees.

The ranking minority members of the fifteen standing committees were announced as follows:

Agriculture — Senator Elmer Thomas, Oklahoma.
Appropriations — Senator K. D. McKellar, Tennessee.
Armed Services—Millard E. Tydings, Maryland.
Banking—Robert F. Wagner, New York.
Civil Service—Dennis Chavez, New Mexico.
District of Columbia — Olin D. Johnston, South Carolina.
Expenditures in Executive Departments—John L. McClellan, Arkansas.
Finance—Walter F. George, Georgia.
Foreign Relations—Tom Connally, Texas.
Interstate and Foreign Commerce—Edwin C. Johnson, Colorado.
Judiciary—Pat McCarran, Nevada.
Labor and Public Welfare—Elbert D. Thomas, Utah.
Public Lands—Carl A. Hatch, New Mexico.
Public Works—John H. Overton, Louisiana.
Rules—Carl Hayden, Arizona.

Senator Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia took cognizance of the Democratic party's minority status by resigning the chairmanship of the War Investigating Committee in favor of Senator Owen Brewster, Republican of Maine. Mr. Kilgore will remain as a member of the committee.

The Times
New York, N.Y.
Tues. 1-7-47

Mississippi's Sovereign Rights Not at Stake in the Denial of Bilbo a Seat in the United States Senate

The Florida Times Union
Jacksonville Fla.

By WALTER LIPPMANN

Senator Ellender of Louisiana is quoted in "The Washington Post" as saying the Bilbo case is a "shameful attempt to interfere with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi." That is a serious accusation, and if the Senator can sustain it, then not only should Bilbo be seated but the Senate should offer its humble apologies for all the trouble to which two committees of the Senate have subjected him.

Tue. 1-7-47

But as a matter of fact Senator Ellender is himself the chairman of one of the two committees that have investigated Bilbo. Presumably, then, it was not an interference with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi to inquire into the charges that in the primaries and in the election Bilbo violated the Federal Constitution, the Federal criminal code, and the Hatch Act.

The committee which investigated these charges consisted of five senators. Three of them, Mr. Ellender himself, Mr. Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, and Mr. Maybank of South Carolina, decided after hearing the evidence that Bilbo "had been duly and legally elected to represent the State of Mississippi." Two of them, Mr. Bridges of New Hampshire and Mr. Hickenlooper of Iowa, decided after hearing the evidence that Bilbo's credentials are tainted "with fraud and corruption."

All that a majority of the Senate has done is to deny Bilbo a seat until the whole Senate can decide whether it agrees with Messrs. Ellender, Thomas and Maybank or with Messrs. Bridges and Hickenlooper. Now it cannot be an interference with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi for the Senate as a whole to judge for itself whether it agrees with its own committee. If there was any interference with the sovereignty of Mississippi, it occurred when Mr. Ellender could investigate Bilbo's election, then it cannot be "shameful" for the rest of the Senate to investigate Bilbo's election.

Tue. 1-7-47

The right of the Senate to be the "judge" of Bilbo's "elections, returns and qualifications" comes directly from the Constitution (Article I Section 5, Paragraph 1). There is no doubt that this important article in the Constitution is an "interference" with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi and of every other state in the Union. The Senate is the final judge, and not the State which elected him, whether a man is properly elected and duly qualified to be a Senator of the United States.

That, whether Mr. Ellender approves it or not, is one of the basic principles of the American Government. A State does not have an absolute sovereign right to send any one it pleases to the Senate. The sovereign rights of the State are limited in this respect by the Constitution of the United States. Mr. Bilbo, if he were seated, would not be the Senator of Mississippi but a Senator of the United States; he would not be an officer of the State but an officer of the Union.

There is no question, I think, that this is the fundamental principle of the case. It was established in the Philadelphia Convention which framed the Constitution. On June 26, 1787, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut moved that the salaries of Senators "be paid by their respective States" rather than "out of the national treasury." The whole question which Mr. Ellender has in mind was raised concretely by that motion: If a Senator is the representative of a sovereign state, then his salary should be paid by his State: if he is an officer of the United States, then his salary should be paid from the national treasury. Tue. 1-7-47

It was James Madison of Virginia who led the opposition to Ellsworth's proposal. "The motion," he said, "would make the Senate like Congress (he meant the Congress of the Articles of Confederation) the mere agents and advocates of states' interests and views, instead of being the impartial umpires and guardians of justice and general good." Though the vote was close (six States to five), Madison prevailed, and ever since then it has been the established doctrine that the Senate is not an assemblage of the agents of the States but the organ of a national government.

The question, of course, arises—and this point no doubt has troubled Mr. Ellender—as to how—if the Legislature of Mississippi chooses a Senator, or, as it is now under the Seventeenth Amendment, the voters of Mississippi—a Senator is, nevertheless, an officer of the National Government and not the agent of his State. The answer to that question was given by Senator Robert Morris in the First Congress when he said that "the legislatures were only the machines to choose them. We were Senators of the United States and had nothing to do with one State more than another."

This view is confirmed by Judge Story in his famous Commentaries: "Each (Senator) is an officer of the Union, deriving his powers and qualifications from the Constitution, and neither created by, dependent upon, nor controllable by, the States."

What this all goes to prove is that Mr. Ellender is entitled to defend Bilbo, or even to say that he judges him to be duly elected and properly qualified to be a Senator of the United States. But he cannot, without opposing the principle of the Constitution, assert that the Senate, if it disagrees with him, is thereby denying to the State of Mississippi any sovereign right which it has possessed since it was admitted to the Union.

Bilbo, Condemned By Committee's Report, Asks For 'Open Mind'

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

BY JOHN B. OWEN

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2—(AP)—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.), accused by an investigating committee of misusing his office and breaking the law, today faced a Republican move to strip him at once of his senatorship. Thurs. 1-2-47

Chairman Robert A. Taft, of the Senate Republican policy committee, disclosed that a majority of his group favors an attempt to "stop Bilbo at the door" at tomorrow's opening session—barring him from taking the oath of office.

A report signed by a bi-partisan majority of the Senate war investigating committee declared the evidence of its investigation "clearly indicates that Sen. Bilbo improperly used his high office as United States senator for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors."

Committee Chairman Kilgore (D., W. Va.) asserted that "in view of the scope of the findings" the whole record is being laid before the attorney general, whose agents were previously disclosed to be studying the Bilbo transactions.

Bilbo, anticipating the committee report might furnish ammunition for an ouster attack, called on his colleagues in a letter to keep open minds and read all the evidence.

A voluminous response to the report, prepared on Bilbo's behalf by his attorney, Forrest B. Jackson, said:

The News

"The true evidence presented to the committee clearly indicates that Sen. Bilbo was guilty of no impropriety as a United States senator and that he did not in any instance use his high office for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors or any other persons." Birmingham, Ala.

Taft predicted that if the Republicans decide to act at tomorrow's opening, they will draw enough Democratic votes for the majority which he said could bar Bilbo from starting his third term. Thurs.

Throwing down the gage of battle when Bilbo steps up to take the oath would put the decision in the hands of the holdover senators—before the new Republican majority can take control. 1-2-47

It also would risk a filibuster which might tie the new Senate in knots and block indefinitely the procedure of swearing in the remainder of the members.

Masked: SEN. THEODORE G. BILBO went home to Poplarville, Miss., to recuperate from an operation to remove part of his jawbone. Bilbo, who has cancer of the mouth, talked to reporters from behind a mask covering the lower part of his face. "I wouldn't let you see my mouth for anything," he said. "They took off my whole chin." Bilbo said he would return to Washington to fight for his Senate seat after a plastic operation to restore his lower jaw. "If I die my spirit will go back there and haunt the hell out of them," he added, "but I'm figuring on living a hundred years."

The New Bilbo

Theodore Bilbo will have a new chin, new set of teeth and look 15 years younger after his next operation for mouth cancer, "The Man" said last night at Poplarville, Miss. The Mississippi Democrat is fretting to undergo the operation so he can return to Washington to fight for the seat the 80th Congress so far has barred him.

37a(3) 1947 Mississippi (Probe)

Committee Report Finds Bilbo 'Misused High Office'

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala

Thurs. 1-2-47

37a(3)

By EDWIN B. HAAKINSON

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1.—(AP)—A majority of the Senate War Investigating Committee reported tonight that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D), Mississippi, "misused his high office for personal gain" and violated Federal statutes.

Along with this finding the Senate was advised in a statement by Chairman Kilgore (D), West Virginia, that the report and evidence have been sent to the attorney general "for such action as may be just and proper."

That announcement, made by Kilgore in filing the report with the secretary of the Senate, followed the disclosure by a Justice Department official that an inquiry into Bilbo's affairs by the department "has been in progress in Mississippi and Washington for some time." The official said the investigation was independent of any committee proceedings.

"Final judgment concerning the matter of improper conduct affecting the fitness of a senator to serve must be made by the Senate as a whole," Kilgore said, "and under our form of government conclusions concerning statutory violations of the criminal code are reserved to the courts."

For this reason, Kilgore said he sent the Bilbo report "and the record of the hearings and other evidence to the attorney general for such action as may be just and proper." 1-2-47

The report, indicated that Republicans may be joined by some Democrats in a battle to oust Bilbo. The Mississippian was elected to a third term last November after serving 12 years as a United States senator and eight years as governor of Mississippi.

Kilgore and Senator Mead, New York, another Democrat, joined four Republicans, Brewster, Maine; Ferguson, Michigan; Ball, Minnesota, and Knowland, California, in approving the strongly-worded report. Mead, however, will not be a member of the new Senate.

Senator Connally (D), Texas, was the only member to disapprove the Bilbo criticism although, two other Democrats, Tunnell, Delaware, and Briggs, Missouri, neither approved or disapproved.

Kilgore summarized the report this way: The Advertiser

"The report finds that Senator Bilbo, in return for the aid he had given certain war contractors and others before Federal departments, solicited and received political contributions, accepted personal compensation, gifts, and services, and solicited and accepted amounts of money for a personal charity administered solely by him."

The 22-page report itself stated: Montgomery, Ala

"The evidence presented to this committee clearly indicates that Senator Bilbo improperly used his high office as United States senator for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors." Thurs. 1-2-47

No recommendation was made to the Senate as to what it should or should not do regarding allowing Bilbo to serve. But the committee noted that its lengthy investigations, followed by both closed and open hearings, had sought facts that "might have a bearing upon his fitness to serve as a senator."

It was perfectly proper for Bilbo as a senator to aid Mississippi contractors in obtaining nearly $26,000,000 worth of war jobs, the committee found, but added:

"The impropriety of Senator Bilbo's actions consists in the acceptance of gifts, services, and political contributions from these same contractors whom he aided. The committee is unable to accept the theory that Senator Bilbo's aid to those dealing in government contracts and the benefits he received were unrelated."

Listing "gratuities or benefits" from war contractors to Bilbo as worth from $57,089.05 to $88,721.44, the committee singled out for comment a sedan valued at $1,907, an artificial lake and swimming pool on "his estate at Poplarville, Miss.," and a $48,042 loss by a contractor friend in operation of the Bilbo farm.

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Discarding testimony by Bilbo and his contractor friends, the committee found these "were not bona fide transactions in the ordinary course of business, but, on the other hand, were an attempted subterfuge to conceal the donations of funds in payment for services rendered to them by Senator Bilbo."

Thurs. 1-2-47

Bilbo's acknowledgment that he received $30,000 from three war contractors in 1942 to finance the unsuccessful campaign to elect Wall Doxey (D), Mississippi, to the Senate also drew fire in the report.

The committee said this was "prohibited by a Federal criminal statute." It was one of the matters called to attention of Attorney General Clark.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

Bilbo And Ickes

37a(3)

The Constitution Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON—It would be unfair to Harold L. Ickes and Joseph Guffey, until just now a Senator from Pennsylvania, to say that Sen. Theodore Bilbo, of Mississippi, is less beloved of his brethren who jeered the fallen and apparently dying little peckerwood out of town and on his way to the operating table. He is cheap and he is ornery, but Ickes confessed himself a miser and Guffey owed an income tax for years and years. Bilbo, at least, never pretended that he lived only to serve the common man, and he deserves a measure of respect for that.

Fri 1-10-47

THE LAWS and the system that Bilbo invoked had prevailed in Mississippi and other deep-South States since Reconstruction. They were devised before he was born to assure the outnumbered and destitute planters that they would not again be governed and Jim-Crowed and taxed by the freedmen, and Bilbo neither wrote them nor changed them by so much as a comma. An oppressed minority had rebelled to become oppressors of a predatory majority and the congressional hearings of the time revealed horrible persecution and exploitation of the beaten Southern Rebels.

On the same ground, Byrnes, the resigning Secretary of State, might be repudiated, and the Bankheads of Alabama and hundreds of other Southern politicians, including some statesmen, and certainy including Sen. Claude Pepper, of Florida, who finds himself in strange company among the New York Communists.

What now has Bilbo done in Mississippi that hasn't been done there and elsewhere in the South, ever since a desperate people rebelled against an earlier generation of carpetbaggers and scalawags in a situation now being repeated, for God only knows what eventual result, in Germany? And what has been his crime, except the exercise of a nasty disposition that he was born with, and no worse, surely, than many another in the party of humanity?

TO ACCUSE HIM as a grafter, exploiting the power and influence of his office for private gain is to repudiate the holy example of him who used the presidency to swindle a gullible groceryman of $196,000 on a loan. His operations differed only in detail and magnitude, but not in principle, from that of Rep. Coffee of the State of Washington, a New Dealer of high degree, whose price for obtaining a contract for a bidder on a hospital job was $2,500. He is but one of a whole gallery of sticky-fingered imposters whose names will soon be coming into view now that the Republicans control the committees and have the power to examine the income tax returns.

THE DEPARTMENT of Justice has been tricky and cunning down to now in smothering tax frauds which have been turned in by agents of the Treasury. It has stuffed away and forgotten reports of corruption calling for prosecution, on the pretense, when any explanation at all was given, that these matters required further study. But there came a time in the Harding administration when the department itself came under investigation, and that probably will happen again.

The total repudiation of Bilbo as a regular, organization Democrat was dictated not by honest motives but by the Communist organization in New York and the hypocrisy of fakers in both parties who would be Bilbos themselves in the same circumstances.

I WOULD ARGUE that Bilbo, by his very vulgarity, his candor where suaver men evade and pretend, has forced an issue that the Roosevelts, Mr. and Mrs., would not have dared to stand upon in 1932, knowing that if they did, he never would have carried his hip-pocket province South of the line and would not have been President. They, and Ickes, too, and 10,000 parasites of the Northern Democratic fold who fattened their fortunes and their vanity in the years since '32, all knew the system by which they carried the South four times and were willing beneficiaries of a process which, now that all is lost and their regime discredited, they suddenly find abominable.

THE GRAFT is another matter, covered by other and higher precedents. It may be challenged only by those with clean hands, but not by men and women who never forgot that a certificate of election was a ticket to the gravy train. So, aside from the graft, Bilbo stood accused only of traditional Mississippi and deep-South practice. He is condemned, not for anything he had done, but for his manners, which compare well with the manners of those who could resort to his language because it is the only tongue they know.

In The Nation

37a(3)

The Times

Precedents for Challenging and Unseating Bilbo

New York Times

By ARTHUR KROCK

Fri. 1-3-47

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2—If Senators opposed to seating Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi as a colleague have a majority of the votes of those members present and constituting a quorum, they can oblige him to "stand aside" tomorrow with the support of numerous precedents. If they have a majority to declare his seat vacant after inspection and argument of the charges, the precedent in the Lorimer case gives ample foundation for that action.

An assured majority in both instances against Senator-elect Bilbo is the general prediction.

William Lorimer was elected to the Senate from Illinois and presented his credentials "at the door" in 1911. A committee of investigation, having reviewed the grounds of contest, had found that he would have been elected without the votes that were proved to have been bought, and that he should be seated. But Senators Elihu Root of New York and Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana were able to "stop him at the door" for the session, and in the next session, on July 13, 1912, they succeeded in ousting him by a simple majority, 55 to 28, after the Senate had declined specifically to "unseat" him, 46 to 40, on March 1, 1911. Fri 1-3-47

Up to that time, while five members of Congress had been expelled by a majority vote despite the two-thirds requirement of Article 1, Section 5, of the Constitution, it was not accepted as a binding precedent. The chief argument had been whether this phrase meant two-thirds of a quorum or of the entire membership—a point raised by Gouverneur Morris in 1804 and not settled until 1919, when the Supreme Court, in Missouri Pacific Railway v. Kansas (248 U. S. 276), held that two-thirds of a quorum was the legal construction.

Mr. Root and Beveridge, however, worked out a plan whereby the resolution that expelled Lorimer merely held his election invalid and that therefore his seat was vacant. It carried and became the precedent for similar cases in the future. Therefore, if a simple majority of a quorum votes that Bilbo's election was invalid and his seat vacant, the action will be conclusive as in the instance of Lorimer.

Floor Privilege Granted

The motion to stand aside may encounter a filibuster which will delay the organization of the Senate. And certainly the motion is debatable, so that there will be a discussion of some length if that is the wish of any Senator or group of Senators. But eventually a majority can put it into effect.

Before Lorimer's seat was declared vacant he availed himself of the privilege of the floor that was extended to him to defend himself. This he did in a display of cross-questioning (though he was not a lawyer) that was notable for its skill and ability, and in a final speech of such eloquence and sympathetic appeal that the majority against him was in doubt until it was registered.

If Bilbo is not given the same privilege, while "standing aside," it will be the first denial in similar instances. The others that are illustrative concerned Senators-elect Vare of Pennsylvania and Smith of Illinois.

The consideration of the Vare case lasted from Dec. 5, 1927, until Dec. 6, 1929. He was ordered to stand aside by a vote of 56 to 30 in a resolution to that effect presented by the late Senator Norris. It recited that his credentials were "tainted with fraud and corruption" and referred the matter to committee. On the last-named date Vare's seat was declared vacant by a vote of 58 to 22—incidentally, more than two-thirds. Fri. 1-3-47

The Smith Case

Smith presented himself twice "at the door"—on Jan. 19, 1927, and on Dec. 5 of the same year. Meanwhile his election was being investigated by a Senate committee. On both occasions he was ordered to stand aside but awarded the privilege of the floor as Vare had been. Moving faster than in the Lorimer case, the Senate on Jan. 19, 1928, voted on a resolution asserting that: To seat Smith was "contrary to public policy, harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate, dangerous to the perpetuity of a free government"; the foregoing "taints his credentials with fraud and corruption"; he is "not entitled to his seat" and "a vacancy exists." The Senate approved this, 61 to 23, once more dispensing with the Lorimer case precedent by casting more than two-thirds in the affirmative. In the text of the resolution, however, it employed the formula by which the two-thirds requirement had been by-passed in 1912.

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Nevertheless, Congress repeatedly has done that in this century, and the same procedure is indicated with Bilbo.

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The Advertiser
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The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 1-6-47

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"The Man" left full of determination. He said he hopes to return "at the earliest possible moment with my fighting clothes on." But that may depend upon his affliction which will keep him away for at least two months.

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37a(3) 1947

Mississippi (Probe)

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

Sen. Harrison's Spirit Watches With Delight

Atlanta Constitution

Sat-1-11-47

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—One of the most interesting stories being recalled about Sen. Theodore (The Man) Bilbo, now that he seems destined to be ousted from his office, concerns the part he played in the election of Sen. Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, as majority leader of the upper chamber some years ago.

Sen. Barkley won the coveted post by the narrow margin of one vote in one of the hottest contests of its kind in years. His opponent had been the late Sen. Pat Harrison, from Bilbo's own State of Mississippi.

The two Mississippi Senators, long political foes, were not on speaking terms. Neither deigned to recognize the other in their various chance meetings about the Capitol or in the Senate chamber.

Sen. Harry Byrd, of Virginia, one of those for Sen. Harrison, realized that the contest would be close. A count of noses had shown that the outcome might hinge on a single vote. Consequently he set out to patch up the differences between the two warring Mississippians, hoping thus to bring Bilbo over to the support of his own colleague.

Without consulting Harrison, then Chairman of the all-powerful Senate Finance Committee, Sen. Byrd took it on himself to approach Bilbo about the matter. He reminded him that it would be a shame for Sen. Harrison to be defeated for the majority leadership by the vote of a colleague from his own State.

The Price Sen. Bilbo listened to the Byrd plea complacently. When the Virginia Senator had finished, he remarked, thoughtfully: "Yes, I'll vote for Pat—on one condition."

Sen. Byrd was elated over his apparent success and pressed "The Man" for his terms. History hinged on Bilbo's decision.

Bilbo continued: "My price is very cheap. Just have Pat Harrison speak to me one time."

Sat-1-11-47

Then he explained that not once since he had been a member of the Senate had Harrison spoken to him.

"When we chance to get on an elevator at the same time," he said, "Pat looks over me as though I weren't there. When we meet in a committee room or in the corridors of the Capitol or the Senate Office Building, he never seems to see me. He crosses my path daily in the Senate chamber without the slightest token of recognition.

"Let Pat speak to me one time and I'll vote for him," he went on. "And I'll meet him more than half way, if he wants me to. If he doesn't want to come to me, I'll go to him. I'll walk into his office, if that is agreeable to him. Just let him hold out his hand in a friendly greeting. That is the only price I ask."

Atlanta Const.

1-11-47

Atlanta, Ga.

Sen. Byrd, who recalls these words of the little Mississippian from their meeting, then hastened to Sen. Harrison in his role of peace maker.

Harrison heard him out, but was adamant. Deep animosities had existed between the two of them. Finally, he gave his answer, the effect of which was "to Hell with him."

Defeat Sen. Byrd's efforts had failed. The matter rested there. And when the Democrats met in caucus a few days later to select a successor to the late Sen. Joe Robinson, of Arkansas, who had died, the deciding vote was cast by Bilbo. It was cast against Harrison.

The defeat was a crushing blow to Sen. Harrison. There are those who say that he died of a broken heart from it, so much had his heart been set on the post. In any event, he did die a year or so later, never seeming to recover from a broken spirit suffered after his defeat.

It is impossible to criticize Sen. Bilbo for his action in the case. He certainly went to the extreme in displaying an attitude of magnanimity. He asked a very simple thing as the price of his vote—the courtesy of a friendly greeting.

Nor is it easy to deny a high degree of admiration for Sen. Harrison's unrelenting stand. So bitter had been the enmity between him and Sen. Bilbo that his unforgiveness was not difficult to understand. He preferred to go down to defeat rather than make a gesture of pacification.

Sat-1-11-47

If the spirit of Sen. Harrison hovers over Washington, where he was a dynamic figure for so many years, it can hardly be denied that it watched with some delight the events of last week revolving around the move to oust his former enemy.

Jennings Perry

Pay Day

JACKSON, TENN.

P.M.

1-3-47 Fri

New York N.Y.

Sen. Bilbo's evident belief that as a last resort his Southern Democratic colleagues will filibuster to prevent a vote in the Senate that might bar him proceeds from several rationalizations:

Perry

¶ One, that he is too valuable to the Democratic side, now in the minority, to be lost. But this reasoning stumbles upon the simple fact that if Bilbo is barred the side loses nothing. His successor from Mississippi would be a Democrat.

¶ Two, that the Southern Senators must defend him in order to defend the lopsided electoral system by which most of them have come to office and by which they hope to stay in office. With guttersnipe political worldly - wisdom, Bilbo knows that the real issue for his Southern colleagues is not whether Bilbo has shaken down war contractors or personally has intimidated would-be voters in his state but whether the denial of his seat even on these tangent grounds would not amount to a stern condemnation of the completely undemocratic election practices that prevail in most of the South. Bilbo knows that it is not just Bilbo but the system that produced him that is on trial, and he counts on his colleagues to understand the risk as well as he does.

1-3-47 Fri

¶ Three, that the Southerners will filibuster for him because he has filibustered for them; and indeed they are obligated to him in this respect since, in the crucial free-suffrage tests in the Senate in recent years, the dirty work of talking poll tax legislation to death has been detailed to and executed by the man from Mississippi. Time and again, while the slope-shouldered little Senator has held the poll tax fort, mumbling for hours and days against the clock, making an exhibition of himself and a laughing stock of the helpless Senate itself, his fellow Southerners—McKellar of Tennessee, Connally of Texas, Byrd of Virginia, George of Georgia—have sat out the nasty battle Bilbo was fighting for them no less than for himself.

Now, Bilbo has a right to feel, it is their turn. In the past he has saved their faces; he walked in the mire in order that they could walk in the road. Now they must save his seat (or what is "honor" for?) and, if in the process they have to get down in the ditch as he did and dirty their white shirt fronts, they owe it to him, after all.

It may be that Bilbo is expecting too much of brotherly gratitude. At best a filibuster is a shameful business, a willful negation of the democratic process, a roadblock in which the few threaten to stop government indefinitely unless the majority bows to their will. It is fighting foul. And when the object of the filibuster is as foul, as in the effort of the Southern members (Pepper of Florida always excepted) to hold on to their privilege of running before a restricted electorate, few members relish the thought of prominence in it.

P.M.

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New York N.Y.

That was why Bilbo, who had a thick hide and no reputation to lose anyway, was engaged to front for his fellow Southerners in the poll tax deal. And that is why it is far from certain now that those Bilbo takes to be his partners will be willing to stand up and talk themselves hoarse for Bilbo. For the Senators to participate in such a filibuster would be for them to associate themselves with a cause already tarred—and it will not deeply occur to the Senators that their moral debt to the man is the more binding because his untouchableness has been accumulated largely in the performance of odious chores by which they benefitted and in which they with as much cover as possible, connived.

Undoubtedly it is because Senator Taft understands this situation that he does not "put much stock in a filibuster" to save Bilbo. I don't either—if the Senate is ready to face the real issue in the Bilbo case. But I can see where, if in the showdown the Southern brothers fail to spread for Bilbo the tent of elastic oratory he has in other days held above them, The Man will have the right to scorn them all for deadbeats.

A SATISFACTORY "COMPROMISE"

New York Times

M 1-6-47

New York, N.Y.

The Bilbo compromise reached by the Senate late Saturday afternoon was really a victory for those who carried on the fight against seating the Mississippi Senator-elect. By the same token it was a surrender for those who insisted that he should be seated first and tried afterward. One strong motive for this surrender was the apparent willingness of the Republicans, with some Democratic support, to fight a filibuster to the bitter end, and possibly to amend the Senate rules so that cloture could thereafter be imposed by simple majority vote. If this step were to be taken the Southern Democrats would be unable to talk to death such measures as anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching bills, which they regard as aimed at the rights of the States.

Of course another reason for compromise or surrender was that Mr. Bilbo was too ill to defend himself. No one can wish to humiliate or harass a man tormented by a serious illness. On the contrary, in sheer humanity and for the sake of the principles involved, Mr. Bilbo's political enemies as well as his friends and apologists must wish him an early and complete recovery. The case can then be decided on its merits, with as full a hearing as Mr. Bilbo may desire. There is not much doubt as to what the decision will be if the Republican majority and that considerable group of Democrats who accept the findings of the committee report stick to their guns. It will not be, however, the persecution of a sick old man or an indictment of a State. It will be, or should be, an attempt to raise the standards of political morality, by a stern example, throughout the nation.

BILBO AT THE SENATE DOOR

N.Y. Times

Theodore Gilmore Bilbo, of Poplarville, Mississippi, comes to the door of the United States Senate today labeled with the charge, formally made by the War Investigating Committee, that he "improperly used his high office as United States Senator for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors." Two Democrats and four Republicans signed this report. Two Democrats abstained from voting on it. One committee member, Senator Connally of Texas, voted against it. Efforts made in Washington yesterday to agree on a procedure for keeping Bilbo out or putting him out did not get much further than a vote of the Republican steering committee to reject him. The Senate, like the House of Representatives, is constitutionally the judge of the "qualifications of its own members." The truth has to be faced that some Senators think Mr. Bilbo qualified, and may fight for the privilege of continuing their twelve-year association with him.

New York, N.Y.

The main facts of Mr. Bilbo's activities are not in dispute. He did assist certain war contractors, and in this fact, taken by itself, the committee finds no impropriety. He also received money and other favors from contractors. His explanation that the money was a political contribution and that the favors were either paid back in money or kind, or would be so paid back, or were performed out of pure and disinterested kindness of heart, did not satisfy the investigating committee. We hope it will not satisfy the Senate majority which is necessary to exclude Mr. Bilbo, or, if another course is followed, the two-thirds majority which would be required to expel him once he is seated.

Fri. 1-3-47

WILL STOP BILBO 'AT SENATE DOOR,' REPUBLICANS SAY

New York Times
Thur 1-2-47
New York, N.Y.
37a(3)

Taft Indicates Their Decision and Sufficient Democratic Aid to Enforce It

MISSISSIPPIAN IS DEFIANT

Declares Case Can Bar All Other Action and Contests Report Made Against Him

By **HAROLD B. HINTON**
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1—The Republican majority in the Senate will stop Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat of Mississippi, "At the door" when he seeks to take the oath of office for his third term on Friday, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio indicated today.

The final decision will be made at a meeting of the fifty-one Republican members tomorrow.

Mr. Tafte discussed the situation after a meeting of the Republican Steering Committee where the majority opinion favored starting acting at once against the Mississippian. 1-2-47

He declined to state the grounds on which such a move would be based, pointing out that the Senate need not ascribe any reason for refusing to seat a prospective member, and added that enough Democrats would go along with a motion initiated by the Republicans to insure its passage.

Threat to Halt Other Business

When Mr. Bilbo learned of the apparent decision of the majority, he said that such a move would disregard all Senate precedent "back to 1789" and that, under Rule VI, all business would have to cease until his case was completed.

The rule provides that the presentation of credentials by a Senator-elect is always in order, except during the reading and correction of the Journal, and adds that "all questions and motions arising or made upon the presentation of such credentials shall be proceeded with until disposed."

"This would involve extended debate, and rightly so," Mr. Bilbo said. "A great deal of relevant ground would have to be covered."

The possibility of a filibuster by Southern sympathizers has been considered by the Republicans, but today they appeared prepared to go thourgh with it even if the organization of the Senate should be delayed.

Report Charges Law Violation

The accusation that Mr. Bilbo had been guilty of "an illegal practice in volation of existing Federal statutes" was made today in a report to the Senate by its War Investigating Committee.

In a letter transmitting the report to Leslie J. Biffle, Secretary of the Senate, Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Democrat of West Virginia, chairman of the committee, said he was sending a copy of its report and a transcript of its hearings to the Attorney General for possible criminal proceedings.

New York Times
Thur 1-2-47
New York, N.Y.

"Final judkment concerning the matter of improper conduct affecting the fitness of a Senator to serve," Mr. Kilgore wrote, "must be made by the Senate as a whole, and under our form of government conclusions regarding statutory violations of the criminal code are reserved to the courts."

He summed up his committee's report as follows:

"The report finds that Senator Bilbo, in return for the aid he had given certain war contractors and others before Federal Departments, solicited and received political contributions, accepted personal compensation, gifts and services, and solicited and accepted substantial amounts of money for a personal charity administered solely by him.

"The report concludes that by these transactions Senator Bilbo misused his high office and violated certain Federal statutes."

Bilbo Writes to Senators

Mr. Bilbo sent a letter to each member of the Senate today, with an analysis of the testimony before the war investigating subcommittee attempting to controvert the conclusions in the report.

Observing that Mr. Kilgore's letter "goes further in making charges than the report itself," he denied, in general and in detail, all charges in the report.

The committee's charges were based on "Senator Bilbo's acceptance of expensive gifts and donations of personal property and the acceptance of improvements to real estate, provided by contractors who have profited out of their work for the Government in the war effort."

New York Times
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Thur 1-2-47
New York, N.Y.

The Committee gave these items a minimum value of $57,089.05 and a maximum of $88,721.44.

The allegation of illegality referred to Title 18, Section 61 M-1 of the United States Code, which prohibits political contributions by Government contractors while negotiating for a contract or while performing under one.

"Nor shall any person knowingly solicit any such contribution from any such person or firm, for any purpose during any such period," the law also states.

Denying solicitation, Senator Bilbo testified that he had received $30,000 from three contractors, then engaged in work on Keesler Army Air Field, near Biloxi, Miss., as contributions to the unsuccessful campaign by Wall Doxey to obtain the Democratic nomination to the Senate in 1942.

Signers and Non-Signers

The report was signed by Senators Kilgore, Chairman of the full committee, and James M. Mead of New York, chairman of the subcommittee, Democrats; Senators Owen Brewster of Maine, Joseph H. Ball of Minnesota, William A. Knowland of California and Homer Ferguson of Michigan, a member of the subcommittee, Republicans.

Senator Tom Connally, Democrat of Texas, disapproved the report. Senator James M. Tunnell, Democrat of Delaware, did not approve or disapprove it, on the ground that he had heard little of the testimony and would not be a member of the Senate.

Senator Frank P. Briggs, Democrat of Missouri, abstained from approval or disapproval on the ground that he had heard none of the testimony.

The report stated that the committee was unable to accept the theory that Senator Bilbo's aid to those dealing in Government contracts and the benefits he received were "unrelated."

"The committee finds no impropriety in Senator Bilbo's assisting his constituents in obtaining and performing war contracts," it said. "The impropriety of Senator Bilbo's actions consists in the acceptance of gifts, services, and political contributions from these same contractors whom he had aided.

"The evidence presented to this committee clearly indicates that Senator Bilbo improperly used his high office as United States Senator for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors."

New York Times
Thur 1-2-47
New York, N.Y.

HAROLD L. ICKES

Bilboism Is Not Dead

The Constitution

The immediate cause of Theodore G. Bilbo's postponement of his fight for a seat in the Senate, of course, is to be regretted. No one can fail to feel sympathy for a man with such a disease as that from which he is suffering. However, citizens everywhere are entitled to rejoice over the rebuff that has been given to what Bilbo represented in our public life. The fight on Bilboism has resulted in a notable victory but the struggle should go on.

Atlanta, Ga.

IT IS TOO BAD that all the members of Congress do not come within the category of disinterested and patriotic public servants. Fortunately, it can be said, with every confidence, that the overwhelming number of them are above venality in any form. The honest legislator is entitled to protection against the dishonest one, just as the United States Senate owed it to itself to refuse to permit Bilbo to take the oath of office. There should be some check on the business connections, the investments and the non-official income of members of Congress.

Why should not the Senate and the House set up a small joint committee composed of members of the highest character and integrity to which all Senators and Representatives should be required to make reports of the investments and income of themselves and those of their immediate family? It should be especially incumbent upon lawyer-members to disclose their outside sources of income. It is through law firms that legislators are frequently influenced to vote for or against a certain measure. By employing a particular law firm, a member of which may also be a member of the Congress, retainers and fees can be collected and a share of them go to the lawyer-legislator. This is a situation that calls for discriminating but firm handling if the Congress is to rid itself of the suspicion with which some of its members are frequently regarded.

Friday - 1-10-47

WHILE I am a member of the bar I cannot ignore the disposition of many who seek favors from the Government to employ a law firm, a member of which may be an influential Senator or Representative.

NO MEMBER of Congress who retains his interest in his law firm should go paddling about Washington, from department to department, soliciting, and even insisting upon, favorable decisions, following which he will take his cut as a member of the firm.

BILBOISM has only been scotched. It has not been killed. Bilboism is not merely a cynical flaunting of Constitutional guarantees, it is not merely a callous denial of civil rights. It is more than resorting to terrorism to determine a political result. It is something in addition to accepting gifts from those for whom a favor has been done or the taking of a fee in a drug-addict case. Bilboism is all of these things and, at the same time, it is also a serving of both God and mammon by using official influence to enhance one's personal income.

Perhaps the greatest thing that this new Eightieth Congress could do would be to go straight through to the extirpation of Bilboism of every degree and shade.

Taft Calls Meeting To Map Strategy On Ousting Sen. Bilbo

The News
Birmingham Ala
Wed. 1-1-47

BY MARVIN L. ARROWSMITH

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1—(AP)—Policy-making Senate Republicans, committed to try to oust Democratic Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, turned today to the problem of how to do it.

Chairman Taft, of Ohio, called a New Year's Day meeting of the GOP Senate steering committee to map strategy as:

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1. The Justice Department pressed an independent investigation of Bilbo's affairs.

2. The embattled senator, promising to "fight on," declared anew that he is innocent of any wrongdoing.

3. The Senate war investigating committee scheduled for release tonight its report on an inquiry into Bilbo's dealings with war contractors.

4. The three Democratic members of the special Senate campaign investigating committee rushed work on a majority report which will contend no proof has been furnished to support charges that Bilbo intimidated Negroes from voting in last Summer's senatorial election in Mississippi.

The two Republican members of this committee are preparing a dissenting report. Wed. 1-1-47

Taft announced late yesterday that the new Republican steering committee had voted unanimously to try to bar Bilbo from the Senate.

"He will be attacked," Taft said. "When, where and how will be decided later."

Bilbo Awaiting Call To Hopital; Cancer Report Questionable

The News
Birmingham Ala
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JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 7—(AP)—Sen. Theo. G. Bilbo, old warhorse of Mississippi politics, was champing at the bit for a fight to the finish for his seat in the United States Senate as he awaited today a call to a New Orleans hospital where he is to undergo a mouth operation.

He arrived here at 2 p.m. yesterday and told a gathering in a hotel lobby that if he lives through the forthcoming operation, he'll continue his fight for his Senate seat "'til hell freezes over."

"If I live—if the Lord lets me live—I'm going back and fight 'til hell freezes over and I'm going to whip 'em."

"My mouth is giving me hell," he said. "That's why we called off the fight."

The "Southern boys," he said, realized the issue at stake was "no longer Bilbo, but the South, and our way of doing things."

He left here to go to his "dream house" at Poplarville.

Medical sources in New Orleans said the scheduled operation is a "wind up" of a previous operation last Summer when a malignant growth was removed from Bilbo's mouth. Tue. 1-7-47

The senator's condition said to be "not a recurrence of cancer." A leading surgeon there commented, "it is questionable if Bilbo ever had cancer."

PM
1-3-47 Fri.
New York, N.Y.

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, left, is counting on help today from these fellow Democrats—Sen. John Overton (La.), center, and Elmer Thomas (Okla.)—when the GOP moves to bar "The Man" from the Senate. The three got together yesterday at a party caucus in Washington.

Republicans Reject Plea for 12-Day Armistice; Showdown Is Today

PM 1-3-47, Fri. New York, N.Y.

Zero hour in the battle over Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) will come shortly after noon today when The Man steps forward to take his oath of office in the new Congress. P.M. Fri. 1-3-47

"Stop Bilbo" forces were prepared to push a resolution for passage by holdover Senators forcing Bilbo to stand aside until the Senate considers charges by the War Investigating Committee that he "used his high office for personal gain" and intimidated Negro voters in his State. Fri 1-3-47

"Keep Bilbo" die-hards among Southern Democrats were ready to attempt a filibuster on his behalf.

Bilbo himself said:

"When my name is called, I shall insist on taking oath," he told the United Press.

Sen. Burnet R. Maybank (D., S. C.), as leader of the Friends of Bilbo, said he and certain other Southern Democrats were prepared to "debate a week or longer. . . . We are determined to see that no Republican is seated tomorrow unless Bilbo takes his seat."

A series of moves and countermoves marked the 24-hour period preceding the opening of Congress.

First the Republican Steering Committee voted unanimously to turn their big guns on Bilbo when he steps forward, the second man in alphabetical order (after Raymond D. Baldwin, Conn.), to take his oath.

Then the Democratic leaders proposed a 12-day armistice, permitting Bilbo to take his seat and face ouster proceedings after Senate business is under way.

The full Republican conference debated this one, and, with one dissent, reaffirmed the original GOP plan to stop Bilbo at seating time.

Bilbo forces, led by Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D., La.), announced a "Keep Bilbo" rally for 10 a.m. today. Twenty - two Southern Democrats were invited. Maybank followed with his filibuster threat.

GOP leaders are expected to ask Bilbo to stand aside and, on his refusal, offer a resolution barring him and throwing the ouster case to the new Rules Committee headed by Sen. Wayland Brooks (R., Ill.).

"We have the votes to keep Bilbo from taking his seat; I am certain of that," said Sen. Robert A. Taft (R., O.). 1-3-47 Fri

The GOP leadership arrived at its decision to bar Bilbo at the threshold after hearing the minority report of two GOP members of the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee, disputing the majority report (by three Southern Democrats urging that Bilbo be seated. P.M. 1-3-47 Fri.

The Republicans—Styles Bridges (N. H.) and Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Ia.)—charged that Bilbo had violated "three or more Federal laws," each violation punishable by terms up to 10 years in prison, prohibiting intimidation or coercion of any voter, forbidding any two or more persons to conspire to injure any citizen in the exercise of Federal rights, and prohibiting any person from denying a citizen any Federal rights because of race or color. 1-3-47 P.M. 1-3-47 Fri

They said in part:

"Never to the knowledge of the undersigned has such vile, contemptible, inflammatory, and dangerous language been uttered in a campaign for the purpose of procuring nomination and election by an incumbent and member of the United States Senate sworn to uphold the Constitution.

". . . such speech constitutes a corrupt and flagrant abuse of the right of free speech. It cannot be justified on the basis of expediency or tradition, and the illegality of advocating exclusion of Negroes from the polls for reason of color or race is apparent . . . 1-3-47 Fri

"We . . . are of the opinion, based upon the inescapable conclusion that must be drawn of the entire record, that Sen. Bilbo by his own deliberate acts and upon his individual responsibility is guilty of such acts and conduct in connection with the 1946 primaries and election in the State of Mississippi as are contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the dignity and honor of the Senate; dangerous to the perpetuity of free government, and taint with fraud and corruption the credentials for a seat in the Senate presented by the said Theodore Bilbo."

THE ISSUE IS BILBOISM

The Times

The issue has not changed. It remains Bilbo and Bilboism. The conditions which created it were suggested by Mr Bilbo himself in the biographical sketch he contributed to the 1946 edition of the Congressional Directory. In this sketch he included the following data.

> Nominated for re-election to the United States Senate Aug. 27, 1940, defeating Governor Hugh L. White, wealthy lumberman of Columbia, Miss., by a vote of 91,334 to 62,641, Governor White carrying only 13 out of the 82 counties of the State; had no opposition in the general election in November.

37a(3) M-Bilbo

Let us take these facts in order. Mr. Bilbo defeated a "wealthy lumberman," thus establishing, in his own opinion, his own affinity with the common people. He did this in a primary election, which is the election that counts in Mississippi. He did it by winning 91,334 votes out of 153,775 votes cast, in a State which in 1940 had a population of 2,183,796. That fall Mississippi cast 175,616 votes for President. To see what this means let us compare Mississippi with Connecticut. Connecticut, in 1940, had a population of 1,709,242. In the Presidential election of that year, which was the one that counted in Connecticut, the State cast a total of 778,642 votes for the two major candidates. If we put the Mississippi primary vote beside the Connecticut Presidential vote, as under the circumstances we have a right to do, we find that five times as many voters cast ballots in Connecticut's important election as did in Mississippi's important election. New York, N.Y.

Bilbo and Bilboism are, in short, the products of a minority. It is not merely the Negro citizens of Mississippi who are disfranchised. If the normally eligible white citizens voted, as they do in Connecticut, the total vote would be two and a half or three times what it is. We are not insulting the State of Mississippi when we question Mr. Bilbo's fitness to be a Senator. We may even be paying tribute to a large majority of good Mississippi citizens who would not be represented, or misrepresented, by Mr. Bilbo if they could help it. Jan 1-3-47

The fact that Mr. Bilbo is not really answerable to a majority is itself immoral and probably helps to account for his obviously lax moral standards. To know what those standards are we do not have to go beyond his own admissions. He did favors for war contractors—an act not in itself improper. Then he received favors, in money and services, from the same contractors—an act which the Senate War Investigating Committee did rightly describe as improper. He has his own explanations for the favors received—the goodness of the human heart, Southern friendliness, the use of funds to help pay expenses of unsuccessful primary candidates who might otherwise have knifed the successful candidates. But no man whose ethical standards were high would have expected public opinion to accept such explanations.

The final question is whether a minority in the State of Mississippi, and those who sympathize with that minority, have a right to foist Mr. Bilbo on the Senate. If he were merely an ambassador from the State of Mississippi they might have that right. Since a Senator is actually a Federal official, paid out of Federal funds, making or killing laws which affect every citizen in the land, they do not have that right.

This, as we see it, and as we think enlightened Southerners also see it, remains the essence of the Bilbo case.

Bilbo Reported Free Of Malignant Growth

The Advertiser

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 28.—(AP)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, recovering from an operation of Jan. 20 on his jaw, was pronounced today completely free of the effects of a malignant growth, which was removed from his mouth in a previous operation. W. 1-29-47

The senator is still under treatment at Touro Infirmary, with a "no visitors" sign hung on his door. He is expected to remain in the hospital for 10 days to two weeks longer. Then in another month Bilbo will return to the hospital for work described by his surgeons as plastic construction. Montgomery Ala

Bilbo Temporarily Barred, Going Home for Operation

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 1-5-47

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4—(AP)—Republicans won their fight late Saturday to deny Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, his seat at the opening of the new Senate and took formal control for the first time in 14 years.

By consent of the ailing Bilbo the question of seating him was pigeonholed for at least two months pending a hearing and he headed back South for a new cancer operation.

Swiftly then, the two-day delay caused by the battle over, the Senate elected Sen. Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan, as Presiding Officer and the rest of the GOP organization setup—Carl Loeffler as Secretary and Edward McGinnis, of Chicago, as Sergeant-at-Arms.

It notified President Truman that it is ready for business and received his best wishes. Then it adjourned until Monday when, in joint session with the House, it will hear the President's message on the state of the Union.

With Bilbo sitting in the cloakroom, Democratic Leader Barkley, of Kentucky, outlined the agreement to the crowded chamber and packed galleries. It enabled Bilbo to draw his pay, but not to take the oath for his new third term.

By unanimous consent, the agreement was immediately approved by the Senators.

Then the swearing in of the new and re-elected Senators, interrupted Friday by the Bilbo fight, was resumed. Only Sen. Baldwin, Republican, Connecticut, had been sworn when Bilbo came up in the alphabetical order and the ouster move started, leading to an organized defense by Southerners which the Republicans branded a filibuster.

Sun. 1-5-47

With the battle dissolved, Sens. Brewster, Republican, Maine, and Bricker, Republican, Ohio, were sworn in by Leslie L. Fiffle, the Democratic Senate Secretary who was presiding, and others followed.

Atlanta, Ga.

With a tensely dramatic statement that "a man's life is more important than a seat in the United States Senate or any other body," Barkley won permission to delay action on Bilbo for six weeks or two months until doctors certify he can return to Washington.

The Constitution

The resulting agreement marked the first victory of the 80th Congress of the Republicans.

They had insisted that the Mississippian not be seated among them while the Senate considers charges that Bilbo misused his office for personal gain in dealings with war contractors and violated Federal statutes by preventing Negroes from voting. By Saturday's action they gained their point at least temporarily.

37a(3)

Bilbo, described by Dr. George W. Calver, the Capitol physician, as suffering from a cancerous ailment, told a reporter immediately after the Senate acted that he is not giving up his fight for a seat.

"If I live, I'll be back here with my fighting clothes on," Bilbo declared.

"I shall go immediately to the Touro Infirmary at New Orleans and place myself again under the care of Dr. Alton Oschner, one of the greatest surgeons in the country," he said.

"I'm trying to save my life. The doctors say an emergency operation is necessary."

Bilbo said he had been assured that his pay and that of his office staff, headed by John J. Lumpkin, will go on just as if he were officially a member of the new Senate.

The Constitution

Sen. Hoey, Democrat, North Carolina, one of a group of Southerners who had been demanding that Bilbo be given the oath of office and tried later, said it is his understanding the Mississippian will be given an opportunity to speak in his own behalf in the Senate, even if he is not seated on his return.

With the Bilbo case on the shelf, the Senate turned immediately to its organization, electing Sen. Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan, as its presiding officer.

When Sen. White, Republican, Maine, suggested Vandenberg's election, Barkley proposed Sen. McKellar, Democrat, Tennessee, who presided in the Democrat-controlled last Senate.

The crowded galleries and Senate joined in laughter at this futile Democratic gesture.

McKellar withdrew and Vandenberg was elected unanimously.

Biffle then handed the gavel to Vandenberg, who told his colleagues:

Atlanta, Ga.

"I am deeply grateful to my friends on both sides of the aisle. I shall undertake to the best of my ability to justify your confidence."

Sun. 1-5-47

The dramatic break in the Bilbo case came after Senate Republicans, headed by Sen. Taft, of Ohio, had voted to keep the body in session continuously until they could force a showdown vote.

Throughout the afternoon, cloakroom conferences were held seeking a compromise. These finally came to a head when Barkley interrupted Sen. Ellender, Democrat, Louisiana, who had held the floor most of the day in Bilbo's defense, with the request to make a statement.

When the crowded Senate and jammed galleries fell silent, Barkley told his colleagues solemnly that Bilbo faces the possible removal of a large portion of his jaw, two glands in his throat and a malignant growth in his cheek.

Bilbo must return to New Orleans, where he underwent a mouth operation several weeks ago, for another operation, the Democratic leader said.

"The Senator from Mississippi came to me this morning," Barkley continued. "I told him that the preservation of a man's life is more important to him than a seat in the Senate or any other body."

Barkley then had the Clerk read a statement by Dr. Calver.

The physician said it would take about two months for Bilbo to recover from the second operation and Barkley said this means that Bilbo will be away from the Senate for "at least six weeks or two months."

Barkley then obtained the unanimous agreement that Bilbo's credentials remain "without prejudice and without action" until either the Capitol physician certifies Bilbo is able to return, or Congress decides there should be action.

Permission for Bilbo to draw his pay and allowances as a Senator despite the fact that he would not be an active member, was in line with the usual Senate custom of putting members on the payroll as soon as their official credentials are received by the Senate Secretary.

If Bilbo had declined to accept the proposal, Sens. Barkley and White, the Democratic and Republican leaders, were reported ready to offer a resolution to seat all other 35 Senators-Elect. This, they believed, would put Bilbo's supporters in the unfavorable position of blocking directly the swearing in of the other new members.

The Constitution

Before the possibility of a compromise arose, Taft had notified Barkley that the Republican Conference had voted to attempt to keep the Senate in continuous session, throughout Sunday night and next week, if necessary, until there was a chance to vote on the direct question of seating Bilbo.

Sen. Knowland, Republican, California, told a reporter the Republicans would never agree to any proposal which involved letting Bilbo take the oath before the charges against him are heard in full and the Senate decides the case.

Atlanta, Ga.

This attitude was criticized sharply by some Democrats, including Sens. Hatch, of New Mexico, and Johnson, of Colorado. They contended the seating of Bilbo would not affect his case one way or the other.

Sun. 1-5-47

Taft contended, however, that once Bilbo was permitted to take the oath it might take a two-thirds vote to get him out.

A Bit of Humor From Bilbo

[illegible] New York N.Y.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4 (AP)—A couple of tourists approached Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo in his office today, seeking passes for the visitors' gallery. "We would like to get into the Senate," they explained. "So would I," cracked Bilbo, and went on sorting his mail.

Sun. 1-5-47

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) wants the Senate to reach a "righteous decision."

Associated Press Photo

Decide Tomorrow On Strategy to Use on 'The Man'

PM New York, N.Y.

Wed. 1-2-47

A finish fight by Senate Republicans to oust Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) was signalled last night when Sen. Robert A. Taft (R., O.) announced that the GOP Steering Committee had voted unanimously to start ouster proceedings against "The Man."

Taft said the Committee had not decided yet whether to challenge Bilbo before he is sworn in for his third Senate term on Friday or to seek his removal after he is seated. Strategy will probably be decided tomorrow.

Wed.

The GOP decision was announced after the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee divided along party lines with Chairman Allen J. Ellender (D., La.) announcing that the five-man committee would file two reports—one by three Democrats and one by two Republicans—on its inquiry into charges that Bilbo intimidated and coerced Negroes who sought to vote in Mississippi.

Ellender, pro-Bilbo, said he and his Democratic colleagues were convinced the inquiry had produced nothing warranting Bilbo's ouster.

Still to be heard from is the Senate War Investigating Committee which is expected to file a majority report tomorrow on the issue of Bilbo's receiving cash and other gifts from war contractors. The United Press heard that this report, while not urging Bilbo's ouster, will find that his relations with war contractors were not consonant with his high office.

PM

In this connection, Taft stressed that the Republican majority in the Senate might not want to make a strictly party issue of Bilbo's seating. He noted that two Democratic members of the War Investigating Committee—Harley M. Kilgore (W. Va.) and James M. Mead (N. Y.)—had joined four Republican members in criticizing Bilbo's dealings with contractors.

New York, N.Y.

Meanwhile, the Justice Dept. disclosed that it was conducting an independent inquiry into Bilbo's affairs and that agents have been in Mississippi "for some time studying the affairs of Sen. Bilbo," covering "every aspect of the Bilbo case."

Wed. 1-2-47

Bilbo's comment on the day's developments:

"I've been fighting all my life. I'll keep on fighting."

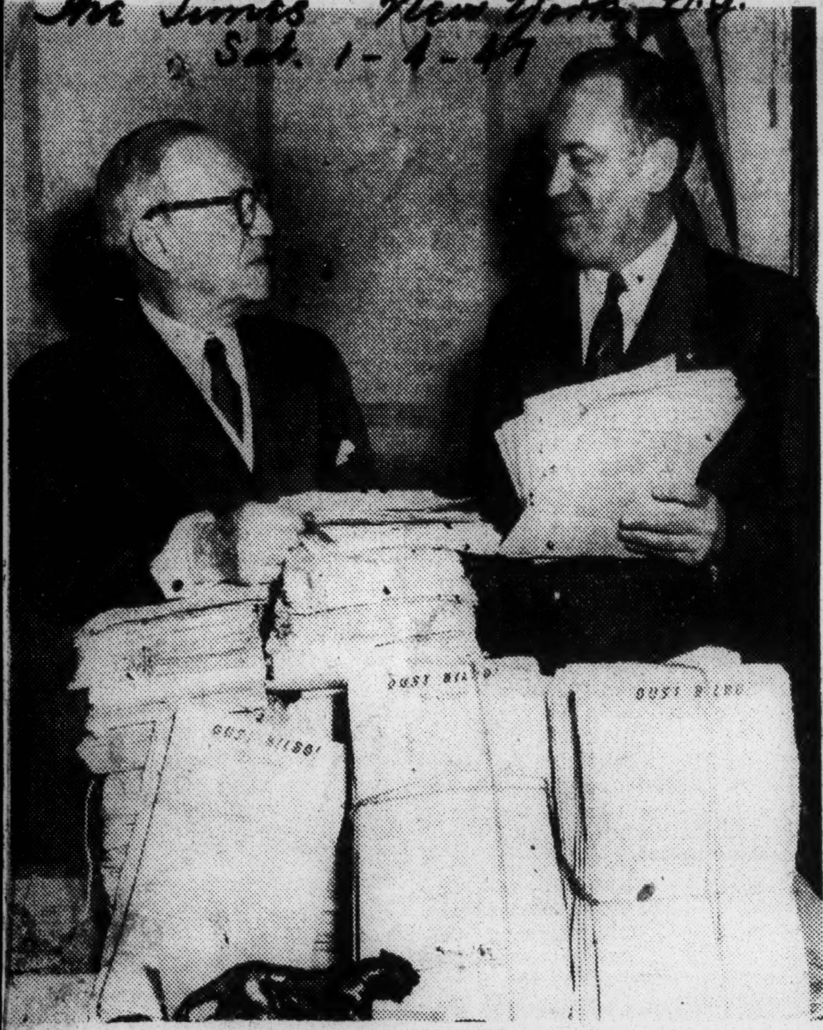
He sent each member of the new Senate a copy of his defense before the War Investigating Subcommittee and wrote:

". . . I plead with you to read this statement because if you are called upon to act in any matter affecting my interest I am anxious for you to know the real truth so that you will be able to reach a righteous decision."

Wed.

FIGURE IN CONTROVERSY OVER SEATING OF MISSISSIPPI SENATOR

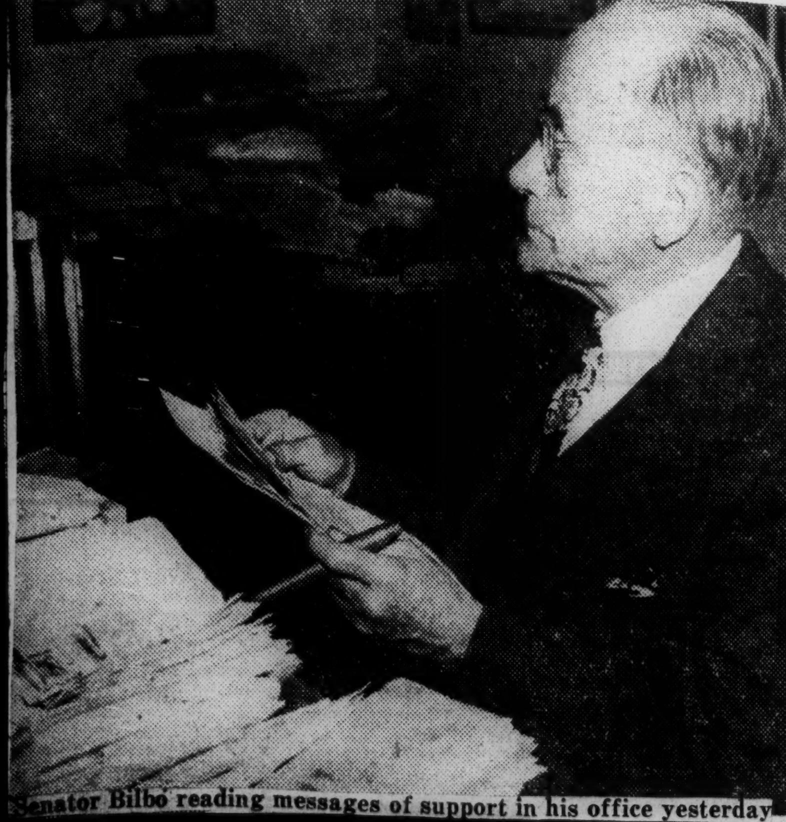
The Times New York N.Y.
Sat. 1-4-47



Senators Robert F. Wagner and Styles Bridges with petitions signed by half million demanding Senator Theodore G. Bilbo be barred.

37a(3)
The Times
New York, N.Y.
Sat. 1-4-47

Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, who is one of the leaders backing Senator Bilbo.



Senator Bilbo reading messages of support in his office yesterday

BILBO IS HELD OFF

37a(3)

Seating Is Blocked but Southerners Prevent Senate Organization

The Times

FILIBUSTER IS INDICATED

New York, N.Y.

Way to End Stalemate, in Effect as Session Ends, Will Be Sought Today

Sat. 1-4-47

By HAROLD B. HINTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3—An insurgent bloc of Democrats, demanding the seating of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, threw the Senate into preliminary confusion right after the opening prayer of the session had been recited today and prevented the organization of the chamber.

The Democrats, who will be in the minority as soon as the Senate is organized, dominated the meeting. While no progress was made toward seating or unseating the Mississippi Senator, the Senators followed the debate closely to judge how individual members stood on the question.

Mr. Bilbo was on the floor most of the time—a privilege to which he is entitled as a former member—listening to the speeches and holding whispered conferences with friendly Senators.

At the conclusion of the day's legislative turmoil, Mr. Bilbo had not taken the oath of office, nor had thirty-five other Senators who were elected last November. The Senate will meet again at noon tomorrow, in an effort to discover a compromise on the Bilbo issue which will permit it to proceed with its routine business of organization.

The Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.
Sat. 1-4-47

11 Democrats Join Republicans

On one record vote, eleven Democrats joined the solid Republican membership in action prejudicial to Mr. Bilbo's interest, as seen by his friends. On another ballot, there were ten Democrats who voted with the Republicans.

On one or the other of the test votes, the bolting Democrats were Senators Sheridan Downey of California, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island, Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, Brian McMahon of Connecticut, James E. Murray of Montana, Francis J. Meyers of Pennsylvania, Claude Pepper of Florida, Glen H. Taylor of Idaho, Millard E. Tydings of Maryland Robert F. Wagner of New York and Elbert D. Thomas of Utah.

The Republicans planned at the start of the session to pass a motion denying Senator Bilbo his seat, pending a lengthy debate on the case or cases against him, scheduled to start next Monday after receipt of President Truman's annual message on the state of the Union.

However, when the Senators settled back into their seats after some preliminary skirmishing, leaving only one or two spokesmen on their feet, a loud, clear voice came from a rear-row seat on the left of the chamber, shouting, "Mr. President!"

Taylor Gets the Floor

Times New York, N.Y.

Leslie J. Biffle, secretary of the Senate until the Republican majority is able to elect his successor, was occupying the chair. He was compelled to recognize Senator Glen H. Taylor, Democrat, of Idaho, although it had been planned for Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan, to get the floor.

Mr. Taylor offered a resolution to bar the Mississippi Senator, pending an investigation of the charges against him by the Rules Committee, supporting his views by an hour's speech. During this interval, efforts were made by Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, and Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democrat, of Kentucky, to make some arrangement by which the Bilbo matter could be laid aside long enough to proceed with the routine business of getting the new Senate organized.

Mr. Barkley proposed that Mr. Bilbo be seated "without prejudice," on the ground that the Senate could later reverse this step by a majority vote after debating the matter. Mr. Taft feared that, once seated, Mr. Bilbo could only be ejected by formal expulsion proceedings, which would require a two-thirds vote for approval.

This division of opinion proved irreconciliable throughout the day. As tempers frayed, charges of filibustering and partisanship were hurled across the Senate chamber. The crowded galleries had to be admonished against applause on several occasions.

Overton Leads Fight for Bilbo

The Southerners who kept the "extended debate" going protested that they were defending the right of a State to have its duly accredited representative seated by the Senate, even if the Senate chose to turn him out upon investigation of his qualifications. They held that the Constitution guaranteed to each State that it would have two members in the Senate, subject only to the power of the Senate to decide the qualifications of its own members.

Senator John H. Overton, Democrat of Louisiana, who escorted Mr. Bilbo to the rostrum in his unsuccessful attempt to take the oath of office, led the fight against the Republican effort to deny the seat, even temporarily. In his argument, he advanced the theory that the Senate's power to adjudge its members' qualifications extends only to matters of age and residence.

Senator Walter F. George, Democrat, of Georgia, another defender of States' rights, took the view that the Senate's powers were more comprehensive, and attempted to reassure Mr. Taft that it could unseat Mr. Bilbo by a mere majority vote, even after permitting him to take the oath. The Ohio Senator pointed to the opinion of Mr. Overton as an obstacle to accepting the interpretation of Mr. George.

Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democrat, of Kentucky, temporarily Majority Leader who will become Minority Leader as soon as the Senate is able to swear in the rest of the Senators-elect, kept out of the disputes, as did Senator Wallace H. White Jr., Republican, of Maine, who will trade posts with Mr. Barkley when the Senate is organized.

Mr. Barkley made it plain, however, that he favored seating Mr. Bilbo pending investigation of the charges against him. He argued that action to deny him his seat would have the effect of prejudging the issue, and pleaded for time for all members of the Senate to read the voluminous reports and transcripts of testimony taken by the two committees which have considered different charges against Mr. Bilbo.

Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, filed today the majority and minority reports of the campaign expenditures committee, which looked into charges of intimidations of Negro voters last spring in the Mississippi primary. The majority found no basis for the charges, while the minority favored ousting Mr. Bilbo.

After the session Mr. Barkley said he would propose a plan to the Republicans under which Mr. Bilbo would be seated temporarily, with Jan. 17 fixed as the date on which full debate would be started on his case. The proposal would include a guarantee that ultimate disposal of the matter would be determined by a majority vote.

Mr. Taft, however, said he did not feel that the Senate, by mere agreement, could supersede the constitutional requirement that Senators can be expelled only by a two-thirds vote. He explained that the Republican leadership had decided against trying to invoke the closure rule, as they had previously considered, because of a technicality.

Continuous Session Threatened

Upon investigation they decided that closure could be asked only in regard to debate upon a "pending measure." The acceptance of credentials, they had decided, is not a "measure" within the meaning of the rule.

Mr. Taft still hoped tonight that the Democrats would accept the plan to pass Mr. Bilbo by for the present, swear in the rest of the newly elected members and proceed to put the Senate in shape to transact its business. If that does not happen tomorrow, he said, the Republicans will keep the Senate in continuous session next week, meeting every day and until late every evening in an effort to wear the "filibuster" down.

In today's session the Democrats used their superior parliamentary skill and greater experience, as well as their slight existing majority of 30 to 28, to keep matters in their own hands. The Republicans will meet in conference tomorrow before the Senate is called to order, to devise ways and means of shaking this control.

Senate's Action on Bilbo

Times New York N.Y.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 (AP)—The parliamentary maneuvers in the Senate today on the seating of Mr. Bilbo shaped up this way:

Senator Taylor offered a resolution to deny Mr. Bilbo his seat while charges were being inquired into further that Mr. Bilbo intimidated Mississippi Negroes against voting and that he used his office for personal gain in dealings with war contractors. Sat 1-4-47

Senator Overton, Bilbo supporter, promptly offered a substitute motion—to seat Mr. Bilbo.

Senator Taft moved to wipe both these off the slate by a motion to table. It carried, 38 to 20.

Then Senator White moved to seat Senator Ralph O. Brewster, Republican, of Maine, whose name came next in alphabetical order. Mr. Overton moved, as a substitute, to seat Mr. Bilbo.

Mr. Taft succeeded in killing off Mr. Overton's substitute by a 39 to 19 vote. This left the White motion pending before the Senate at the end of the day's session.

Expert Doubts Message Delay

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3 (U.P.)—Senator Bilbo, commenting on the day's happenings in the Senate said:

"This nincompoop Taylor stole the Republicans' show. The greatest joke of the Eightieth Congress is that a cowboy named Taylor stole the whole Republican show."

Mr. Taft's contention that the Senate stalemate might force postponement of President Truman's scheduled message to Congress on Monday was disputed by Charles L. Watkins, the Senate parliamentarian.

He said that since the Senate was a continuing organization, the present number of old Senators—plus Mr. Baldwin—can do as much business as when the full membership of ninety-six is on the rolls. The only requirement is that a quorum be present, he said. He predicted that the Senate would adopt the House's concurrent resolution calling for a joint session to hear the Presidential speech.

Mr. Barkley said he personally doesn't favor a filibuster and that, on the "tender" question of denying Bilbo his seat, "I doubt if there can be political gain for either party."

The last word from the Bilbo camp, from Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, was that debate would continue "indefinitely" in the fight to seat Mr. Bilbo, and if necessary would go on to block all further Senatorial seatings.

Waving at a large stack of papers, books and documents on his desk, Ellender said: "There is still a lot of material to be cov-

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GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

The Constitution

Bilbo Controversy Largely Political

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—Without undertaking to defend Sen. Bilbo against his unsavory record, it can be said, nonetheless, that the fight to unseat him has been largely, if not entirely, political. Thurs. 1-9-47

The Republicans were out to make political capital of his intemperate tirades in behalf of white supremacy. Negro voters in many of the pivotal states outside of the South has raised a hue and cry about the brand of demagoguery he preached in the Mississippi Democratic primary last Summer.

It was an effort to placate these elements that gave rise to demands for stopping him at the threshold of the Senate when he came to present his credentials for another term.

Bilbo had urged his followers in Mississippi to prevent Negroes from voting—by fair means or foul, or so it is charged.

What followed in the investigation of his association with war contractors was merely collateral to the other issue.

The evidence indicates that he did shakedown some war contractors for sizable campaign contributions in behalf of himself and others. But according to accepted standards this is a practice which is neither unusual nor regarded as particularly reprehensible.

Customary Practices Both political parties have long engaged in the same thing. It is one of the evils of our political system. When a man or a firm secures a Government contract on which there is a fat profit it is customary to kick in a campaign contribution to the source of the political influence responsible for the good fortune. The Constitution

Sen. Bilbo does not appear to have overplayed that racket any more than some of his more respectable contemporaries.

The best evidence of the political character of the challenge directed at Bilbo is found in a comparison of what the Senate did in the Langer case. Atlanta, Ga.

In 1940 the voters of North Dakota elected William Langer as one of their senators. Langer presented his credentials with a list of charges against him far more odoriferous than those that have been leveled at Bilbo. Thurs. 1-9-47

No effort was made to prevent him from taking the oath, although the charges were investigated and passed on later. The Senate held that the people of North Dakota having elected Sen. Langer in the face of the charges it was not proper for him to be stopped from taking the oath of office.

This was the position of those who defended the right of the Mississippi Senator to be sworn in. Nor in doing so did they commit themselves to vote for him to hold the seat later, if he should be found guilty of conduct unbefitting a member of the Senate.

Few of those who were determined to oust him had even troubled to read the record of testimony developed in the investigation of his activities. They had not had time, having just arrived in Washington for the beginning of the session.

For general cussedness the little Mississippi Senator's record is so unsavory that it is probably to the best interest of the country that he was not allowed to take his seat. It would be far better, perhaps, if both Houses of Congress would take a similar view as to the moral qualifications of their members.

Martyr? But there can be little doubt that politics formed the predominant motive in the Bilbo ouster proceedings. Had he layed off the white supremacy issue in the primary nothing likely would have been heard of the move to unseat him.

Or if he had come from a Republican stronghold like North Dakota it is unlikely that any concerted Republican move would have been aimed at him. The Constitution

What the Republicans were out to do was to make capital of the Negro issue. Bilbo was so rabid on the subject that he offered a splendid means for dramatizing it. Formerly affiliated with the Republican Party, most of the colored voters of the country were weaned away by the Democrats under the Roosevelt administration. The Republicans are seeking to get them back. Atlanta, Ga.

But the effect of what has been done will probably be to make a martyr out of the little Mississippian, with all of his doubtful qualities. He is now revealed to be suffering from cancer of the mouth. Newspapermen covering the hearings of his investigation remember seeing blood trickling from his lips. He has been compelled to go to New Orleans for another operation to try and stop the deadly ravages of the disease. Thurs. 1-9-47

And if he dies they will probably erect a monument to him in Mississippi, thanks to what the Senate did.

OLLIE REEVES

The Constitution

Just a Rhyme a Day

Atlanta, Ga.

"Senator Bilbo tells Senate Committee: 'It's an old Southern custom to make gifts to public servants'"—News Item.

Wed. 1-8-47

* * *

There are many Southern customs and we like some
"mighty fine,"
There's a special lot of things below the Mason-Dixon Line
Different from any section we have ever heard about—
Some of them are most appealing, others we could do without.

It would be a bit provincial if we claimed to be the cream
Of the nation and that living here excelled the sweetest dream,
For our failings are the failings which have troubled men before—
Found wherever men are gathered and at everybody's door.

Yet, the people here are friendly, loving leisure, loving jokes
And exchanging warmest greetings, "How y'all and all your folks?"
Ready with their entertainment, whether it is great or small,
And they always move the swiftest when the needy send a call

It's a good old Southern custom for a man to make it hot
With a special brand of kidding for a chap he likes a lot—
Where the men love all the ladies, and the ladies love the men,
It's a good old Southern custom to be honest now and then!

WHY DEFEND BILBO?

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

If the filibuster as a senatorial device needed to be further discredited, the final hogwash was added Friday when South Carolina's Senator Maybank and some other senators threatened to use it in defense of Mississippi's Bilbo. Sat. 1-4-47

Senatorial "loyalty" is traditional, but by loyalty to Bilbo these men are damaging the honor of the South and the dignity of the august body in which they serve.

Removal of Bilbo should not be decided along party lines. His ugly record is a target before the whole world, and his removal will be a blessing to civilization.

The Bilbo political demise should be a joint Democratic-Republican achievement, else the G. O. P. will capitalize on it forevermore. Sat. 1-4-47

WAS IT HIDDEN?

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala

Add to the list of captions which bring up questions that which read the other day, "Anti-Bilbo Movement Revealed." We hadn't know that it was hidden.—Birmingham Age-Herald. Wed. 1-8-47

Hats Off!

P.M. New York N.Y.
Sun. 1-5-47

To Sen. Glen Taylor (D., Ida.) for his quick and courageous action in taking the offensive from the Republicans in the effort to keep "The Man" Bilbo from being seated for a new term in the Senate. (News story on Pages 3-4.)

37a(3) 1947 Mississippi (Probe)

THE QUALITY OF MERCY

World Memphis, Tenn. Fri. 37a(3)

From Institute For American Democracy, Inc.

Senator Bilbo, who has shamefully abused the Jews, recently entered Touro Infirmary, New Orleans, to undergo a serious operation. 2-14-47

Touro Infirmary was founder 106 years ago by Judah Touro, who was the son of a rabbi and whose father was instrumental in establishing Touro Synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, which was recently set aside by the United States Government as a national shrine.

Under Jewish management to this day, this hospital practices no discrimination. It is for Jew and Christian alike—for friend and foe—its only concern being the practice of that quality of mercy which is an attribute of God and to which both the Jewish and Christian religion commend us.

"Senator Bilbo might ponder this as he lies abed in long-dead Judah Touro's hospital," the St. Louis Post Dispatch said editorially on January 17. "He might be grateful that Judah Touro was not the bigot Theodore Bilbo is. For if he had been, Theodore Bilbo would not at this moment be receiving the services of one of the finest medical institutions in the South. . .Let him look about him and see in the memorial of a man who was too big for racial hatred the most eloquent rebuke to the hate-monger."

Yes, and let us all do the same thing.

The Way Of The Wicked

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 1-5-47

The name of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, the bone of contention, if not the storm center, between Republicans and Southern Democrats in the opening days of the Eightieth Congress, has at least been passed over for another six weeks or two months, thus permitting the lawmakers to proceed with the seating of duly elected members without further delay. The fight over the seating of Mr. Bilbo is in itself, a commendable departure from the ancient custom of permitting anybody who could must up enough hate and chicanery into a single campaign and sell it to the voters to win an election, to become their associates. For this valiant fight, at least for its leadership and determination, we have to thank the Republicans, although in scattered instances Democrats assisted. 37a(3) Miss.

The speech of Senator Taylor against the seating of Mr. Bilbo, we think, is not merely a fighting challenge to the moral conscience of the other members of the Senate, but it may well become a declaration of principles and a test by which to measure the qualifications of others who shall be seated in the Congress. 'Bilbo,' he said, 'is not on trial, the Senate of the United States is on trial.' Bilbo, he pointed out, 'built his recent campaign in an atmosphere redolent of the odors of hate, of burning of flesh, of tar, of feathers and gunpowder,' in order to intimidate Negroes and to keep them from voting in the Mississippi primary.

Senator Taylor said the things which decent Democrats wanted to hear him say. He said what had been voiced over and over again by those who love democracy. And he spoke in the true American tradition, which is far above sectional and personal considerations.

Mr. Bilbo, according to the plans, will return to New Orleans for further medical treatment to save his health, as one Senator put it, and possibly his life. In that event, it will require two months before he will be able to return to Washington. Even then, it now looks extremely doubtful that the Senate will permit him a seat. We hope he will be denied a seat in such a body. 1-5-47

SENATE IS UNFILLED

37a(3)

36 Elected Members Wait Seats in Row, With Secretary Presiding

The Times

WARNING ON FILIBUSTERS

New York, N.Y.

House, Meanwhile, Goes Ahead Swiftly, With Martin and GOP Aides Ignoring Opposition

Sat. 1-4-47

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3—The Eightieth Congress convened today, reflecting the Republican election victories of November in general but a Democratic one in Mississippi in particular.

The House of Representatives organized with dispatch. All of its membership gave cordial reception to Joseph W. Martin Jr., of Massachusetts, as the new Republican Speaker after fourteen years of Democratic rule. To Sam Rayburn of Texas, former Speaker, it gave a warm salute as he accepted the "draft" of his colleagues into the minority leadership.

But while legislative proposals overflowed House hoppers, the Senate got into and remained in a snarl over the seating or ousting of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, the "Mississippi man."

Tonight the Senate, technically at least, is still Democratic by a majority of two despite the November election returns. Republicans, winners at the polls, gained only a single vote in the course of an all-day struggle over whether Mr. Bilbo should serve a third term or be rejected by his Senate brethren. The debate prevented the seating of almost all of them.

25 Senators-elect Stand By

The Times Sat. 1-4-47

Twenty-five Republican Senators-elect and eleven Democrats (including Mr. Bilbo) stood around all day, scuffing up their shoes and somewhat frantically trying to appease a large number of guests invited to "victory" luncheons and other festivities at the Capitol. All these invited guests, of course, grew hungrier by the hour.

Large parties had come in from Indiana, Ohio and elsewhere. The guests paced around while the hosts remained just Senators-elect.

The Senate had no President Pro Tempore. Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee was no longer President Pro Tempore. He was a Senator-elect awaiting official return to duty. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, nominated by the Republicans to that post, was not permitted by defenders of Mr. Bilbo to take his seat. He remained a Senator-elect, not being allowed to assume the presiding post while the Bilbo matter was pending. Times New York, N.Y.

Nor was Mr. Vandenberg permitted to become a full-fledged Senator again, Michigan election returns to the contrary notwithstanding. Sat. 1-4-47

In the presiding officer's chair was a Democratic Secretary of the Senate, Leslie L. Biffle, inexperienced in the parliamentary tangles which unfolded before him, and soon to be retired from his post. There was no Senate rule which would let an old-timer in such skirmishes relieve him. Charles L. Wakins, the parliamentarian, guided his decisions.

Minority Warned by Taft

Diagnoses on the cause of "the Bilbo paralysis" which had come upon the Senate differed. Southern Democrats, who fought for Mr. Bilbo's right to take his seat, denied that a filibuster was on. Republicans insisted that that was just what was under way. Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, co-leader with Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan of the move "to stop Bilbo at the door," lashed out, after six hours of cat-and-mouse play, with this:

"Use of the filibuster for such a wholly inconsequential purpose is so unjustified that those conducting it will face a complete change in the rules of the Senate. They will be faced by closure (limitation of debate) by majority rule."

With this open threat that the new majority would not hesitate to use its strength toward abolishing the Senate's tradition of "unrestricted debate," which can be broken now only by a two-thirds vote, Southern Democrats leaped to their feet. Mr. Taft added:

"We can't begin a session subject to that kind of threat."

Overton Replies to Ohioan

Senator John H. Overton of Louisiana interposed:

"As I understand it, the Senator from Ohio is going to put us in the minority in a straight-jacket." 37a(3)

Senator Alben W. Barkley, for more than nine years Majority Leader and now Minority Floor Leader, delivered an emotional plea for nonpartisanship in the Bilbo decision. It appeared to get nowhere.

Senator Wayne Morse, Republican, of Oregon, said that he would carry the matter to a showdown. He would introduce, he said, a resolution to amend the Senate rules so as to make filibusters "impossible." Times

Such was the note on which the Senate recessed tonight, to go into an extraordinary session while the apparently complacent House prepared to rest over the week-end.

Amid this discord, doubt was cast on whether President Truman would be able to deliver his traditional State-of-the-Union Message to Congress on Monday, as planned. A filibuster would take precedence over it. New York, N.Y.

Unless there were a crumbling of the conflict, it was asked, how could the President address a real joint session of the new Congress, should he decide to deliver the message personally?

Largely, the Senate was viewed tonight as a "rump" Senate with many Senators-elect on hand with credentials, but lacking seats. Joint sessions are held in the big House chamber, which accords floor privilege only to those outside its own membership who are actually Senators or former Senators.

Bilbo Appears Unconcerned

Throughout all this Mr. Bilbo appeared to be the least concerned. He walked in and out of the Senate chamber, prompted debaters now and then, but seemed not to let his cigar, which he had left at the portal, go out. It was at this portal where evidently so many wanted to bar him from his Senate seat.

The Senate Democrats were to have met today to help man the committees which, under the Congressional Reorganization Act, have been reduced in number from thirty-three to fifteen. The Democratic Steering Committee, headed by Senator Barkley, which was to have worked out this problem, was held on the Senate floor constantly.

The new Republican majority was to have rounded out its legislative recommendations, particularly those concerning the proposals for controls in labor-management disputes. The subcommittee headed by Senator Taft decided to let these recommendations await the settlement of the Bilbo problem.

In contrast, the House adopted not only its old rules but included in them the whole sweep of the Congressional reorganization program. Here, it was seen, the new Speaker, Mr. Martin, and his aides can employ a steamroller when dissenters intrude.

Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York, who is opposed to the merging of the Military and Naval Affairs Committees in advance of Congressional approval of the merger of the armed forces, tried to amend the Reorganization Act today. He was not recognized by the new Speaker, and the House, as a whole, adopted the reorganization program in full.

A Democratic attempt to modify the reorganization program also failed. Representative Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois, who has been chairman of the Rules Committee, sought to strike the Committee on Un-American Activities from the list of standing, or permanent, committees. He, too, failed of recognition.

Legislation in many forms poured into the House hoppers. The list cannot be made complete tonight because of the glut.

However, Representative Harold Knutson, new chairman of the revenue-raising Ways and Means Committee, introduced a measure, which will go to his committee for action, intended to effect the GOP-promised 20 per cent across-the-board reduction of taxes on personal incomes. He enlarged his measure to include exemptions for persons who live on annuities when they are 65 years of age or older.

Pay for Veterans Proposed

Legislation to make cashable at any time the five-year Government bonds given as terminal-leave pay to veterans also went before the House for consideration. There was also a bonus bill for veterans, calling for payment of a bonus of $4 a day for service in the United States and $5 daily for overseas duty.

There were bills, too, calling for "forgiveness" of all pending charges of violating the wartime price control regulations, for a full-dress investigation of "Fascist" activities in the United States, and for a writing into law of President Truman's recent declaration that "hostilities" were at an end.

Matters which in the past have caused filibusters also were written into legislative proposals. Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, introduced an anti-lynching bill to provide for fines and imprisonment for officers or employes of States failing to protect persons in their custody. It also would call for payments of from $2,000 to $10,000 to survivors of victims of lynching.

Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor-Democratic member from New York, reintroduced his bill calling for the repeal of poll taxes in Southern Democratic Commonwealths.

Bills were introduced for the admittance of Alaska as a forty-ninth State, or Hawaii as the forty-ninth or fiftieth State.

The bulk of the House bills were somewhat in escrow. They came in so fast that they could not be absorbed by the officials handling them. Most of them appeared to seek consideration by Republican-controlled committees.

Such was the Eightieth Congress tonight, after its first day.

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 1-8-47

37a(3)

CHEAP AT ANY PRICE

The sudden capitulation of the Bilbo supporters in the Senate was an event of major importance. By the terms of the truce arranged between the Republicans and Bilbo followers, the question of seating the Mississippi senator-elect is pigeonholed for at least two months while the senator returns to the South for another "mouth operation."

During the two months interval, the new Senate will be organized and pressing matters of legislation attended to without the constant embarrassment of Bilbo's presence. When the question of seating the little Mississippian with the big mouth again comes up, the Republicans will be in position to dispose of it with dispatch, with or without the acquiescence of certain southern senators who apparently do not rate the honor of either the South or the Senate very highly.

There is a chance, of course, that the matter of seating Bilbo will not come up again for consideration. Apparently the Mississippi solon was eager to accept the terms of the truce when assured his salary would go on for the duration. If such an arrangement is legal, it is more than probable that "the Man" Bilbo will be happy to stretch out the two month's truce to a six year convalescence during which his official salary will be paid.

Wed. 1-8-47
The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

37a(3)

Embarrassing as such a compromise would be, it would still be worth the money. If the Senate places so low a money valuation on its own honor that it will agree to "buy" the absence of Senator Bilbo, perhaps the rest of us should not complain. It is good riddance at any price, if we can really bid the senator a long good-bye and surcease from his senatorial labors.

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 1-8-47

Alabama Press

The News
Birmingham Ala.

BILBO AND POLITICS

The case of Sen. Bilbo produces varied reactions. Right now, those who have much humanity in their makeup cannot resist a feeling of sympathy for the man because of his pathetic physical condition. We're not like Winchell; we're not disposed to heap vituperation upon a man who is suffering with cancer of the mouth. But of course all that has nothing to do with Bilbo's guilt or innocence. The fact that a Democratic senator, Taylor, of Idaho, introduced the resolution to delay seating "The Man" from Mississippi answers the cry raised by some that Bilbo's opposition was grounded in Republican politics.

Mon. 1-27-47

Come to think of it, the last couple of times that men elected to the Senate were denied seats therein it was Republicans who were involved. When the Senate refused to seat Mr. Vare, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Smith, of Illinois, back 20-odd years ago, we don't recall that any Southern Democrat said anything about politics or contended that it was the sovereign right of Pennsylvania and Illinois to elect anybody they wanted to the Senate.—DeKalb Times (Fort Payne).

The News Birmingham Ala.

37a(3)

The Bilbo Bounce

The Times-Standard is not convinced that the Senate was swayed by sectional prejudice in its dramatic refusal to seat the impossible Theodore Bilbo, of Mississippi. As a former Philadelphian, this editor recalls that William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania, figured in one of the more recent of 79 similar cases.

Unfortunately, the South has had too many political medicine men of Bilbo's ilk—like Hughey Long, Talmadge, Reynolds and O'Daniel. We have every reason to be touchy on the subject, but are we justified in condemning the Senate—even a Republican Senate—for upholding the dignity of the United States against an unprincipled yap who for selfish reasons virtually wrecked the educational system of his state and now faces charges of out-and-out thievery?

We of the South have elected men like these. Let's put the blame where it belongs. —Marion Times-Standard. Mon. 1-27-47

Tell It To Old Grandma

The Advertiser

SORRY FOR BILBO

37a(3)

Editor, The Advertiser:

Poor old Bilbo! My sympathy goes all out for him. I am just as sorry for him as any one could possibly be, because a man who was supposed to have the brain capacity to make a good United States senator should so thoroughly deceive himself.

I am sorry for him because, with his supposed knowledge of the Bible, and I think he is a preacher, he should have known that he couldn't have gotten away with running counter to his teaching.

You know, he reminds me of the fable of the fox that got his tail cut off in a steel trap and then went around telling all the animals, "why that's the fashion now."

When Bilbo got caught in his trickery, he went around saying, "Oh, that's the fashion down here in the South." I don't believe it, but if it is true we had better change our political fashion. Hamlet said. "There's a destiny that shapes our ends rough hew them as we may." Bilbo has certainly rough hewed his, and destiny has shaped them far from his expectations.

Having made such a woeful and mussed up jumble of life and as it appears that it is an unquestionable fact that he will never take his seat in the Senate again I would advise him to resign and thus prevent the sitgma of being kicked out of office from falling on his posterity and spread on the pages of history.

If he is suffering from a malignant trouble of the jaw I would advise him to make his peace with a righteous, just and merciful judge which after all is the ultimate end of life.

Yes. I am really sorry for Bilbo. There are so many noble uplifting, elevating and moral and Christian principles of life he never learned. W. B. FULTON.

Dadeville, Alabama.

The News

WHO ELECTED BILBO?

37a(3)

To the Editor of The News:

A recent article in your paper said Bilbo was elected by a small percentage of the voters of Mississippi. In my opinion, that was both untrue and misleading.

Bilbo won out in the primary over four good, legitimate opponents, and with all the propaganda and money that could be used against him. If that isn't enough to erase any doubt as to who is the people's choice, then there isn't any use having any more elections. Just turn it over to John L. Lewis and a few radio commentators and newspaper columnists and they will build a new world without a hammer, saw, nail or screw or anything to nail it to. Birmingham Ala.

I think I am in position to know a little about what the people of Mississippi want and stand for. As for Mr. Bilbo, I don't know him personally, and venture to say most of his critics don't either. Tue. 1-28-47

As for the race issue, that would have been forgotten long ago had it not been for some power-mad politicians trying to make themselves famous. Having come in contact with some of the good people from the North, I happen to know they feel much the same as we do about the Negroes having their own churches, schools, eating places, etc. In short, let them have their rights and give us ours. As the Scripture teaches us, "Let everything be after its own kind." Every sane person knows that, North or South, no peace-loving person ever said or thought otherwise.

There never has been a man who stood up for the just rights of the South and the common people but who got thrown out on his ear sooner or later. If one goes up to Washington and sells us down the river to that crowd, as so many of our fair-haired boys have done, he is okeh, even though he don't hear any more of him until time for reelection. Then he will get the liquor crowd behind him and be reelected. Tue. 1-28-47

Why has the government not investigated all lawlessness without fear or favor? They called Jesse James an outlaw if he robbed a train; they called John Dillinger a gangster if he committed murder; they called Hitler a dictator when he ruled a nation. What do you call one guilty of all this combined? A hero?

No, my friends, what we need is a little more love and a little less greed and selfishness. When the wicked rule, the righteous mourn. If that time isn't here, heaven help us when it does appear. BELTON COBB.

Millport, Ala. Tue. 1-28-47

Bilbo Is Worried

The News Birmingham Ala.

Fri. 1-3-47

The response of Sen. Bilbo to the Senate war investigating committee's report that he had "misused his high office for personal gain" was a plea to his colleagues that they keep an open mind and read all the evidence. The plea indicates Bilbo's lack of confidence in his associates and their sense of fairness. It is like asking the judge to be fair and administer justice, which is his sworn duty.

37a(3)

The committee's charges were explicit. The evidence was perfectly clear, the committee reported, that Bilbo improperly used his office for his personal gain in his dealings with war contractors. Such conduct, it commented, "might have a bearing upon his fitness to serve as a senator." That is the point the Senate was called upon to decide.

Whatever may be the outcome of the effort to bar Bilbo from his seat, one broader question seems already to have been settled, and that is the right of a congressional group to scrutinize the methods by which a member of Congress was elected. It is easy to say that Bilbo was elected by a majority of participating Mississippi voters even in the sort of election that followed the kind of campaign details of which are now public property. If Mississippi wants that kind of a man to represent it, it can be asked, what right has Congress to object?

But the Senate constitutionally has the power to judge the qualifications of its members. The drafters of the constitution, evidently believed that choices made by voters were not always to be regarded as final. Congress, not the voters, has the last word as to the fitness of its members. Bilbo is not sacrosanct just because he was elected.

37a(3) 1947

Mississippi (Probe)

Bilbo And The Republicans

By Marquis Childs

The News Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON—The case of Theodore Bilbo is so tied up with the politics of the moment that the little man from Mississippi may become a member in good standing of the Senate of the United States. What is more, he may hold his seat through the term for which he was elected. Fri. 1-3-47

Looking at it in a perfectly cynical, hard-boiled way, the Republicans must certainly conclude that Bilbo is a greater asset to them in the Senate than out of it. He is a continuing advertisement of the worst side of the Democratic Party.

But to evade the Bilbo issue for this reason will be to evade an important responsibility. There might, of course, be an argument for allowing him to take his seat in the first instance and then moving to expel him. That would certainly keep the issue of Bilboism before the public for weeks or even months. Some Republicans are making that argument.

The simplest and most honest way, however, would be to move to refuse Bilbo his seat. That could be done by a majority vote, whereas it requires a two-thirds vote to expel "The Man" once he is seated. Convinced by his investigation into Bilbo's finagling with war contractors of his unfitness for a seat in the Senate, Sen. Homer Ferguson, of Michigan, has had the forthrightness to say that the Republican Party should follow that course.

The question comes up immediately of how the Southern senators would react to a move to keep Bilbo out. The obnoxious senator from Mississippi is not popular with his colleagues from the South. He rarely takes any part in the activities of the Senate except when he is up for election or when he can play the arch-demagogue.

Nevertheless, when the issue comes up for a vote, Bilbo is likely to get the support of most of the Southern Democrats. Those who do not vote for him will stay away when the roll is called.

* * *

THIS REACTION GOES VERY DEEP. It is part of the defensive reaction of the Old South standing solidly against the onslaught of the North. That was one reason—perhaps the most important reason—for Bilbo's reelection. He could raise the cry of Northern persecution. and that always brings a uniform reaction, as instinctive as the kick of the frog's leg when an electric current is applied.

Changes are occurring rapidly in the South. A new leadership is coming into being. The new leaders have only contempt for Bilbo and for what he stands for. Yet, they continue to give lip service to the outworn habits of the past. Fri. 1-3-47

This last is in itself enough to explain the behavior of those who would vote to seat "The Man" while at the same time holding their noses. The talk of a filibuster, in the old-fashioned sense, seems to me to be empty. It looks like an excuse for those who would evade their clear duty. The News

Certainly, if it goes to that point, there will be speeches in Bilbo's favor. Not merely Southern loyalty, but party loyalty will work here. But that is something quite different from a filibuster.

The risk of a real filibuster, delaying the organization of the Senate for an indefinite time, is slight. One of the few senators who might be inclined to talk against time is a Republican, Sen. William Langer, of North Dakota, whose own position in the Senate was in doubt. The intention in any event is to recess until the president comes to Capitol Hill to read his message on the state of the union. If Southerners are of a mind to talk, they could doubtless exhaust themselves in that interval. And, "The Man" himself will not be able to take part in any filibuster attempt, since he will not be a member of the Senate if the test comes on whether or not he shall be seated. Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

IF THERE WERE DOUBTS about the tight control of the Republican leadership, they should have been dispelled by the session that picked the slate of Senate officers previously agreed to. The so-called revolt was seen to be nothing but idle talk. Sen. Tobey and his objections were overridden with indifferent ease.

The new Republican leadership can throw Bilbo out either before he takes his seat or afterward. If they fail to do so, for whatever reason, then the responsibility for that failure will be clearly theirs. Bilbo may be a good billboard for the weaknesses in the Democratic Party, but he is a bad advertisement for the kind of democracy we hope to show the world.—©.

Unsatisfactory Compromise In the Bilbo Case

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky. Tues. 1-7-47

THEODORE BILBO most probably will never serve again as a member of the United States Senate. During his 12 years in that body he added no luster to it, but subtracted, rather, from the sum of human decency. He repudiated democracy and thrived on hates and fears. So it is a good thing that he is gone.

But there is little satisfaction in the method of his going. Here was a clear issue of unfitness. Here was a man who had incited Mississippi voters to violent denial of the right of Negroes to vote. Here was a man who, with shocking disregard for ordinary honesty, took money from men whose particular interests he served when he should have been serving the interests of all the people. By voting to deny BILBO his seat the Senate could have repudiated him and all his works. And in so doing, the Senate probably would have roused itself to end the infamous practice of the filibuster.

Instead, a compromise has been accepted. BILBO will not serve. But it is because he must have surgical treatment, not because his Senate colleagues have declared him unfit. He remains on the Senate pay roll, yet his only contribution to the nation will be his absence from the Senate. This is worth the money but still an impropriety. The Courier-Journal

Because BILBO is ill, and because long and trying debate would have accompanied a formal rejection of the Senator from Mississippi, it is easy to understand how tempting the compromise must have been to his opponents. But the compromise was BILBO's own and it sidesteps decision on the issues. Tues. 1-7-47 It avoids a clearcut demonstration that the Senate is no place for a man like BILBO. We regret that the Republican leadership shirked the fight in continuous session which could have whipped the pro-BILBO filibuster of a few Southerners. Louisville, Ky.

WILL BILBO MAKE IT?

The Advertiser Sun. 1-5-47

Editor, The Advertiser:

Old bubble-gum Bilbo blew one too many. As he vainly tries to pluck the nauseous stuff from his eyes and ears, he fumbles his way towards his seat in the Senate. Will he make it? Coddled by the false issues of State's rights and martyrdom, he may stagger through. We of the South are suckers for sentiment. The hew and cry against the rascally senator was raised by foreigners—a red flag in itself. Montgomery, Ala.

Along with butter the Bilbo speculation hit the skids. Age turns butter rancid; politics of the Bilbo sort produces the same stench. How long will the country accept a substitute for the genuine article? Did Bilbo answer this question when he explained the gifts received from contractors etc? He said, "It is an old Southern custom." Sun. 1-5-47

ANNE S. WEISENBURGH.
Montgomery, Ala.

BILBO IS THROUGH

Birmingham News Mon. 2-3-47 Birmingham, Ala.

The chances are that Sen. Bilbo will never resume his seat in the United States Senate. In Mississippi they are already talking about his successor. In New Orleans they are talking about his next operation for cancer. In Washington they are going ahead with the nation's business as though the affaire Bilbo had never happened.

Bilbo was kept from taking the oath of office, and that meant a major defeat for him, even if it was salved with the temporary allowance of his salary and office staff for the next 60 days. The most consoling thing his friends could say as he started for home from Washington was that it was not a "complete defeat." Birmingham News Mon. 2-3-47

Looking back upon the investigation and the sectional bias that the Bilbo case was taking, it is worth noting that a Democratic senator from Idaho submitted a resolution and made a speech on the subject that was simply unanswerable by the Southern senators who were standing by Bilbo on a state's rights issue. Birmingham, Ala.

The Idaho senator was not bombastic. He said that the South's race problem is a real problem of highly complex nature, calling for patience and good will, and in solving this racial issue he was willing "to move as slowly as necessary." Then he added:

"I ask only one thing: that we do move forward, that we do not turn back the clock. And I will vigorously resist any attempt to move in the opposite direction, the direction of ill will.

"Mr. Bilbo has moved in that backward direction. He has toured the length and breadth of his state, stirring up racial hatred, inciting white to hate black and causing black to hate white.

"To whites who are themselves poor, ill-nourished, he does not offer prosperity, nourishment, clothing, food and education. No, he offers to them the delicious sense of feeling superior to someone else, the cheap thrill of membership in a master race, the joy of kicking someone else around."

Well, that's pretty harsh language to use about some of us down here in the South, but we all know that such figures as Bilbo have for years been riding to Washington on the Negro's back, and that such figures in our public life are used by greedy and designing men for selfish and exploitative purposes to the great harm of the South.

Southern men in the Senate had an insuperable task to defend Bilbo this time, because Bilbo and what he stands for are simply indefensible by men of understanding and good will.

Bilbo's health gave them a good out, and the chances are that he is out for good. One of Bilbo's doctors in New Orleans is quoted as saying the additional operation that he must undergo is very simple and not at all dangerous. This doctor even doubts that the senator ever had a cancer in the first place, but the removal of a growth on the lower jaw was precautionary.—Alabama Journal (Montgomery). 2-3-47

Birmingham News Thurs. 2-6-47 Birmingham, Ala.

Sen.-Elect Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, now drawing his monthly salary of $1,250 while rendering no service to the nation, is sure to get an additional 30 days in which to recuperate—at the expense of the taxpayer, of course.

On Jan. 4 the Senate, by unanimous consent, laid Bilbo's contested credentials on the table for a period of 60 days.

This backstage arrangement had been worked out by Senate leaders after Bilbo told Dixie colleagues he was "flat broke and in desperate need of hospitalization." Both sides accepted the compromise in order to break a filibuster upon opening the 80th Congress.

Bilbo's 60 days "on the table" expire March 5, and he is slated to appear in the Senate March 6 to take his oath and seat, something GOP leaders now find it expedient to postpone for at least another 30 days.

Sen. Robert A. Taft, chairman of the Senate committee on labor and public welfare, has calculated that at just the time Bilbo is due to appear, the Senate will be debating major labor legislation which he very much wants the Senate to pass prior to March 31—the date on which John L. Lewis' strike "truce" expires. The last thing Taft wants at this time is a Bilbo filibuster.

Therefore, Sen. Alben Barkley will ask and obtain unanimous consent to carry Bilbo on the payroll for another 30 days on the ground that another month is necessary for Bilbo's recuperation.—©

A Jew [illegible] For Bilbo

Senator Bil[illegible] is in Tourio Infirmary at New [illegible]s, has a little object lesson in raci[illegible] religious tolerance no farther from [illegible]nose than the four walls of the institu[illegible] which is serving him.

The Senator [illegible]ho replied to a Jewish letter writer wit[illegible] the salutation, "My dear kike," and who has practically called for pogroms in the United States [illegible] Negroes are trying to destroy our freedom and the American way of life") at Touro Infirmary is the beneficiary of a Jew.

Montgomery Advertiser Sat. 2-8-47 Montgomery, Ala.

Judah Touro gave of his wealth and of the greatness of his spirit, to found this hospital 106 years ago. He was the son of a rabbi and a man of culture. Though the hospital that bears his name is under Jewish management, its work is non-sectarian. Its mercy, like the mercy of Judah Touro, knows no Jew and no Gentile, but only mankind.

Senator Bilbo might ponder this as he lies abed in long-dead Judah Touro's hospital. He might be grateful that Judah Touro was not the bigot Theodore Bilbo is. For if he had been, Theodore Bilbo would not at this moment be receiving the services of one of the finest medical institutions in the South. He would, instead, be excluded as a hated Gentile.

Let him look about him and see in the memorial of a man who was too big for racial hatred the most eloquent rebuke to the hatemonger.—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Washington Calling

37a (3)

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun 1-5-47

Idaho's Taylor Played Bold Hand To Bar Bilbo

By
MARQUIS
CHILDS

WASHINGTON.—If Hollywood had written the script, the drama on the first day the Senate met could not have been sharper. It was a situation made for a movie producer.

The triumphant Republicans were gathering. Handshakes and back-slapping were the order of the day. This was the beginning of the new dispensation.

The atmosphere on the Democratic side of the aisle was subdued. The losing team was taking defeat with dignified good humor. They were waiting for the Republicans to make their move to deny Senator Theodore G. Bilbo a seat.

Then, from the back row on the Democratic side, the young hero sprang up. It was perfect type-casting. Glen Taylor, senator from Idaho, could be played by James Steward or Gary Cooper. As it was, Taylor did very well by the part.

Clever Young Man

In the first place, he had to be clever and quick to beat the opposition to the draw. On the other side of the aisle, Michigan's Senator Homer Ferguson was waiting for the moment. Ferguson had brought the Bilbo issue through the Republican conference. He had won approval for a resolution to bar the senator-elect from Mississippi at the door of the Senate. Sun. 1-5-47

But Taylor was in there first. He put in his resolution and therefore it had precedence. What is more, he was prepared with a speech and a good speech. On top of that, he could read his speech in a voice that had some dramatic quality. It could be heard even above the disorderly buzz of the Senate. Perhaps more politicians should try the radio before they come to the Senate.

The young Senator from Idaho had gone back into the record of previous instances when senators-elect were met with charges disqualifying them from membership. In one such case he found that Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia, had made a most significant speech.

Background For Action

In the move to oust Frank Smith, of Illinois, a Republican, the Democrats had taken the initiative. They were then the party of opposition. Republican leaders suggested that the day would come when the Southern Democrats would have cause to regret that action. They would be faced with charges against one of their own number for violating the election laws. How would they like it then?

Senator George solemnly rejected this suggestion. He said that if it was established that a senator-elect had violated the Constitution—no matter what provision—then the Southerners would vote to deny him a place in the Senate.

Having established this background, Taylor went on to show how Bilbo had violated the Constitution. He quoted the vicious, shocking language that Bilbo had repeated on platform after platform during his campaign for re-election. It had been a deliberate invitation to violate the amendments to the Constitution that guarantee to all citizens, regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude, the right to vote.

In basing his case against Bilbo on the race issue, Taylor was on sound ground. It is infinitely more important than the charges growing out of the war contracts. The latter are bad. But they are nothing like as bad as the crude incitation to riot and violence implied in the demagogic raving that Bilbo did in Mississippi last June. Sun. 1-5-47

As though any further drama were needed, at the peroration of Taylor's speech Bilbo came over and sat down a few feet from the speaker. He sat there glowering up with an arrogance rarely equalled in Senate history. The Advertiser

Nonconformist Cowboy

From the begininng of his term two years ago, Taylor has been regarded as a maverick. He has not played by any of the Senate rules, whether printed or unprinted. Often he has gone off the deep end when his more cautious colleagues, even those who agreed with him, were for discretion. Again and again he has violated the first of the unprinted rules, which is, "Don't stick your neck out." Occasionally he has looked foolish nad his cautious colleagues have snickered. Montgomery, Ala.

But boldness and courage are now and then rewarded, even in politics. Taylor showed on the very first day of the new session that it is not essential for the Democratic party to collapse like a worn-out accordion. This is a lesson which should be taken to heart by Democrats, not only in Congress but everywhere. Two living parties are essential to a two-party system.

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MISSISSIPPI HAS SPOKEN

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 1-15-47

Here and there in Alabama exists the mistaken idea that Senator Theodore G. Bilbo now is the martyred hero of Mississippi and the South. The fact is that Mississippi has enough of Bilbo, just as has the rest of the country.

37a (3)

Listen to The Jackson Daily News:

> Mrs. Theodore G. Bilbo, divorced wife of the repudiated senior senator from Mississippi, says that in event her former husband is finally rejected by the Senate then their son, Lieut.-Col. Theodore G. Bilbo, United States Army, will be a candidate for the unexpired term.
>
> With all due deference to Mrs. Bilbo, that would be quite silly. Wed. 1-15-47
>
> This State does not owe a senatorship to any member of the Bilbo family. In fact, the election of the Senior Bilbo to his first public office was the most tragic mistake in the political history of the State.
>
> We have had enough of Bilbo and Bilboism to last the commonwealth a thousand years.

When Mississippi talks like that, it is time to close the subject. It is also a good time for some of the South's would-be Bilbos, who aspire to build political empires on foundations of hate and bestiality, to think again.

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Wed. 1-15-47

Gov. Wright And Bilbo

The News Fri. 1-10-47 Birmingham, Ala.

The small number of people in Mississippi who elected Bilbo to the Senate are determined that he shall sit there if his health permits. Now comes Mississippi's new governor, Fielding Wright, with the statement that if the United States Senate refuses to seat Bilbo without a hearing or because of charges growing out of election tactics, he will appoint him for an interim term until an election can be held.

37a (3)

Gov. Wright may or may not be an admirer of the little man with the big voice. He may or may not agree with the sort of vituperative attacks which Bilbo has repeatedly made on minority groups within and without his state. Gov. Wright's statement made to newsmen on Wednesday in Jackson does not make clear how he feels on the things Bilbo stands for. Presumably he is basing his decision solely on the theory that the people of Mississippi want Bilbo in the Senate and that he will do his best to keep him there whether the Senate wants him or not. Also suspicious observers might come to the conclusion that Mr. Wright, who became governor at the death of his predecessor, expects to run again for the post he inherited and that as a prospective candidate, he wants the support of the Bilbo forces. Hence his fervid devotion to Bilbo's cause. Fri. 1-10-47

* * *

But the truth of the matter is that only a small percentage of the people of voting age in Mississippi elected Bilbo to the Senate. So many of the adults of the state are disenfranchised for one reason or another that the number who actually elected Bilbo is infinitesimally small in comparison to the number of potential voters. If Mr. Wright is interested in seeing that "the people's choices" are the holders of public office, he can devote himself seriously to the problem of widening the franchise among his constituents. Then, if Bilbo were elected or reelected, the contention that he is wanted by a majority of the people might hold water. The News Birmingham

Fri. 1-10-47

There is another consideration, however. Sen. Ellender, of Louisiana, chairman of one of the investigating committees, has stated that the Bilbo case is a "shameful attempt to interfere with the sovereign rights of the State of Mississippi." If he is correct, as Walter Lippmann pointed out the other day, then the committees, the press of the nation, and the Senate itself have all done damage to the people of Mississippi. But the case is not so. For Mr. Lippmann points out very clearly that the Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 5, Paragraph 1, interferes with the sovereign rights of every state in the union. For it specifically gives to the Senate the final judgment of its own membership. No man sitting on the floor of the Senate as a duly elected member accepted by the Senate is a senator of the state from which he was elected; he is a senator of the United States. As such his salary is paid out of the federal treasury, not by the state from which he was elected. Ever since the matter was voted on in 1787 it has been an accepted doctrine that the Senate is not an assemblage of the agents of the states but the organ of a national government. Mr. Lippmann made that point fully and clearly in a recent column. The News Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

Such being the case, the position of Bilbo in the Senate is subject to the Senate's judgment. If a majority of senators do not believe he should be seated, he can be kept out, not once but as many times as he appears with credentials, either as elected or appointed representative from Mississippi.

Taking these two facts into consideration—(1) that Bilbo was not elected by a majority of people of voting age in his state, and (2) that the Senate is sole judge of its own membership—it seems obvious that Gov. Wright of Mississippi is on unsound ground when he says he will appoint Bilbo to fill the vacancy caused if the Senate refuses to seat him. Fri. 1-10-47

Bilbo Going Back Alive Or As Ha'nt

News Birmingham, Ala.

37a (3)

Mississippian Says He Will Certainly Return To Capital

Sun. 2-2-47

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 1—(AP)—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo left Touro Infirmary here Saturday to return to his "Dream House" at Poplarville, Miss., to recuperate from an operation for the removal of part of his jawbone.

He insisted that he will return to Washington as soon as he is able to claim his seat in the United States Senate.

Meanwhile, he will undergo a plastic operation for the restoration of his lower jaw. A bone from his hip will be used.

* * *

"I AM GOING BACK to Washington if I live," Bilbo declared vehemently from his hospital bed. "If I die my spirit will go back there and haunt the hell out of them."

"But," added the senator, "I'm figuring on living 100 years years."

Asked whom his spirit would haunt first, if worst came to worst, Bilbo replied, "Glenn Taylor, the senator from Idaho who pretends to be a Democrat."

It was Taylor who offered the challenge of Bilbo's seat when the senator returned to take the oath for the new term to which he was elected last year.

Senate committees have investigated charges that Bilbo's campaign tactics disfranchised Negroes, and that the senator accepted favors from war contractors.

* * *

A MASK COVERED the lower part of Bilbo's face.

"I wouldn't let you see my mouth for anything," Bilbo told reporters who interviewed him for the first time since the operation.

"They took off my whole chin," he said. "But I am coming back for a plastic operation that will rebuild the chin.

"They are going to take a bone from my hip and graft it into a lower jaw. Sun. 2-2-47

"Then I am going back to Washington."

St. Louis Elects 2 Negro Aldermen

37a(2) MR.

BY R. C. FISHER

4-9-47 Wed.

ST. LOUIS — (ANP) — Election of Atty. Sidney R. Redmond and the reelection of Rev. Jasper C. Caston to the St. Louis Board of aldermen in last Tuesday's City election brought the largest representation of Negroes on the city's governing board to three Republicans. Walter Lowe, the other member, was not up for reelection. It wa sapparent that the city's Negro vote, a balance of power, remained largely Republican.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Redmond, a graduate of Harvard university and Harvard Law school, has been active in politics since he attended his majority. He was recently Associate City Counselor and is active in all movements for the betterment of his race.

Redmond won over Thomas J. Gates, Democrat, in the 18th Ward, by a vote of 2,142 to 1,518; Caston defeated Harrison W. Hollie, lawyer Democrat, in the Sixth ward 1,818 to 1,110.

Daily World

RACIST APPEAL

N. A. Sweets, publisher of the St Louis American, Republican candidate in the race for alderman from the "tough" 4th ward, lost by a close vote to the white Democrat incumbent, Walter Zeigenbalg. The vote was, Sweets 2,610, Zeigenbalg, 3,072. A sign advertising the fact that Sweets door-to-door campaign of "beat-the-n----r," played a vigorous part in the defeat of Sweets.

Atlanta, Ga.

F. E. P. BILL KILLED

As the board of aldermen closed its 1946-1947 legislative year last week, among the 95 bills which died with the end of the session was one which would have set up a municipal Fair Employment Practice Commission. The measure would have required contractors doing work for the city to refrain from racial discrimination.

4-9-47

A last minute effort by Alderman Jasped C. Caston of the Sixth ward to save the bill failed because the measure carried a $10,000 appropriation for payment of salaries and expenses of the mayor of St. Louis Race Relations commission.

37a(3) 1947

North Carolina

Morehouse Grad Election Victor

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

Winston-Salem, N.C.

(SPECIAL TO WORLD)

The victory in the primary balloting was the Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, a graduate of Morehouse College, and pastor of the Instiutional Baptist Church of this city.

There were no indications up to Thursday that there would be a party bolt to Rev. Mr. Williams' nomination in the general election. Nomination in the Democratic Primary is considered tantamount to election.

37a(3) N.C.

Rev. Mr. Williams led his opponent, N. Moir Lancaster, by a safe margin, receiving a total of 2,160 ballots against 827 for Mr. Lancaster. The balloting was for the Third Ward Seat on the Aldermanic Board. Fri. 5-2-47

GOP IN RACE

Observers consider it hardly possible that the Republican candidate will be able to muster enough strength to outdistance the Democratic nominee in the May 6 general election.

Rev. Mr. Williams had the backing of the United Labor Committee, composed of CIO, AFL and independent unions. A native of Winston-Salem, he began his pastorate of Institutional Baptist Church in 1937. In 1942 he left for three years of service in the U. S. Army where he served as chaplain. At the time of his discharge he held the rank of major. Fri. 5-2-47

Union activity among tobacco and allied workers, a majority of whom are Negroes, has been considerably high and successful during the past few years.

37a(3) 1947

Ohio

Ohioan Nominated To Dayton Post

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

37a(3)

Wed. 8-20-47

DAYTON, Ohio— (NNPA) —C Josef McLin, an undertaker, was one of four candidates nominated in the city's primary election of August 12 to run in the November election to fill two city commission posts.

Wed. 8-20-47

Among the seven candidates who ran, McLin placed third. Complete returns from Dayton's 260 precincts gave him 5,936 votes. Running ahead of him were Charles E. Sims, 6,698, and Fred A. Speice. 6,023. The fourth nominee, Charles E. Smith, received 5,532 votes.

The coalition of Sims, county CIO leader, and McLin, West Side undertaker, showed surprising strength. The coalition ticket, according to Albert Horstman, county Democratic chairman, received heavy support from the West Side's sixth and seventh wards. He said McLin polled about 40 per cent more votes than Sims in these wards.

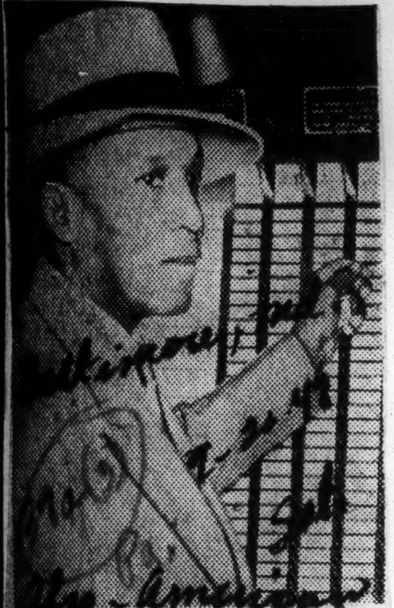
Wed. 8-20-47

McLin's home precinct, 7-F gave him heavy backing. The voting record of 7-F showed McLin with 228 votes; Sims, 140; Smith. 7, and Speice, 5.

Sim's home precinct, 12-I, gave the labor leader thirty-six votes out of a possible eighty-six. McLin polled twenty-three votes in the precinct and Smith and Speice nineteen each.

The primary was marked by an intensive campaign in behalf of the Sims-McLin coalition.

37a(3) 1947 Pennsylvania



Baltimore, Md.

7-26-47

Sat

37a(3)

Pa.

Afro-American

HE WON—Shown voting in Philadelphia's recent primary elections is Robert N. C. Nix, attorney, who won an easy victory as Democratic candidate for City Council from the Fourth District.

37a(3) 1947

Virginia

Negro 190 Votes Short For Virginia Nomination

Times-New York, N.Y.

By The Associated Press

RICHMOND, Va., Aug. 6—Richmond, capital of the old Confederacy, almost nominated a Negro for the Virginia House of Delegates in yesterday's Democratic primary. Thurs.

Oliver Hill, the only Negro in a field of eighteen candidates for the nomination to Richmond's seven seats in the House, ran eighth in complete returns from the city's fifty-five precincts. He is an attorney.

Mr. Hill received 6,310 votes to 6,500 for W. H. C. Murray, who ran seventh, a difference of only 190 votes. 8-7-47

Negroes voted heavily in the primary and apparently almost solidly for Mr. Hill, while the white vote was divided among seventeen candidates.

Had he been nominated and then elected in November, Mr. Hill would have been the first Negro to occupy a seat in the General Assembly since the session of 1889-90 and the first Negro Democrat ever to be a member of that body.

Vote for Hill Is Surprise Of Primary

Foes of Charter See Significance

37a(3) Va.

Negro Attorney Oliver Hill's almost-successful effort to win a place on the Democratic party's House of Delegates slate was chief topic of conversation yesterday in post-mortem discussions of Tuesday's primary election.

The balloting also produced results which charter opponents professed to see as "highly significant," but they declined to explain that significance. Charter advocates also had no comment.

Mr. Hill's slim defeat led to these two conclusions:

(1) That the Negro vote will be an important factor in future Democratic primaries.

(2) That Mr. Hill would have been nominated had not many of the Negroes split their support between him and W. H. C. Murray, who nosed out the attorney for seventh and last place on the ticket. Mr. Murray is president of the Central Trades and Labor Council.

Vote Analyzed

As to the second point, a casual look at the city returns showed that many Negroes had voted only for Mr. Hill and Mr. Murray in the House race. First Lee, for example, gave Mr. Hill 691, Mr. Murray 401 and nobody elso on the ticket more than 143. Twelfth Madison voted 496 for Hill and 274 for Murray, with the third man way down to 90.

Mr. Hill himself said he was naturally disappointed at his failure to win nomination but that "we feel good has been accomplished."

"We will keep on running candidates," he declared, "and will try to keep our people interested. We are new at the political game but we think we've laid good groundwork for participation of Negroes in political activities."

Significance Seen

While Richmond's local charter controversy was never considered a clear-cut issue in the campaign, Jesse M. Johnson, leader of the anti-charter forces, said yesterday he saw great significance in the results but that he did not wish to make any statement. A similar comment was made by Ex-Mayor J. Fulmer Bright, another strong charter foe.

L. E. Marlowe, president of the Richmond Citizens' Association, which is leading the fight for the change in government, said he was "extremely well pleased" with the large turnout of voters Tuesday but he said he had no comment as to any significance the results might have as concerns the charter question.

W. Moscoe Huntley, who last year led the Citizens' Association's successful campaign for election of a charter commission to review the municipal government, had made the strongest statement in support of the new charter among all the Assembly candidates. He trailed the ticket in sixth place among the six Senate aspirants. Mr. Huntley did not conduct an active campaign due to the fatal illness of his wife.

Opposite Views

Among the seven successful House candidates, Albert O. Boschen had been outspoken in his opposition to the charter, while Mr. Murray had endorsed the proposed new form of government. All candidates for both houses had said they would help get the charter through the General Assembly if the voters approve it in the November 4 referendum.

Analysis of the local returns yesterday brought to light what appeared to have been strong support for Delegate James E. Gardner from Negro voters in his successful bid for a place in the Senate.

Mr. Gardner ran second on the Senate ticket, trailing Charles W. Crowder by a vote of 10,794 to 9,960. He led the Senate ticket in 13 precincts, and Mr. Hill led the House contestants in 10 precincts.

The Worker — N. Y., N.Y.

Negro-White Unity Jolts Byrd Machine

Sun. 8-17-47 37a(3)

By Alice Burke

RICHMOND, Va.—The notorious political machine of Sen. Byrd suffered a serious defeat in the Democratic primary here when a labor candidate was nominated and a fighting Negro candidate barely missed nomination by only 190 votes. This primary provides some very important lessons for the entire South on how Negro and labor candidates can be elected.

Mr. Oliver W. Hill, prominent attorney and a war veteran, if he had been nominated, would have been the first Negro elected to the Virginia State Legislature since Reconstruction. The last Negro elected was in 1889.

In the midst of a very "dead" primary campaign, Mr. Hill was the only candidate who campaigned on fighting issues and appeared before the people around this program:

1. Repeal the polltax.
2. State Action to provide housing for veterans.
3. Women on juries.
4. Increased funds for public health. Sun. 8-17-47
5. Minimum state wage and hour legislation.
6. Protection of children through revision of the child labor act.
7. Minimum teachers' salary of $2,400 per year.
8. State Department of Race Relations. The Worker

THE NEGRO PEOPLE prepared for this election a long time. As early as last December they began a campaign to pay poll taxes and qualify citizens to vote. A full-time political action director, Mr. Amos C. Clark, was put in charge of this work. As a result some 3,000 NEW voters were qualified. The whole Negro community, through the churches, civic and fraternal organizations, were involved. Precinct organizations were formed for the first time in this city.

But the Negro people and the leaders of this campaign, also realized that their struggle for economic, political and civil rights were inseparably tied up with the entire labor movement's fight for these things.

When labor, both the AFL and CIO, put forth its candidate, W.H.C. Murray, president of the Richmond Central Labor Union and a member of the Typographical Union, Mr Hill and his campaign committee went all out in supporting him, despite the fact that some Negroes wanted to "go it alone." Mr. Hill's campaign headquarters did as much work for the labor candidate as they did for their own candidate.

Sun. 8-17-47

UNFORTUNATELY, the same cannot be said of the labor campaign committee. Labor's policy was one of "keeping mum" on issues and program on the mistaken idea that if the Byrd machine found out what labor's candidate stood for—they would make an all-out effort to defeat him.

Thus, without even publicizing a program, it was difficult to mobilize even the large portion of organized labor around the labor candidate.

In the labor campaign committee there was some hard work done by the progressive elements who attempted to mobilize the white trade unionists in support of Mr. Hill's campaign also. To the limited extent that this was done—it brought results. **But even some progressive and middle forces in the trade union movement, both AFL and CIO, blinded by the anti-Negro prejudices, cautioned against being "too open" in labor supporting Mr. Hill.**

When election day came around and the votes were tabulated this policy of capitulation and refusal to boldly attack this vicious system of Jimcrow and segregation which keeps the white as well as Negro Virginians in low wages, bad education and health standards, resulted in Mr. Hill not being nominated. Sun. 8-17-47

THE NEGRO PEOPLE supported Mr. Murray's candidacy as evidenced by some of the following votes in predominantly Negro precincts: In Lee Ward, Precinct 1, Hill got 69 votes, Murray 401 and the next highest was only 74 votes. In Madison Ward, Precinct 12, Hill got 496 votes, Murray 274 and the next highest was 33 votes. In Jefferson Ward, Precinct 4, Hill got 157, Murray 124 and the next highest was 62 votes. This showed that most Negro voters adopted what was known as the "two shot vote"—a vote for Hill and Murray, in an attempt to get two progressives elected. Hill's total vote was 6,310. Murray, who was the last of seven to be nominated, got 6,500. The sixth nominee got 7,573.

★

A LITTLE MORE ACTIVITY on the part of labor would have resulted in getting members of organized labor to the polls and could have defeated this candidate who last year introduced and supported the vicious slave-labor bills which were enacted by the State Legislature. It would have ensured nomination of both Mr. Hill and Mr. Murray.

A study of the figures reveals that in precincts where the white working people live they were not sufficiently mobilized for Mr. Hill by labor leaders. It is generally admitted that if labor had tackled this problem in a bold manner and carried on an educational and organizational work both the labor and Negro candidates would have been victorious.

The Worker - N. Y.

BUT WHITE LABOR LEADERS, although beginning to see the necessity of Negro-labor unity in order to win any concessions from the trusts and landlords, **are still themselves blinded by the insidious prejudices** of the fascist-minded and reactionaries who spread anti-Negro poison. They are not yet convinced that so long as the Negro is oppressed they and their own children will live in slums, be denied adequate education and health facilities, and work for starvation wages—just as the Negroes are forced into these conditions.

Not being convinced of this—they are not yet ready to go out and fight all the way for Negro rights. It was this fear of "going against the stream" that prevented the labor group from openly endorsing Mr. Hill's candidacy—it was all a quiet affair. However, Mr. Hill's headquarters went out wholeheartedly for the labor candidate.

After the primary and the loss by only 190 votes of nomination, some Negro citizens began to call for a "go it alone policy" because they did not get full support from the labor organizations.

THIS DISASTROUS POLICY of division, which big business and lynch forces always promote and instigate, was quickly nailed by several Negro leaders who called for even stronger unity between the Negro people and the labor movement.

This sentiment was effectively expressed by Dr. J. M. Tinsley, chairman of the Suffrage Committee, who said: "Our main fight is not over the issue of Murray versus Hill. We must face squarely the fact that although we are now certain of progress, we just haven't succeeded yet in stimulating and registering enough voters to give us a clean-cut majority. We have got to get more voters on the books and more voters out to the polls. I think it will be unwise to discontinue our friendly relationship with labor at the time because we need the support of white as well as colored people if we hope to win in the next election."

37a(5) Va.

What is the task before progressive Richmonders now?

★

THE GENERAL ELECTION takes place Nov. 4. There is a danger that all of the forces of reaction will be centered in trying to defeat the labor candidate. As this is written there are several days left in which to nominate candidates for the general elections. The Republicans are already talking of putting a man in the field. **There is a dangerous independent candidate who is a Trotskyite, and who, true to their destructive role, is spewing radical, demagogic phrases and promises,** especially with a view to win the Nagro votes. It would not be beyond the Byrd machine to give aid, moral and financial, to defeat the labor candidate Nov. 4 at all cost.

That's a real danger.

The only way that this danger can be conquered is to mobilize all of the progressive votes behind Mr. Murray. However, this will not be easy. **It will be possible only if Mr. Murray and the labor movement gives definite guarantees to the Negro people that he will fight unflinchingly for Negro rights in the State Legislature for such measures as a State FEPC, repeal of all segregation and Jimcrow laws, and of discrimination in education, health and employment fields, and other measures which are crucial to the common people, both white and Negro.**

★

THE WHITE labor movement must discard and thoroughly cleanse itself of the poison of race hate and prejudice. Labor must be in the forefront today fighting against attacks on the Negro people which are daily increasing. Barbaric lynchings and terror are being used against the Negro people in an attempt to destroy the entire labor movement

rious governments have swung to the Right to conciliate the Truman administration — is bound to be heard at Quitandinha.

Little Cuba is an example that all countries remember. The Cubans had to accept a sugar quota of about half her production, according to the Sugar Act just signed by the President. In addition, the Sugar Act contained a clause 202 (e) which gives the State Department the right to penalize Cuba if she doesn't treat American businessmen as the State Department thinks they have a God-ordained right to be treated.

Cuba threatened for a moment not to attend the Rio meeting. Surely, other countries are bound to raise all these troubled questions before committing themselves to fancy hemisphere pacts against non-existent political aggression.

ECONOMIC AGGRESSION can be more deadly. And the problems of such aggression are not likely to be postponed half a year, as our delegates will learn in the corridors of Quitandinha, if not across the council tables.

In A Democracy

By LUTHER P. JACKSON

The Campaign Of Oliver W. Hill For The Virginia Legislature

Journal and Guide

Norfolk, Va.

OF ALL the events in Negro political life in America during the year 1947 none has been more gratifying than the candidacy of Oliver W. Hill, Richmond attorney, for a seat in the legislature of Virginia. The act of a colored man running for a state legislature in a northern states does not make news, but the act of one running for this office in a southern state makes news of the most exciting character.

For it has been fifty years or more since members of the race have held seats in the legislatures of any of the ex-Confederate states. Gratifying also is the fact that Hill and others may now run because many of their constituents have changed their minds on the subject of of the power of the ballot. I interpret his candidacy as representing the most significant advance in the citizenship aspirations of southern Negroes by way of the ballot box that we have had in the past half century.

Sat 8-16-47

Hill's race for the Virginia legislature is attracting statewide attention not simply because he ran, but because he ran and almost won. Eighteen Richmonders offered themselves as candidates for the seven seats allotted to the capital city in the House of Delegates. He ended number 8 on the list, just 191 votes less than the successful candidate who ended number 7. The total number of votes cast for Hill was 6,307. Of this number it is estimated that seven hundred came from white citizens.

Norfolk Va.

Although the attorney lost this time, I have reason to believe that he or some other good candidate will win next time. Indeed it appears that the winning of this office and other elective offices in Virginia is an event just around the corner. Running for office and failing to win is not primarily a matter of opposition by the whites to Negroes engaging in politics, but rather the failure of these citizens to meet the voting requirements and to organize effectively.

Journal and Guide

In this state, as in others, a sufficient number must pay the poll tax on time, they must all be registered by a given time, and then they must be gotten to the polls on election day. All of this is a herculean task that calls for the expenditure of sufficient money, for the employment of one or more full-time workers, and for the enlistment of a vast number of voluntary workers.

* * * * * *

All of these and other steps were faithfully observed by the Richmond colored people. Mr. Hill announced his candidacy in December, a number of organizations combined to work in his behalf in January, and a drive for the payment of the poll tax began shortly afterwards. The result was that the number who paid the fee almost doubled over the previous year, and the number who registered was larger than at any one time since 1900.

For several days the city registrar's office at the city hall was fairly swamped with Negro applicants. And for several days the newspapers published accounts and showed pictures of this unprecedented effort on the part of Negroes to get ready to support Hill and participate in all elections affecting their welfare.

8-16-47

But in spite of all these fine efforts he did not win. He did not win for the simple reason that although his fellow citizens were aroused more than ever before, not enough were aroused. Of the 39,000 of voting age in Richmond, six thousand paid their poll taxes to support him. Some two thousand of these persons failed to go to the polls because they had not registered, because they were out of town, or for other reasons.

The chief lack, however, was the presence of some 30,000 who were powerless to vote—powerless chiefly because the importance of voting in a democracy has never dawned upon them. And as it is in Richmond, so it is nearly everywhere.

In this campaign to place a Negro in the legislature of a southern state, special praise is due several Negro citizens and certain white citizens affiliated with liberal organizations. Heading the list is my friend and untiring worker, J. M. Tinsley, dentist, warrior in this and many previous battles to elevate his race.

Sat. 8-16-47

Then there was the courageous Rev. W. L. Ransome, commander-in-chief of the Richmond forces on this and many other fighting occasions. And there was the amiable Amos Clark, the very efficient manager and full-time worker for the campaign.

Journal and Guide

Finally, into this effort came the Committee for Virginia of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, who through its acting executive secretary and other members did their bit in persuading hundreds of white citizens to forget race and vote for the able Negro candidate.

All told this was a grand campaign and one which will serve as a stepping stone to greater achievements in the very near future.

THE IMPORTANCE OF VOTING

The AFRO-American - Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-16-47

A lot of solid citizens in Richmond, Va., are kicking themselves today.

37a(3)

It is because Oliver Hill, candidate for the Virginia House of Delegates in the Democratic primary, August 5, lost by only 187 votes.

There were eighteen candidates and seven could be elected. Mr. Hill, an attorney, ran eighth with 6,313 votes. The man above him, W. H. C. Murray, white, had 6,500 votes

There are more than 187 colored people in Richmond, who could have voted Tuesday but didn't.

Often the average man says to himself, "What's the use; my vote won't count. Our candidate won't win anyhow."

That attitude is a mistake and last Tuesday's primary proves it. The lesson is one which can be taken to heart not only by Virginians but by voters everywhere.

Make voting a habit . . . both in the primary and general election. You never know when your vote will enable your man to win.

37b 1947

Ask For Public Hearings On Congressman Adam Powell's Anti-Jim Crow Travel Bill

The Louisiana Weekly Sat. 3-15-47
New Orleans, La.

37b

Washington, Mar. 12 (ANP).—The Washington Bureau NAACP called on Congressman Charles A. Wolverton (R., N. J.), chairman of the house interstate and foreign commerce committee, to hold early public hearings on the Powell anti-Jim Crow travel bill, HR-280.

Congressional action to end segregation as it applies to passengers in interstate travel was urged because of developments since the U. S. Supreme Court decided the Irene Morgan case last June. The decision declared unconstitutional state laws which require racial segregation on bus and trains carrying passengers between the states. However, it did not prohibit the bus companies and railroads from themselves adopting regulations requiring Jim Crow seating arrangements. Accordingly, most of these carriers now enforce their own rules against Negroes and whites sitting together. Sat. 3-15-47

Leslie Perry, speaking for the NAACP, told the house interstate and foreign commerce committee that:

"Jim Crow travel practices have caused endless inconvenience, humiliation and hardship to hundreds of thousands of Negro citizens travelling between the states.

"In spite of the fact that colored passengers pay the same fare as whites, the accommodations assigned to them are always inferior. They are tired of riding in the back half of baggage cars; they are tired of riding over the wheel on the back of buses; they are tired of not being able to get a meal on a dining car without being hidden behind a curtain.

"Your committee has the power to make a full-scale investigation of this entire situation, and we respectfully urge that you schedule public hearings at an early date on the Powell bill."

Anti-Discrimination Bill Is Opposed By Sen. Ellender

B'ham., Ala. News
Sat. 6-14-47

WASHINGTON, June 14—(AP)—Sen. Ellender (D., La.) said Friday that pending anti-discrimination legislation would break down segregation of Negroes from white persons in the South and eventually produce a "mongrel race."

Ellender is a member of a Senate public welfare subcommittee considering legislation to establish a national commission against discrimination in employment.

Frank Goldman, president of the Supreme Lodge of B'nai B'rith, which he said has 300,000 Jewish members, testified in support of the bill.

* * *

ELLENDER TOLD GOLDMAN: "You people are trying to impose on us (of the South) something that would do more harm than good. It is just the first of steps to break down segregation in the South which we think is necessary."

Ellender argued that social equality of Negroes with white persons "will lead to amalgamation of the races," and that this in turn would produce a "mongrel race" in America. Sat. 6-14-47

"You can't weed out prejudice by law or by force. Only education will do that," Ellender said.

The bill, sponsored by Sen. Ives (R., N. Y.) and others, authorizes the proposed commission to enforce its decisions if conciliation efforts failed.

* * *

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE also endorsed the bill. Ben Herzberg, chairman of the organization's civil affairs committee, told the Senate group that "at a time when we are straining to increase production, discriminatory employment practices — based on race, color, religion and national origin — artificially diminish the availability manpower to do the job."

Herzberg told the subcommittee that an anti-discrimination law in New York—the pattern for the Ives bill—worked well.

Refferring to the New York law, Ellender said "There is no reason for trouble now because there is employment for everybody," but "just wait" until unemployment increases.

Goldman testified "There is nothing revolutionary or of wild-eyed radicalism" about the bill.

Coast Guard Approves Bill

Afri-American

Would Discontinue

Segregation of GI's

Baltimore, Md

ARMY OPPOSED

Sat. 5-3-47

Full Hearing to Be Demanded by Powell

WASHINGTON — (AFRO National Bureau)—The Navy and Coast Guard have no objection to enactment of a bill introduced by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (Dem., N.Y.) to abolish discrimination in the Armed Forces, it was revealed last week.

Congressman Powell released correspondence from the various branches of the Armed Forces, on Friday, revealing the positive stand on House Bill 279, taken by Rear Admiral O. S. Coleough for the Navy and E. H. Foley Jr., acting Secretary of the Treasury, for the Coast Guard.

In commenting upon the letters, which were written to Rep. Walter G. Andrews (Rep., N.Y.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the House, Mr. Powell said, in part:

"It comes as a great source of pleasure to release this correspondence which indicates that the United States Navy and Coast Guard are prepared to abolish race segregation.

To Ask Full Hearing

"I am also happy to say that the Bureau of the Budget has indicated that there is no objection."

He went on to explain, "My bill is complete, in that it will abolish 'separate quarters, separate mess halls, or otherwise.' " On the basis of the Navy and Coast Guard approval of the measure, he will press the Armed Services Committee for a "full hearing" on the bill, Representative Powell added.

One branch of the Armed Forces, the Army, opposes passage of the bill, a letter written to Representative Andrews by Robert P. Patterson, Secretary of War, disclosed. Sat. 5-3-47

Would Postpone Action

The Patterson letter, also made public by Mr. Powell, explained that race segregation had been studied by a board of generals, and added:

"The department believes that progressive experimentation pursuant to the recommendations. . . will in time accomplish the purpose of the proposed legislation."

Representative Powell, in a statement accompanying the letters, said, "It is regrettable that the Army is so far behind the times as to disagree with the Navy and the Treasury Department."

Gillem Report Hit

"The Army continues to rely upon its whitewashed Gillem Report, which is a masterpiece of double talk and double meaning," he declared.

"Today there are only 48 commissioned colored officers on active duty out of ovr 20,000," Mr. Powell concluded.

Letters in Approval Cited

Letters to Chairman Andrews approving abolishment of segrega-Judge Advocate of the Navy wrote:

Rear Admiral O. S. Colclough, ttion were as follows.

My dear Mr. Chairman:

The bill H. R. 279 "To prohibit race segregation in the armed forces of the United States after the termination of hostilities in the present war and the beginning of demobilization," was referred by your committee to the Navy Department with request for a report thereon. Sat. 5-3-47

The purpose of the bill is to prohibit, effective six months after the date proclaimed by the President as the termination of hostilities in the present war, the separation of races in the Armed Forces of the United States whether by means of separate quarters, separate mess halls, or otherwise.

The Navy Department interposes no objection to the enactment of the bill H. R. 279.

The Navy Department has been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there is no objection to the submission of this report to the Congress.

For the Secretary of the Navy.

Respectfully yours, O. S CLOCLOUGH, Rear Admiral, U.S Navy, Judge Advocate General of the Navy.

Treasury Does Not Object

On behalf of the Coast Guard, Mr. Foley wrote:

My dear Mr. Chairman:

Further reference is made to your letter dated Jan. 20, 1947, enclosing copies of the bill, H. R. 279, "To prohibit race segregation in the Armed Forces of the United States after the termination of hostilities in the present war and the beginning of demobilization," and asking the views of the Treasury Department on this proposed legislation. Sat. 5-3-47

The purpose of this proposed bill is to prohibit, effective six months after cessation of hostilities, the separation of races in the Armed Forces of the United States whether by means of separate quarters, separate mess halls, or otherwise.

The Treasury Department has no objection to the enactment of H. R. 279.

Very truly yours,
E. H. FOLEY JR., Acting Secretary of the Treasury.

Ill. Racial Label Bill Withdrawn

Afro-American

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. (ANP) — Legislation, which would have prohibited mention of race, religion or nationality in newspaper crime stories, was killed here last Wednesday, when the author of the bill, Sen. C. C. Wimbish (Dem., Chicago), struck the proposed measure from the Senate calendar. Sat. 6-21-47

The Senator gave as his reason for killing the bill the opposition presented by colored newspapers "for their own reasons." The bill itself would have, in a broad sense, prevented accurate description of wanted criminals in police publications. Baltimore, Md.

Saying that he did not want to interfere with police procedure, Senator Wimbish declared, "I still am convinced that the legislation embodies good principles, but it requires more study." Sat. 6-21-47

Vets' Low Rent Housing Bill Introduced in House

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md. Sat. 3-8-47

Calif. Representative Sponsors Measure to Prohibit Any Racial Discrimination

WASHINGTON

A bill to assist in the immediate alleviation of the critical shortage of moderate-rental housing for veterans and service men has been introduced in the House by Mrs. Helen Gahagen Douglas (Dem., Calif.), now in her second term in Congress.

Referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, the measure provides that a maximum of one billion dollars be used to build houses for "veterans and service men of different races, colors and creeds in a volume which shall not discriminate" against any of them.

$50 Maximum Rental

The bill further provides that the rental for these houses shall not exceed $50 per month, exclusive of charges for utility services.

A second bill, dealing with the rights of women, has been recently introduced by Mrs. Douglas, who in private life is the wife of actor Melvyn Douglas movie star.

For Women's Legal Status

This measure would establish a commission on the legal status of women in the United States, to declare a policy as to distinctions, based on sex, in law and administration. Sat. 3-8-47

The Committee on the Judiciary is considering this bill.

Mrs. Douglas read into the Congressional Record a recommendation from the Commission on the Status of Women, in the United Nations, asking that all nations adopt measures to grant women the same political rights as men.

Liberal Congressmen Plan Flood of Civil Rights Bills

37K

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md. Sat. 11-15-47

New Yorker Preparing Measure to Give Capital National Suffrage, Self-Government

WASHINGTON (ANP) — Following the release of the report by the President's Committee on Civil Rights, at least a dozen bills have been drawn up by various Congressional members implementing the committee's recommendations, it was disclosed here this week. Afro-American

Chief among these bills, which are to be ready for Congress when it reconvenes, is one being prepared by Rep. Emanuel Celler (Dem., N.Y.) which introduces national suffrage for the District of Columbia provides Congressional representation and extends local self-government. Baltimore, Md

Describing the committee's report as vitalizing and dramatic, Representative Celler said that the recommendations made must not be "dissipated by legislative inaction." Sat. 11-15-47

Other Actions Planned

In addition, he will offer a bill for a joint standing committee on civil rights and introduce other recommended measures which will provide:

The establishment within FBI of a special civil rights investigators unit; permanent committee on civil rights in the office of the President; amendments to Sec. 51, Title 18 of the U.S. code to strengthen Federal rights against encroachment by private and public persons;

Enactment of statutes protecting the rights of qualified persons in Federal primaries and elections and strengthen Federal prosecutions for involuntary servitude.

Would Change Army Setup

Also included will be bills which will do the following:

Extend naturalization laws to grant citizenship without regard to race, color or national origin of applicants; grant citizenship for Guam and American Samoa inhabitants; 11-15-47

End discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed or national origin in all branches of the armed service; systematic registration for all groups attempting to influence public opinion; and withhold Federal assistance to public or private agencies not observing civil rights laws.

Sen. Francis J. Meyers (Dem., Pa.) said he would join in sponsoring a resolution to create a joint Senate-House committee on civil rights. He praised the call for fair employment practices legislation, antilynch law and elimination of poll tax as a voting prerequisite.

Celler Introduces 3 Civil Rights Bills

37

Daily World

Atlanta Georgia

WASHINGTON, D. C.— (NNPA) — Three of the bills Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat, of New York, promised he would introduce during the special session of Congress to carry out recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights were dropped into the legislative hopper last Monday.

Two of the bills are designed to strength sections 51 and 52 Title 18 of the United States Code.

The amendment he proposed to section 51 could impose penalties on individuals as well as upon conspirators. Section 51 makes it a federal offense, punishable by a fine of not more than $5,000 and imprisonment for not more than ten years, for two or more persons to conspire to injure persons in the exercised of federally-secured rights.

Federally-secured rights include the right to vote and have that vote counted, to run for federal office, to be free from involuntary servitude, to have access to the federal courts, to be a witness in the federal courts, to inform federal officers concerning federal offenses, and to journey to the national capital on federal business. Fri. 11-21-47

The amendment Mr. Celler proposed to section 52 would increase the penalties, add civil and define more specifically constitutional rights.

37b 1947

DISCRIMINATION HIT IN MORTGAGE BILL

New York Times

State Measure Would Outlaw Unfair Financing Practices Based on Prejudices

Tues. 2-11-47
New York, N.Y.

37b

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ALBANY, Feb. 10—A proposal to outlaw discrimination in mortgage financing because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry was put before the New York State Legislature tonight.

Based upon research in the housing field by the American Jewish Congress, a bill offered by Senator Arthur Wachtel, of the Bronx, and Assemblyman Hulan Jack, of Harlem, both Democrats, sets up both criminal and civic penalties for violations. New York Times

The sponsors asserted enactment of the legislation was a "necessary first step towards the elimination of racial slums in New York City."

"Negroes and Spanish-speaking residents," they said, "are forced to live in overcrowded, segregated areas, paying high rents for inferior housing. They cannot build modern housing because of the discrimination practiced by the lending institutions. Our bill will end this injustice and help to end crime and disease, which find a fertile breeding ground in slum areas."

The sponsors also recalled that the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice filed a civil complaint late August against the Mortgage Conference of New York, the Savings Bank Trust Company and thiryt-seven members of the conference, charging a conspiracy to control mortgage lending in the New York. Tues. 2-11-47

Under the Wachtel-Jack bill, an offender would be guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to fine and imprisonment. Provision is made for civil suit against an offending institution by the aggrieved in an amount not to be less than $1,000 nor more than $5,000.

In another bill touching upon prejudice, Assemblyman William T. Andrews, also a Harlem Democrat, asked that members of the State Commission against Discrimination be authorized to make and file complaints, a privilege now reserved to aggrieved persons, the State Industrial Commissioner and the State Attorney General.

Mr. Andrews pointed out the Massachusetts Anti-Discrimination Law permits such action, as does pending legislation on the subject in Connecticut and Pennsylvania. New York, N.Y.

Senator Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh Republican, introduced a bill prescribing scientific psychiatric and medical treatment for sex offenders. The proposal, backed by the State Prison Association, would permit a judge to remand any prisoner convicted of sex offenses for examination by State psychiatrists. Such examination would be compulsory for a two-time offender.

Where psychiatric reports indicate the necessity, the offender could be committed in a mental hospital "until he is no longer a psychopath and no longer a danger to himself," according to Mr. Desmond. Tues. 2-11-47

Holding that there can be "dual control" by the Federal and State Governments in the matter of rents, Assemblyman Richard M. Goldwater and Senator Sidney A. Fine, Bronx Democrats, proposed tonight that, if Congress lifts or eases existing Federal controls, State controls become effective with the freeze as of Jan. 1, 1947.

Pensacola, Fla. Journal
June 2, 1947

Bill Safeguards Negro Job Rights

37b

WASHINGTON —(AP)— The new union-curbing bill which congress is expected to pass finally this week contains little-publicized provisions safeguarding the job rights of Negroes barred by unions.

Senate labor committee lawyers who outlined them Sunday said they are contained in the section which outlaws the closed shop but permits the union shop. In a union shop the employer must fire any worker who does not become a union member.

But the measure as approved by a senate-house conference committee stipulates that a company may continue to employ a non-union member if it has reason to believe union membership was not available to him on the same terms as others. The bill also prohibits a union from seeking the discharge of a worker to whom it has denied membership for any reason other than failure to pay initiation fee or dues.

NEW BILL WOULD BAR JOB BIAS

37b

A new attack on job discrimination against minority groups has been launched by a two-party group of eight Senators. Washington, D.C.

The bill, modeled after a New York state statute, is a successor to last year's permanent FEPC proposal, which was pigeonholed last year by a group of southern polltax Democrats.

Thurs. 3-13-47

Sen. Irving Ives (R., N. Y.), who introduced the bill and who is author of the New York state law, said the measure would try to avoid legal compulsions to the greatest possible degree.

Thurs. 3-13-47

The bill declares that employment without bias as to race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry is a "civil right of all the people of the U.S."

It sets up a number of categories of illegal employment practices. These include refusal to hire because of race or religion, the use by an employer of a hiring service which practices such discrimination, discrimination practices in labor unions, and discharge of a worker by an employer for filing charges under the bill's provisions.

Washington, D.C.

THE proposed law would authorize a seven-member anti-discrimination commission to be set up by the President. This group could probe accusations of discrimination and seek to use methods of "conference and persuasion" to remedy illegal activities.

Sponsoring the bill, in addition to Ives, are three Republican Senators and four Democrats: Saltonstall (Mass.), Smith (N. J.), Morse (Oreg.), Chavez (N. M.), Murray (Mont.), Myers (Penn.) and Downey (Calif.).

Dawson Offers Bill To Outlaw D. C. Jim Crow

St. Louis Argus
St. Louis, Mo.
Fri. 1-10-47

37b

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan 7 — Representative William Dawson (Demo., Ill.) introduced a bill in Congress which would prohibit anyone from barring a person from a public place in the District of Columbia because of "race, color, national origin or ancestry."

Violation of the measure would carry a fine of $10 to $100 and jail sentence of 10 to 100 days for each offense. The violater also would be liable to damages ranging from $100 to $500.

The act would apply to hotels, restaurants, stores, hospitals, clinics, theatres, concert halls, amusement parks and public parks and buildings. Fri. 1-10-47

Labor Bill's Liberal Clause Gives Southern Whites Scare

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

37b

NEW ORLEANS—(ANP)—**Implied racial provisions in the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill are said to be causing much concern in the South as an organization here, calling itself the Committee for the Preservation of Southern Tradition has voiced opposition**

to the passage of the measure.

Section eight in the part of the bill which the Committee interprets as tantamount to a FEPC reads in part, "That no employer shall justify any discrimination against an employee for non-membership in a labor organization if he has reasonable grounds, the membership was not available on the same terms applicable to others." Sat. 6-28-47

In a circular listing Southern and borderline congressmen, the committee urged:

"Get every white Southerner to notify all congressmen and senators and President Truman of their position. Let them know that they will have to answer to their constituents at the polls if they do not protect Southern traditions. Don't fail to write, wire or call the Southern delegation in Congress." Sat. 6-28-47

Bills for JC Vet Hospital Offered

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md. Sat. 6-21-47

37b

WASHINGTON. (NNPA) — Companion measures were introduced in the Senate and House, last Wednesday, providing for the establishment of a jim-crow veterans' hospital at the birthplace of Booker T. Washington, in Franklin County, Va.

The bills were introduced by Sen. Chapman Revercomb (Rep., W.Va.) and Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers (Rep., Mass.) in the respective legislative bodies.

Both proposals would authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to acquire a suitable site and erect and equip a suitable hospital for treatment of "colored veterans," under VA administration.

New Bill Would Wipe Out Benefits of Future Recruits

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

37b

WASHINGTON

If anyone plans to help Uncle Sam "Make If A Million," he had better decide before August 31 because last Monday the Senate passed and sent to the House a bill which would shut off GI Bill benefits to any man who enlists in the Army or Navy after Aug. 31. Sat. 6-28-47

If the bill becomes a law it means that the boys who join up after that date will have to get their education where they find it and pay for it themselves when they are discharged. On-the-job training will also be denied. Sat. 6-28-47

Bills Offer Halls to B. T. Memorial

37b

Afro-American

Suggests They Be Used as Training Institute

Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 12-20-47

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Companion bills proving for the transfer of Slowe and Carver Halls from Government ownership to the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial of Rocky Mount, Va., were introduced in Congress last Monday by Sen. Arthur Capper of Kansas, and Rep. A.L. Miller of Nebraska, both Republicans.

The bills would authorize the Commissioner of Public Housing Administration and the Defense Homes Corporation to convey the projects, to the Memorial to be used exclusively as a "National Institute of Industrial Training for colored youth, including veterans of World War II.

Relieved Of All Expenses

Upon transfer, the Government would be relieved of all maintenances and expenses in connection with the dormitories, which would be assumed by the new owner. The bills specifically provide that no Government appropriations are to be authorized. Sat.

Slowe Hall, a dormitory for women, accommodates 206 residents is located at Third and U Sts., N.W., and Carver Hall for men is at Second and Elm Sts., N.W. The structures are each of four-story, fireproof, brick, constuction with modern facilities.

After those properities were advertised for sale and a Chicago firm forfeited $10,000 on a contract to buy them, it was announced that they would not be re-advertised for sale, but Howard University would be given an opportunity to acquire them.

(377) gen.

Keep Your Eye On Congress

(Listed in this box are just a few of the more important bills which have been filed since the Eightieth Congress convened. Hearings on anti-labor proposals open before the Senate Labor Committee Jan. 23, and the committee is apt to combine sections of of the various bills into one "omnibus" proposal. Watch this box for future details).

The CIO News Washington D.C.
Mon. 1-20-47

BILL	WHAT IT DOES	WHERE IT IS	ACTION
S. 49 S. 70 Capehart-Wiley Bills HR 589 Gwynne Bill	Bills limit workers' rights to collect on portal-portal suits for "make-ready time wages.	Senate Judiciary Comm. holding hearings on S. 49, 70. CIO testifying in opposition.	Write, wire your Senators & Sen. Wiley of Judiciary Comm.; request that bills be rejected.
S. 55 Taft-Ball-Smith anti-union bill.	Closely follows last year's Case bill. Bars check-off, limits health fund, sets up 60-day cool-off periods, outlaws jurisdictional disputes, etc.	Referred to Sen. Labor & Public Welfare Comm. Hearings open Jan. 23.	Write Senators and Committee members to reject proposals.
S. 105 Ball anti-union security bill	Outlaws various forms of union security, union shop, etc.	Referred to Senate Labor & Public Welfare Comm.	Send protests to your Senators, to Senator Ball, and mebers of Senate Labor Comm.
S. 133 Ball anti-bargaining bill	Bars any unions from negotiating with employers outside same "labor marketing area." Would atomize collective bargaining.	Referred to Senate Labor & Public Welfare Comm.	Send protests to your Senators, Sen. Ball, and members of Senate Labor Comm.
S. 124 O'Daniel Bill	Repeals Wagner Labor Relations Act.	Referred to Senate Labor & Public Welfare Comm.	Write to all Senators.
HJR 43 Union incorporation bill	Forces unions to incorporate, register with SEC. Proposed by. Rep. Smith of Maine.	Referred to House Judiciary Committee.	Call for defeat in letters to your Congressmen.
HR 725 Case Bill	Revises Wagner Act, permits US to get injunctions vs. unions, permits states to bar union security, etc.	Referred to House Labor Committee. Apt to be merged with other bills.	Write your Congressmen for defeat of this and other versions of same bill.
HR 17, 34, 68, 75, 76 Anti-strike bills	Proposed by five GOP Congressmen. Gives Pres. power to break strikes, compel arbitration.	Referred to House Labor Committee.	Demand its defeat as dangerous to natl. welfare.
HR 1 Knutson "soak-poor" tax bill	Offers 20% tax cut; little saving for low income families, big profits for wealthy.	Referred to House Ways & Means Comm.	Ask Congressmen to pass bill to place heaviest tax burden on high incomes.
Anti-poll tax bill	Several bills filed, to end polltax in southern states.	Referred to Comm. on House Administration.	Ask Congressmen to vote to end polltax.
Anti-lynch bills	To make lynching a federal crime. Several different bills filed.*	Referred to House Judiciary Committee.	Ask Congressman for passage.
FEPC bills	Would make racial, religious bias illegal. Several different bills filed.*	Referred to House Labor Committee.	Ask Congressmen for passage.

*CIO will analyze these bills and check for loopholes. Watch this column for information on which bills will receive CIO support.

1-20-47

Address all Representatives at House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C., all Senators at Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Few Legislatures Enact Anti-Bias Bills in 1947

(378)

Sat. 11-29-47
Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa.

NEW YORK—Although State legislatures this year were presented with numerous bills to correct abuses in the field of race relations and to assure equality for all people without discrimination, very few laws were enacted, a commission on law and social action of the American Jewish Congress survey has reported.

Rural domination of State Legislature again handicapped the achievement of ends which seemed remote to many legislators and of no immediate concern to their constituents.

Pittsburgh Courier

CIVIL RIGHTS SLIGHTED

"The result has been that throughout the Nation less than ten laws in this field have been enacted to date," declared Will Maslow, commission director.

The survey shows that in Arkansas the legislature unanimously repealed a 1945 law providing for separate State and Federal primaries for white and Negroes.

Compensating for the gain, however, Georgia, by a vote 133 to 62, repealed its primary laws in an effort to continue the disfranchisement of Negroes and to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision outlawing the "white primary."

A similar intent led the Mississippi Legislature to enact a provision whereby a person may be required to subscribe to a statement of principles of a political party before being permitted to vote in a primary. The Mississippi Democratic party has already adopted a statement which includes opposition to a Fair Employment Practices Commission anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation.

Sat 11-29-47

ILLINOIS ACTS

In employment, the survey reveals, that some forward steps were taken. Connecticut enacted a Fair Employment Practices Commission law, similar to that of New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts. In Massachusetts an effort to repeal the State FEPC law was defeated by a vote of 113 to 17. Illinois enacted a law to establish a Governor's Interracial Commission to investigate opportunities in employment and to cooperate with organizations in the promotion of tolerance and good will.

In Indiana, a law was passed making it unlawful to "conspire, organize or associate for the purpose of spreading malicious hatred by reason of race, color or religion against any person not alien enemies of the United States." Penalties included disfranchisement, barring from public office, fine and imprisonment.

In the field of housing and accommodation, the survey points out that Minnesota repealed its redevelopment law passed in 1947 and enacted a new one which contained prohibitions against discrimination in the selection of tenants.

UTAH LIFTS BAR

In Utah the alien land law directed against ownership of land by Japanese-Americans was repealed.

In California a law permitting segregation of Orientals in public schools was repealed.

"On the whole the results achieved in State Legislature have been meager. Not until early in 1949, when the bulk of the legislature will again convene, will an opportunity be presented for an intensive drive for State laws," Mr. Maslow said.

37b 1947 Anti-Poll Tax Bill

NAACP URGES FAVORABLE REPORT ON ANTI-POLL TAX

April 18, 1947

Press Service Of The NAACP

4-18-47

Washington, D.C., Apr 16th--The Washington Bureau, NAACP, this week called on Congressman Ralph A. Gamble (R., N.Y.), Chairman of the House Administration subcommittee considering anti-poll tax bills HR-29 and HR-7, to make a speedy and favorable report on legislation.

New York, N.Y.

Leslie Perry of the NAACP Washington Bureau writing to Congressman Gamble declared: "Your subcommittee has had before it since early in January when the Congress convened bills to outlaw the poll tax. This legislation is not new to you or to other members of the subcommittee. The House, by an overwhelming majority, has passed identical bills three times since 1942. Fri. 4-18-47

"It is indeed ludicrous that at a time when the Congress is heatedly debating the matter of loans and other aids calculated to reenforce democracy in Europe and the Near East, that 10,000,000 citizens of the United States are denied a 'free vote' here at home because of the odious poll tax requirement in seven states."

The subcommittee is composed of four Republicans and three Democrats. They are:

Ralph A. Gamble (R., N.Y.)
Charles W. Vursell (R., Ill.)
Gerald W. Landis (R., Ind.)
William C. Cole (R., Mo.)

4-18-47

Tom Pickett (D., Tex.)
Burr P. Harrison (D., Va.)
George A. Smathers (D., Fla.)

37b 1947

Federal Aid to Education

NEA Official Says Education Of Negro South's Big Poser

(37b) "Constitution"

Atlanta, Ga.

By DORIS LOCKERMAN

The biggest school problem in the South is Negro education. It is going to hit harder every year. As Negro opportunities are advanced, white education will have to pay for it.

Since it is of Federal interest that Negro education be expanded, it is imperative that the nation undertake part of the cost through Federal aid to State systems. Tue 12-30-47

This, in the opinion of H. M. Ivy, Superintendent of Schools at Meridian, Miss., and Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the National Education Association, is one of the strongest reasons Southerners can call upon their legislators for support of Bills S-472 and HR-2953, now pending in Washington. Bill S-472 provides $300,000,000 per annum beginning in 1948, and HR-2953 provides $200,000,000 the first year, $250,000,000 the second year, $300,000,000 the third year and thereafter in Federal aid to education.

Ivy was chairman of a panel on Federal aid Monday at the evening session of the Southeastern Conference of Classroom Teachers at the Biltmore Hotel. More than 200 teachers from 10 Southeastern States heard speakers clarify the Federal aid bill status and provisions, and at the conclusion of the discussion were urged to go home and "commend their representatives for supporting the bills, and to plead with them to be 100 percent for it . . . to persuade a eternity . . . never knowing where themselves."

The classroom teachers had heard a series of speakers evaluate their work as a barometer of business and progress. "Education in America is the most enlightened in the world . . . it goes hand in glove with progress." They heard themselves termed as "affecting eternity . . . never knowing where their influence might end."

Delegates reported on improvements in their region in teachers' status, and all of them dwelt longer on finer human relations, combatting human erosion, classroom leadership and direction, than on the subject of salaries and other legislative improvement.

"We are not combatting improved Negro education, either," explained Ivy, "we know that only by improving our residents and average income can we improve our communities. So many people are confused and believe we must offer academic education to Negroes. They are wrong. The emphasis must and will be placed on elementary and secondary facilities."

Tuesday's sessions will present reports from Mozelle Causey, North Carolina; Rachael Sanders, Tennessee; Catherine Hendricks, Kentucky; La Lene Grigg, North Carolina; Dorothy Wright, South Carolina, and Pauline Carlberg, Florida. 12-30-47

Miss Marie Ernst, President of the Department of Classroom Teachers, NEA, will be luncheon speaker at the Empire Room, Dr. Ralph Newton, Mercer University, will speak at 3 p. m., and Miss Virginia Kinnaird, Vice Chairman of the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education, will speak in the evening at the closing banquet in the Pompeian Room.

37b 1947

General

Marcantonio Bill Would Aid Veterans

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 6-14-47

UNAVA Delegation Takes Fight to Washington after New York Confab

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—Following conferences here with a delegation of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, Representative Vito Marcantonio (A.L.P.-N. Y.) last Tuesday introduced a bill in the House of Representatives asking for extension of the deadline for filing applications for veterans' terminal leave pay.

The bill is a companion bill to that introduced in the Senate, May 28, by Senator Herbert O'Connor (D.-Md.). It would defer, for one year, the deadline for terminal leave pay applications. The present deadline is Sept. 1, 1947.

The UNAVA delegation came to Washington following its recent New York convention. At that convention, it was charged that Negro veterans in the Deep South were being denied access to the application forms and that they were being intimidated in certain regions of the South in an effort to keep them from drawing their terminal leave pay bonds.

CALL ON RAY

When the delegation called on Marcus A. Ray, civilian aide to the Secretary of War, Mr. Ray took the matter up with Kenneth D. Johnson, special assistant to the Secretary of War.

The War Department announced that veterans who can not get forms can draw their terminal leave pay bonds by writing the essential facts on a plain piece of paper and forwarding this letter to the War Department's finance officer.

In answer to charges that Negro veetrans in some sections of the South could not get their papers notarized, Mr. Johnson announced that the lack of notarization would not prevent payment of the funds due a veteran.

The War Department suggests that all veterans who have difficulty in getting the proper application forms can secure these benefits by answering, on any form of letter paper, the following questions: Sat. 6-14-47

Name; serial number; date of separation; branch of service; grade or rating when separated; did you have a dependent when last separated? (To be answered only by those serving in first three grades or ratings when last separated.); name of dependent; relationship of dependent; were you separated from the service as an enlisted person more than once since Sept. 8, 1939, and if so, dates of prior separations.

Measure Sets Minimum $5 Per

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

Child Grant

Wed. 6-18-47

WASHINGTON.— (ANP) — The senate public welfare subcommittee voted Monday to approve a bill providing a federal grant of $300,000,000 a year to the states for educational purposes.

This measure provides for a minimum federal allotment to each state of $5 a child between the ages of 5 and 17.

Expenditure of the funds is left entirely to the decision of the states except those states which maintain separate education facilities for minority racial groups. The latter states are required to appropriate federal funds in a direct population ratio.

STATE DISCRETION

The states also have the discretion as to whether aid should be given to non-public schools such as parochial institutions.

The bill emphasizes the fact that federal government will have no control whatever over the expenditure of funds by states; and that departments, agencies, officers and employes of the U. S. are forbidden to direct, supervise, or control any manner, or prescribe any requirements with the methods of instruction or to require any change in any state constitution as a prerequisite or benefitting under this measure. Wed. 6-18-47

The bill sponsored by Sens. Taft, Thomas, Hill, Smith, Cooper, Chavez and Tobey is expected to be approved by the full committee and come to the floor next month with the possibility of action before the congressional recess.

Bill Offered for Vet Hospital At Birthplace of Educator

Richmond Va. Times-Dispatch
June 12, 1947

WASHINGTON, June 11—(AP)—A West Virginia Senator, wants congressional approval of a veterans' hospital for Negroes at the birthplace of Booker T. Washington in Virginia.

Senator Revercomb (R.-W.Va.) offered a bill today to authorize a $2,000,000 appropriation for the proposed hospital near Rockymount, in Franklin County.

"It is entirely fitting and proper," Revercomb said in a statement, "that a hospital for the Negro veterans of our armed services should be established at the birthplace of Booker T. Washington, the great Negro educator, whose life and accomplishments are outstanding in our history."

Revercomb, who was born in Virginia, said he introduced the bill at the request of S. J. Phillips, of Rovkymount, president of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial.

Washington spent his early life in West Virginia and for a time worked in salt mines at Malden, near Charleston.

Puerto Rico Independence Bill Introduced

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Sat-8-2-47

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — On Saturday, which was the last day of congress for this session, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D. of N. Y.) introduced a bill to provide for the withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the island of Puerto Rico and for the recognition of its independence.

In his speech on the floor he said 'The United States freed Cuba, freed the Philippine islands. There is no reason why freedom should not be accorded Puerto Rico. They have every attribute of sovereignty a common political ideology, a common language and the ability to govern themselves.

"We have controlled Pureto Rico as long as we have controlled the Philippines. The reason for the independence of the one exists as strongly as independence for the other. Sat-8-2-47

"There should be an interim period as was the case with the Philippine islands, during which time adequate preparations could be made for the final establishment of an independent Puerto Rico."

Fundamental Legislation

~~Pittsburgh Courier~~

Pittsburgh, Pa. - Sat 7-19-47

With scarcely any publicity being given to it, legislation has been introduced into both houses of the Congress which, if enacted into law, will revolutionize education in this country to the point where every child everywhere will have a good chance to get it.

These two bills are S472, introduced by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, and HR 2953, introduced by Representative Edward O. McCowan.

This proposed legislation would provide a minimum of $50 for every child in the country from the Federal Treasury in addition to the monies appropriated by the several States and communities. Sat. 7-19-47

Thus at one stroke new facilities for schooling would be opened up to hundreds of thousands of Negro children in the South for whom school appropriations always have been microscopic to the great shame of the counties, communities and States guilty of such niggardliness.

The school teachers and the heads of educational departments are all for this legislation, and so seems to be everybody else, for it is generally recognized today that our efforts to make this an educated Nation have come far from being crowned with success, chiefly due to the backwardness of the poorer Southern States.

Unable to properly support one educational system, they have everywhere in Dixie saddled the taxpayers with two educational systems—the white better than the colored but far from approaching the best standards.

These two bills will not do away with educational jim crowism, of course, but if the legislation passes we shall see a new day in public education in this country.

It seems to us that here are two bills that all of us will want to see enacted into the law of the land.

Walter White

People, Politics And Places

Wire Your Senator

IT IS URGED as strongly as words make possible that you who read this column invest the cost of two telegrams immediately on completion of reading this piece. The telegrams should go to the two United States senators from your state. If you don't know their names, telephone your local newspaper and those names will be supplied you. Both telegrams should be addressed to the Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Sat. 3-8-47

In these telegrams urge your senators to do everything humanly possible to obtain a vote at the earliest possible time on the four anti-filibuster resolutions now pending before the United States Senate. All four of these resolutions provide for cloture (limitation of debate) by a majority instead of a two-thirds vote. The best of the resolutions are S. Res. 25 and S. Res. 30, the former introduced by Senator Saltonstall (R., Mass.), and the latter by Senators Knowland (R., Calif.), and Ferguson (R., Mich.).

Speak One Hour Only

THEY PROVIDE that after cloture has been imposed no Senator shall speak more than one hour on the bill pending before the Senate and all amendments to that bill. Another resolution, S. 32, introduced by Senators Morse (R., Ore.), and Taylor (D., Idaho), provide for a maximum of three hours debate. S. 39 introduced by Senator Claude Pepper of Florida provides that at least ten days of debate must take place before cloture can be voted on.

Unless and until the rules of the Senate are changed by the passage of one of these resolutions, there is absolutely no hope of passage of FEPC, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, civil rights or any other legislation of that character. Thus the all-important hurdle we must surmount first is changing of the rules of the Senate to stop filibusters.

Chicago Defender

Write If You Can't Wire

Sat. 3-8-47

IF YOU JUST CANNOT afford the cost of two telegrams, you can afford an air mail stamp for a letter urging your senators not only to vote for but to work to bring about a vote to destroy filibusters. And then when you have sent your own personal message, obtain permission to present the issue to your church, your labor union, your lodge or whatever other social or other organization to which you belong and urge the organization to send the telegram in its name. Urge each person present also to send individual messages. Chicago Illinois

If enough of us really mean business we can cause an avalanche of messages to descend upon Washington which will let our senators know that we mean business and want no excuses for failure on their part. Once we have destroyed filibusters, we can then get the legislation for which we have fought for so many years to prevent the lynching of our people, to stop disfranchisement, to assure jobs without discrimination and a full measure of citizenship to all Americans whatever their race, creed, color or national origin.

War Department Opposes Powell Bill To End Military Jim Crow

Chicago Defender, Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 4-26-47

By VENICE T. SPRAGGS
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Hiding behind the week-kneed recommendations of the Gillem Board for the so-called integration of Negro soldiers in the post-war Army of the United States, Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson has blandly stated his opposition to the enactment of a bill introduced by Rep. Adam C. Powell, Democrat of New York, "to prohibit segregation in the armed forces.".

The War Department's position stands out like a sore thumb, in the light of unequivocal statements made by both the United States Navy and Treasury Departments in which they make clear they interpose no objections to the enactment of the measure. Sat. 4-26-47

In reply to a letter from chairman of the House Armed Forces Committee, Walter G. Andrews, Republican of New York, asking the views of the War Department on the Powell bill, (H.R. 279), Secretary Patterson stated: Sat. 4-26-47

"The War Department has long consdered the matter of utilizing Negro manpower consonant with its desire to achieve maximum effectiveness. But," Mr. Patterson continued, "the War Department does not belleve that effective utilization of its manpower could be obtained by the enactment of proposed legislation at the present time." Sat. 4-26-47

Navy Approves Bill

By contrast, Rear Admiral O. S. Colclough, Judge Advocate General of the Navy, replying to the same query for Secretary of the Navy, James Forrestal, stated: "The Navy Department interposes no objection to the enactment of bill H.R. 297." And, E. H. Foley Jr., Acting Secretary of the Treasury, likewise registered "no objection" to the enactment of the legislation. Mr. Patterson told Chairman Andrews that the "forward-looking recommendations" drawn up by the Gillem Board, and later adopted as War Department policy, "envisions complete interspersal of duty assignment, on the basis of individual ability, for white and Negro personnel in overhead and special units." Also, that it provides for the assignment of "small all-Negro organizations of combat and service types as organic parts of larger white units."

Patterson said, "the War Department beleves that progressive experimentation pursuant to the recommendations of the board of general officers will in time accomplish the purpose of the proposed legislation." Chicago Defender

Patterson Avoids Issue

Patterson neglected to tell Chairman Andrews that after one year of this "progressive experimentation" the War Department's "shining" example of so-called integration has been to activate the all-Negro 24th Infantry Regiment as a part of the 25th Division, physically separated from the two all-white Regiments which complete the Division from all purposes except annual divisional training and maneuvers. Moreover, he failed to point out that while the War Department has leaned over backwards to impose the 10 per cent quota on Negro strength in the Regular Army, it has completely closed its eyes to moving Negro troops out of the South, appointing Negro officers in the several service commands to facilitate the implementation of the Gillem Board's recommendations, and many other factors which would be a step toward democratizing the Army. On the other hand, the Navy policy calls for the complete individual integration of all personnel, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, at whatever levels they qualify. Sat. 4-26-47

Adam Powell's Plan

The Powell bill would prohibit, effective six months after the date proclaimed by the President as the termination of hostilities in the present war, the separation of races in the armed forces of the United States, whether by means of separate quarters, separate mess halls, or otherwise.

The President's Committee on Civil Rights expects shortly to look into the matter of the denial of Civil Rights to members of the armed forces, whether through policy, practice, or otherwise.

Progressive Bills Offered by Calif. Congresswoman

Afro-American 1-18-47 Sat. Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Four bills, three of them designed to protect minority groups, were introduced by Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (Dem., Calif.), upon her return to Congress Friday after being hospitalized for several days with an acute case of poison oak.

The four bills called for abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, better assurance of protection of persons from mob violence and lynching, the establishment of an FEPC and cancer research. 1-18-47 Sat.

Expressing hope that action on the bills would be forthcoming very soon, she stated that Republican spokesmen had pledged that, once in control of the Congress, their party would move swiftly to outlaw the poll tax and also to support antilynching legislation.

A GOP Responsibility

Then pointing out that the party had taunted the Democratic majority because of its inability to pass an FEPC bill, or even get it out of committee, she added, "The Republicans are now the majority and leadership falls on their shoulders. 1-18-47 Sat.

"As for the cancer bill," she continued, "I cannot conceive how legislation concerning a disease which kills one person every three minutes can be any more partisan than the disease itself."

Finally pledging her support on the issues, she stated, "Perhaps in the 80th Congress the Democratic minority can help the Republican majority to pass these bills which are long overdue."

REP. WELTERS' BILL

Defender

The Illinois House finally passed Representative Edward A. Welters' bill by 120 to 0. This bill provides for withholding of tax exemption from any hospital, sanitarium or rest home, private or public that discriminates against anyone seeking treament because of race, color or religion. 6-21-47

Chicago, Ill.

That such a bill was needed to correct an evil practice that has worked a tremendous hardship on Negro citizens is incontestable. The hospitals of Chicago are particularly guilty of this anti-racial policy. Negroes have been denied accommodations time and again and again and the few who have been fortunate to be admitted have had to suffer the humiliation of gross segregation and discourtesies from the attendants. The attitude of many of these hospital officials could not be any worse if their institutions were situated in the deep South. Defender

Dr. Welters' effort must be hailed as a much needed prophylactic against Jim Crow virus which has infected public hospitals. Chicago, Ill.

The bill now goes to the Senate and unless Governor Green opposes its passage, it has a good chance of becoming a law. Representative Welters has fought for many years even before he was elected to the House to remedy the situation that has disgraced our fair city and has been a scourge on our people. Sat. 6-21-47

Aiken Bill Proposes At Least $100 Per School Child In Nation

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

37b

Thurs. 1-23-47

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) —A different approach to the problem of federal aid to education in the States was proposed last Wednesday by Senator George D. Aiken, Republican, of Vermont.

While his bill would establish a minimum amount to be spent per pupil in average daily attendance at public elementary and secondary schools, it would still allow the States to discriminate in per capita expenditures on the education of white and colored children.

The bill provides for an appropriation of $20 a pupil in public elementary and high schools, increasing $10 a year until it reaches $60 a pupil. By 1953 a national floor for education equal to at least $100 a year per pupil would be established.

Re-Imbursement

Another feature of Senator Aiken's bill is that it provides for

Proposal By Senator Is Novel Approach

the reimbursement of tax-exempt private schools below the college level in an amount not exceeding 50 per cent of the cost of providing necessary pupil transportation, school health examinations and related school health services, and purchase of non-religious instructional supplies and equipment.

The bill contains no provision for any federal control of education in the states, and state educational agencies would be left free to administer public education systems. Daily World

During Senator Aiken's explanation of his bill on the Senate floor last Wednesday, Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, raised the question of race discrimination in the expenditure of educational funds.

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 1-23-47

$12 Expenditure

At the time hearings were held during the last Congress on a bill to provide federal aid to education in the States, Senator Langer said, in one state the expenditure on a white child was roughly $51.12 a year, and on a colored child about $12.00 "Would a continuation of that discrimination be permitted in case this bill should pass?" asked Senator Langer.

"Not to that extent," replied Senator Aiken, adding that his bill "would not provide equality among all schools." He explained that his bill would require that after 1953 a pupil in any State must have at least $100 expended on him in one year for his education.

Health Bill Would Ban Bias Application

World

Memphis, Tenn.

37b

Fri. 2-21-47

Taft, Smith, Ball, Donnell Are Sponsors

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) —Race and religious discrimination would be banned under the provisions of a bill introduced Monday by four Senators to provide medical, hospital, dental and public health services.

The bill is regarded as an alternative to the compulsory health insurance plan President Truman recommended to Congress in 1945.

Senators Robert A. Taft, Republican, of Ohio, introduced the measure on behalf of himself and Senators H. Alexander Smith, of New Jersey; Joseph H. Ball, of Minnesota, and Forrest C. Donnell, of Missouri, all Republicans.

The bill calls for federal aid totaling about $250,000,000 a year to be allotted to the states for general health, hospital and medical services and dental care for families and individuals with low income.

Without Bias

Under the terms of the bill, such services would be required to be furnished without discrimination on account of race, creed or color to all persons unable to pay in full for them.

Federal funds allotted to the states would be controlled and administered by a single state agency, but the states would be required to contribute an amount equal to the federal contribution. The state health programs would be carried out in hospitals, homes or physicians' offices. Fri. 2-21-47

The bill also provides for the creation of an independent national health agency, to be administered by a national health administrator. Existing federal health agencies and hospitals, including Freedmen's Hospital, would be transferred to the new health agency.

Cancer Control

It would also provide $10,000,000 for cancer control through clinics to be established in the states. Periodic medical and dental examinations would be given to all children in elementary and secondary schools. World

The bill differs from the Wagner - Murray - Dingell national health bill, which was endorsed by the National Medical Association, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other colored organizations last year, and which embodied the plan recommended by President Truman. Memphis, Tenn.

Senator Taft said the Republican proposal would help make health insurance "available to the great number of those who desire it," on a non-compulsory basis. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, he said, could compel doctors and patients to participate in the health program it proposed.

Proposal Would Prohibit Use Of Mails By Racists

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

37b

Sun. 1-12-47

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)- Bills designed to aid and hamper colored people continued last Tuesday to be dropped into the legislative hopper.

Representative Walter A. Lynch, Democrat, of New York, introduced a bill to prohibit circulation through the mails of newspapers, magazines and other publications designed to stir up racial ill will. Violations of its provisions would subject the offender to a fine of not more than $5,000 or to imprisonment of not more than five years.

Representative William G. Stigler, Democrat, of Oklahoma, offered a bill to appropriate $2,000,000 for the construction of a hospital for colored veterans at Taft Oklahoma.

His bill is in accord with a resolution adoption by the Veteran's Affairs Committee of the Southern Governor's Conference ta Miami, Florida, favoring immediate hospitalization for colored veterans in the thirteen southern states requiring such facicities for colored patients and recommending that the Veterans Administration consider such hospitals as the Oklahoma Charity Hospital which can be obtained from the State of Oklahoma. 37b Daily World

Representative Fred Bradley, Republican, of Michigan introduced a bill to band matches between color and white boxers in the District of Colombia. Violaions of it provisions would carry a fine of not more than $1,000 and impriosnment of not more than one year.

Bradley also introduced two companion measurers, one of which would ban professional boxing here and the other would make gambling on any sports event in the District a felony. At the present time such wagering is a misdemeanor.

HATRED INSPIRED

Commenting on Bradley's bill to ban mixed matches here, Leon A. Ronsom, chairman of the Committee for Racial Democracy, said: "The bill obviously is inspired by race hatred. I can see no point in it." Atlanta, Ga.

Representative Mary T. Norton, Democrat, of New Jersey, introduced last Monday a bill to create a fair employment practice committee. A similar bill offered by her in the Seventy-ninth Congress and favorably reported by the House Labor Committee, of which she was chairman, was bottled up in the Rules Committee. Sun. 1-12-47

Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, introduced a bill to prohibit race segregation in the armed forces and a bill to prohibit rcae segregation of interstate passengers. He also offered an antilynching bill.

New Bill Would Condemn Bias In Washington

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 1-10-47

Rep. Dawson Introduces New Measure

37b

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) —Race discrimination in places of public accommodation, resort, entertainment and amusement in the District of Columbia would be made a misdemeanor under a bill introduced in the House last Friday by Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois.

Conviction of each such offense would subject the guilty person to a fine of from $10 to $100 or imprisonment of from ten to 100 days.

The bill also would subject any person committing any such discrimination to a penalty of from $100 to $00 for each offense. The penalty would be recoverable by the person aggrieved in a civil action in the District of Columbia Municipal Court.

Places defined to be within the purview of the bill include hotels, restaurants, stores or shops where foodstuffs, drinks, goods or wares are sold or offered, advertised or displayed for sale to the public; hospitals, clinics, theaters, motion picture houses, concert halls, amusement parks and public parks and public buildings under the jurisdiction of the Federal or District Government. 37b Daily World

Violation of Provisions

Any order, notice or advertisement calculated to prevent or discourage the patronage of persons of any race, color or creed, as well as the actual exclusion, segregation or discrimination against any person on account of race or color would also be deemed a violation of the provisions of the measure.

The bill also would require the commissioners of the District of Columbia to revoke the license of any place judicially determined to have violated its provisions and prohibits the issuance of a similar license to the guilty person or for the use of the premises where the violation occurred for a period of sixty days following such revocation. Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 1-10-47

Under the terms of the bill, every owner, lessee, operator, proprietor, manager, agent and employee is made equally responsible with his principal or employer for any violation of its provisions.

Rep. Douglas Introduces 4 Bills For Race

37b

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 1-15-47

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) —Immediately after she was sworn in by Rep. John W. Martin, Jr., Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas, Democrat, of California, introduced four bills, three of which deal with minority group problems.

They were anti-poll tax, antilynching and fair employment practice bills and a bill for cancer research.

In introducing these measures Mrs. Douglas said she hoped to see action on them "very soon," adding:

REPUBLICAN PROMISES

"Again and again Republican spokesmen have assured Negroes and other minority groups that once in control of the Congress the party of Abraham Lincoln would move swiftly to outlaw the poll tax.

"They have expressed an abhorrence of lynching and their willingness to support federal legislation to eliminate it.

"They have sworn allegiance to a fair employment practice commission in their party platform and taunted the Democratic majority because of its inability to pass it in the House or even get it out of committee.

NOW IN MAJORITY

"The Republicans are now the majority and leadership falls on their shoulders. Perhaps in the Eightieth Congress the Democratic minority can help the Republican majority to pass these bills which are long overdue.

"As one Democrat I want to go on record as pledging my support on these vital issues.

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

"As for the cancer bill, I cannot conceive how legislation concerning a disease which kills one person every three minutes can be any more partisan than the disease itself." Wed. 1-15-47

Representatives Vote 187 To 47 Against Bill

Atlanta Daily World
Sun 3-23-47
Atlanta, Ga.

Measure Touched Discrimination In Nurse Corps

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — The anti-discrimination amendment to the army-navy nurse corps bill which was introduced by Rep. Adam C. Powell last Thursday was defeated with 187 noes to only 47 ayes.

Such an amendment to the bill, said Mr. Powell, will "merely give the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, an opportunity to see that people of our nation, loyal, qualified female citizens, regardless of race, creed, or color, shall be included in the permanent nursing corps."

BOLTON COMMENTS

Congresswoman Bolton (R., Ohio) said she thought it very unfortunate that the matter was brought up as se could see no need for such an amendment. The army and navy are both using Negro nurses as a part of their corps, she said. "We have reached the point where Negro nurses have proven themselves. From here out their acceptance or rejection will depend upon ability and qualifications."

Rep. Miller of Connecticut agreed that the bill itself was a very meritorious one but was of the opinion that it would have been a much better bill had the amendment of the New York congressman been adopted.

RANKIN OPPOSES

Mr. Rankin (D., Miss.,) came out with his usual communistic cry. Said he: "This amendment as originally offered is in the exact language of the first plank in the communist platform." 3-23-47

Rep. Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.) said: "This gives all the members an opportunity to go on the record as to how they feel about racial discrimination; we have heard a great deal of tal kagainst; now is the time to act."

Antiracial Amendment To Nurse Bill Defeated

The Courier Journal
Fri 3-13-47

Washington, March 13 (AP)— The House today defeated, without a record vote, an antiracial amendment to legislation setting up a permanent Army and Navy Nurse Corps. It then passed and sent the bill to the Senate by voice vote.

The amendment, offered by Representative Powell, New York Negro Democrat, would have prohibited discrimination in the selection of service nurses because of race, color, creed, or national origin. Louisville Kentucky

Confer About Poll Tax, Other Bills

Daily World.
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 4-16-47

By JAMES L. HICKS
(NNPA Staff Writer)

WASHINGTON.—The Mayflower Hotel last Friday attempted to force a delegation from a youth conference held here by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to ride freight elevators to keep an appointment with Gael Sullivan, executive director and vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

The youthful delegates, here for a legislative conference to study ways and means of fighting discrimination, not only flatly refused to ride the freight elevators but also turned down the hotel's offer to have them ride a special elevator to the Democratic headquarters.

According to delegates, the delegation, composed of approximately 35 representatives of southern states and five representatives from New York, arrived at the plush Mayflower in small groups and decided to wait in the luxurious lobby of the hotel until the entire delegation had assembled before going to Mr. Sullivan's office.

They said that while seated in the lobby they were approached by members of the hotel staff and questioned as to their reasons for being there. Upon stating their business, they were asked if they would not go upstairs and wait for other members of the delegation in the lobby outside of Democratic national headquarters.

FOUND "COMFORTABLE"

The delegates said they informed the hotel employees that they were comfortable and contented where they were and that they preferred to wait in the main lobby.

When the group had been formed and was prepared to go upstairs, the delegation reported, they were asked to take what turned out to be a freight elevator. They refused. They said they were then urged to take one elevator which would take a full load of the delegates upstairs and return for the others. They also refused this offer and finally went upstairs in small groups on the elevators just as any other guests.

Members of the delegation stated that they had told Mr. Sullivan of the incident when they reached his office and that he expressed "regrets" over the matter.

Included in the group who denounced the action of the hotel were Charles Westbrooks of Gainesville, Ga., Cora George of Atlanta, Evelyn Brown of Agricultural and Mechanical Normal College, Normal, Ala., Yvonne Thornill of Lynchburg, Va., and Virginia Evans of Brooklyn.

The more than 100 delegates who attended the legislative conference sponsored by the NAACP to give youth an insight into the functioning of legislative processes on Capitol Hill, concluded a three-day session last Saturday with an address by Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands.

VISIT CONGRESSMEN

Last Friday in addition to calling on Mr. Sullivan, members of the conference visited Carroll Reece, chairman of the Republican National Committee; Speaker Joseph W. Martin and other members of Congress.

The delegates scored both Sullivan and Reece in talking with re-

"friends." Daily World.

They said when questioned about the "white primaries" and other discriminatory measures of southern Democrats, Sullivan said he understood the delegates' problems perfectly but that he was only one man and unable to do anything about the situation. He said he felt sure that time would remedy such situations.

Len Karlin, student editor of the Long Island University newspaper, who led the delegation which called on Mr. Reece, said the Republican national chairman was "non-committal and evasive." Atlanta, Ga.

He said Reece declared that fair employment practice, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax legislation "merited consideration" and that he was hopeful that Congress would do something about such matters, but that he would not disclose any immediate plans which his party had respecting them.

MENTIONS OPPOSITION

Karlin said Reece stated that he felt federal legislation against the poll tax would be constitutional but that there were many forces which felt it was not.

Robert H. Wilson of Columbia, South Carolina, who led the delegation to see Speaker Martin said Mr. Martin predicted that a vote on anti-poll tax legislation will come up in the House month after next. Wed. 4-16-47

Labor Resolutions Sent To Congress Committees

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK, N. Y.— The NAACP Labor Department today sent resolutions urging favorable action on Fair Employment Practice Legislation, and opposition to the Ball-Taft-Smith Bill and the Case Bill, both anti-labor, to each member of the House and Senate labor committees. The resolutions were passed at regional conferences of the Association in San Francisco, Calif., and Charleston, S. C., and represented the view of delegates from twelve states. Wed. 4-16-47

Stating that there must be a national Fair Employment Practice Law with adequate enforcement power, a resolution called the introduction of Senate Bill 984 a step in the right direction. Another resolution declared, "We are not confused or fooled by the present effort to pass such anti-labor proposals as the Ball-Taft-Smith and Case Bill. We recognize this legislation as an attack upon the liberties of the American workingman and spurn it as a move in the direction of dictatorship."

In reference to Congress cutting the funds of the U. S. Department of Labor, a resolution urged the Senate to restore the funds, especially those which are for the office of the United States Employment Service. "We condemn the practice of the State Employment agencies which permit the acceptance of discriminatory orders," this resolution continued. "We call upon the governors of the states in this region to end this practice. We instruct our Labor Committees to inspect the offices of the Employment service in their communities and work to eradicate the discriminatory practices which exist."

A final resolution urged President Truman to veto HR2157, the bill designed to block portal-to-suits, which has been passed by the Senate and House, because of the effect this legislation would have on the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Ives Bill Takes 'Educational Approach' to Discrimination

P.M. New York, N.Y.
Fri. 3-28-47

A bi-partisan group of eight Senators, led by Sen. Irving M. Ives (R., N. Y.), has introduced legislation directed against discrimination in employment based on race, religion or national origin.

Ives, sponsor of New York State's anti-discrimination law, told the Senate it was not an "FEPC bill." It was different, he said, because he provided for "a minimum of compulsion."

The measure would establish a seven-member National Commission Against Discrimination in Employment, appointed by the President at $10,000 a year each. The Commission would use "a broad educational approach, through the establishment of local, State and regional conciliation councils."

¶ The House passed and returned to the Senate a bill which would abolish the Selective Service system at midnight Monday and create an Office of Selective Service Records to keep the wartime draft organization on a stand-by basis Fri. 3-28-47

Seeks To Honor Tuskegee Founder With Vet Hospital

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 6-14-47

Senator Chapman Revercome, Republican, of West Virginia, introduced in the Senate Thursday a bill to provide for the establishment of a Negro veteran's hospital at the birthplace of Booker T. Washington in Franklin County, Va.

The bill would authorize the administrators of veterans affairs to acquire by purchase or through condemnation proceedings, a suitable site and to enter contract for the erection and equipment on the site a suitable hospital for the diagnosis, care and treatment of Negro veterans entitled to hospitalization under the laws administrated by veterans administration. Sat. 6-14-47

37b 1947

Health Bill

NEGRO RIGHTS UNDER HEALTH LEGISLATION

The CIO News

NEGRO AMERICANS, a group most seriously in need of better medical care, would fare very badly under the Taft "Health" Bill (S. 545), reports the Committee for the Nation's Health.

3/12 Mon. 6-2-47

Two bills concerned with national health problems have been introduced into the 80th Congress — the National Health Insurance and Public Health Act (S. 1320) and the Taft Bill. Although both contain a provision forbidding discrimination on account of race, creed or color, there is a crucial difference between them in the matter of administration.

Washington, D.C.

The Insurance Bill calls for enforcement by a Federal agency, but under the Taft Bill, administration of the program would be left in the hands of the states. It is obvious what this would mean when applied to many southern states.

The minimum need for hospital beds is considered to be at least four beds per 1,000 people. In 1940 Southern States had an average of only 2.2 beds per 1,000, with a ratio of only .03 beds per 1,000 for use of Negroes.

Furthermore not enough money is appropriated under the Bill to cover more than a fraction of the need.

Mon. 6-2-47

The Committee for the Nation's Health urges that the contrast between the two bills be brought to the attention of the Negro public.

Health Insurance Bill Introduced in Senate

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — (NNPA)— Sen. James E. Murray (Dem., Mont.) introduced in the Senate, last Tuesday, a compulsory health insurance bill containing safeguards to insure equitable participation of minority groups in the program.

In addition to Senator Murray, the bill is sponsored by Sens. Claude Pepper of Florida, Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, Glen Taylor of Idaho and J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, all Democrats. Sat. 5-31-47

The new bill is based on the National Health Insurance Bill of 1945, which was revised in the light of suggestions and criticism made at hearings held by the Senate Education and Labor Committee last year.

Covers Many Occupations

According to Senator Murray, 85% or more of the entire population would be insured under the proposed program. The groups which would be covered in a syste mof compulsor health include:

All employed and self-employed persons, including all employees in industry, commerce, agriculture and domestic service and persons receiving social security, civil service pensions and others.

Medical and dental care from the family doctor and the specialist, home nursing, hospital care and such special services as laboratory and X-ray would be provided through the insurance system. Sat. 5-31-47

States to Administer Program

Every qualified doctor, dentist and hospital would be guaranteed the right to participate. The new bill would give to the States administration of the system for its own population, if it met certain minimum conditions.

In carrying out the provisions respecting prepaid personal health service benefits, the bill provides, "there shall be no discrimination on account of race, creed, or color."

37b 1947

Ives Anti-Discrimination Bill

Labor Leaders Back Ives Anti-Discrimination Bill

Afro-American 37b Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 5-3-47

AFL-CIO Heads Speak at Dinner Given by Supporters of Permanent FEPC

WASHINGTON — (NNP) — William Green, president, American Federation of Labor, and James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, last week pledged support of the anti-discrimination in employment bill, introduced in the Senate by Senator Irving M. Ives (Rep., N.Y.).

The measure, a bi-partisan one sponsored by seven Republican and Democratic Senators and two Representatives,w as endorsed at a dinner meeting of the board of directors of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission, held at the Willard Hotel.

It was disclosed that Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, has named a subcommittee to study the Ives Bill. Sat. 5-3-47

Five-Man Committee

The subcommittee consists of Senators Forrest C. Donnell (Rep., Mo.), chairman; E. Alexander Smith)Rep., N.J.); Ives Claude Pepper (Dem., Fla.), and Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.).

Mr. Green, Mr. Carey and Senator Ives were the principal speakers at the dinner meeting, which followed an afternoon business session. Sat. 5-3-47

Henderson Offers Plan

At this meeting, a plan for the financing of a nation-wide campaign to mould public opinion was presented by the recently appointed executive secretary, Elmer Henderson, and approved.

Others who pledged support of the Ives Bill at the dinner meeting were Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, and J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks.

37b 1947 Lobbying

Matthews Shows How Smaller Races, Committees Get Action From Congress

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md. Sat. 5-3-47

Powell's Release of Correspondence on Bill to Integrate Service Personnel Laid to Timing

By RALPH MATTHEWS

WASHINGTON (Afro National Bureau) — He may not admit it, but Capitol Hill suspects that the real reason that Rep. Adam C. Powell released his correspondence from the Army, Navy and Coast Guard, giving their attitudes on the abolition of segregation, is a matter of timing.

The release was sent to the press shortly after Judge Hobson Reynolds, grand director of civil liberties for the Elks, held a series of conferences with top-ranking Government officials on the matter.

Judge Reynolds, in company with Pauline Myers, former assistant executive secretary of the Fraternal Council of Churches, called on Senator Chan Gurney (Rep., S.D.), chairman of the Committee on the Armed Forces.

Present Their Top Problem

They presented him a petition calling for removal of segregation in all branches of the service.

They also conferred with a lot of top brass at the War Department and a number of liberal Representatives and Senators.

The Civil Liberties Branch of the Elks has given this project top priority over all other matters in an effort to build a case before the next war.

Believe GI's Want It So

Judge Reynolds said he was surprised to discover the absolute lack of appreciation on behalf of Congressmen and others of the way colored vets react to segregation.

Many of them honestly thought the colored soldiers were all happy and contented and loved to "be by themselves."

Members of Congress were presented an exhaustive study of the situation prepared by Miss Myers, titled "The Case Against Our Jim-Crow Army Demands Investigation by the United States Congress." Sat. 5-3-47

Tan Yanks Commended

Chairman Gurney congratulated Judge Reynolds "on the splendid way colored GI's acquitted themselves during the war and how well they fought."

"I wonder," said Judge Reynolds, "if they had been subjected to the same undemocratic indignities would white boys have fought half as well?"

The chairman had no answer for that one.

Clearing Up Record

It was later that Congressman Powell was quizzed about the Elks' program and he rushed his statement to the press.

It proved that he already had introduced legislation to accomplish just what the Elks had in mind. Just in case any credits are forthcoming.

Ellender's Vote Plan

The law comedy of the week in Congress was staged by Sen. Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.) when he announced the drafting of a bill to revise United States election laws.

Ellender, you recall, is one of the leading exponents of "lily-whiteism" and one of the chief filibusterers against poll-tax repeal.

But it isn't to extend the franchise that Ellender proposes in his new bill. His plan would put the masses more at the mercy of the big money crowd by abolishing the limitations on the amount of money a candidate can spend to get himself elected.

Make It a Real Racket

At present, the Hatch Act limits the amount of money a party can receive or spend to $3,000,000 in any one calendar year, and limits individual contributions to political candidates to $5,000.

Ellender's plan will put political office holding on a cash and carry basis and the gang with the biggest bank roll will be able to buy its way into office regardless of what the masses want.

Dixie Would Benefit

But by keeping the electorate small through the poll tax and other subterfuges, the Southern gang won't have to buy as many votes to get elected as their Northern compatriots.

That's why Ellender fights poll tax repeal while also fighting to change election laws.

Marc Still Battling

Although he is being practically kept in Coventry by his fellow Congressmen who have failed to appoint him to a single Congressional Committeee, Representative Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N.Y.) is still in there fighting.

He filed a discharge petition to force action on the Anti-Poll Tax bill, but has mustered few signatures to date.

ABOUT LOBBYISTS

The NAACP and other organizations would do well to look into the plans of former Rear Admiral I. Kass, now residing in Chevy Chase, Md., who has registered with Congress as a lobbyist.

In his petition, the admiral declared he represents no organization, but is lobbying on "my own initiative and enterprise . . . in my own interest; and in the interest of Southern States' race relations and liberal government.

The question is, just how is it the Admiral can be working in the interest of the Southern States, race relations and liberal government, all at once. What are his objectives and what does he hope to accomplish?

Are Lobbyists Necessary

And speaking of lobbyists, nearly every organization, race, nationality and private interest has paid agitators on the Capoitol scene but the 13 million colored citizens. Sat. 5-3-47

Leslie Perry, representing the NAACP, and Milo Manley, representing the Council for a Permanent FEPC, are only holding token positions, due to lack of funds and sufficient staff.

Last week, the NAACP appeared before the Committee on Labor and Education on behalf of the National Educational bill.

But it is impossible for them to do the high-pressure job so necessary to see that all of our interests are protected in all the measures which come up.

How Others Are Represented

But the real estate lobby alone has more than 40 high-priced experts battling to get rent controls removed.

Every State is represented by lobbyists for the Tax Equality Committee.

The Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons, supported by Jewish funds, registered 12 lobbyists last week. Their combined salaries range from $3,000 to $12,000 per year and total $58,940.

Effect on Legislation

We pay so little as a group and wonder why, when measures pass Congress we are always left out in the cold.

Even the American Indians, who are supposed to be nearly extinct, have more political acumen than we do on this score.

Last week, they added two new lobbyists to those already on the ground. They were Jesse Kirk of Oregon, to represent the Klamath, Modoc and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians, and F. C. Collett, to represent the Indians of California.

Get Many Bills Across

And if you think having lobbyists working doesn't pay off, let's look at the bills affecting Indians alone which their agents got introduced in Congress this spring:

Senate Bill 1000, introduced by James E. Murry (Dem., Mont.), to confer civil rights upon all Indian veterans who fought in World Wars I and II.

Senate Bill 1102, by Sheridan Downey (Dem., Calif.), to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to call a convention of all the Indians in California.

House Bill 2572, to permit the sale of liquor to Indians outside the reservation.

A bill by Congressman Karl Mundt (Rep., S.D.), to authorize loans to Indians.

Benefits to Cherokees

House Bill J.151, by William Stigler (Dem., Okla.), to give an accounting and payment of benefits to the Eastern and Western Cherokees; and a bill by Zales Ecton (Rep., Mont.), to clarify ownership and grant right to sell properties on the Northern Cheyenne Indian reservation.

Senate Bill 5898, by Zales Ecton, to use appropriations for the education of Indian children of less than one-quarter Indian blood living on Indian lands.

A bill to permit members of the Crow tribes to sell their interests in the estates of deceased Crow allottees.

House Hill 3110, introduced by Charles Robertson (Rep., N.D.), to make per capita payments to Indians of the Fort Berthold reservation in North Dakota.

If lobbyists can win all these concessions, most of them meaning more cash for the handful of Indians, what couldn't colored people get if they had somebody plugging for the race on Capitol Hill? Sat. 5-3-47

Weird Bills in Congress

But that isn't all, a peek into the Congressional hopper shows our other darker brothers from across the seas are also mastering the technique of getting things done.

There was a bill introduced last week (Senate Bill 958), calling for the admission of Siamese to America and making them eligible for citizenship.

Another, H.R.2932, would admit Koreans and make them eligible for citizenship.

Does anybody wonder what this will do to our job opportunities in the domestic, railroad and hotel industries when these Orientals come to take what few jobs we have and at lower pay?

Some Not Controversial

But, fortunately, not all the bills in Congress will have serious repercussions.

For instance, there is a bill introduced by John C. Kunkil (Rep., Pa.), to set aside the period between Thanksgiving until Christmas as Nation-wide Bible Reading Month.

When this becomes law, can't you see the FBI snooping around to see whether you are reading your Bible.

And for the frugal, Representative Michael A. Feighan has introduced H.R. 9541, which will permit you to deduct $500 from your income tax for funeral expenses.

And Ed Gosset of Texas is so afraid of foreign ideologies that he has introduced H.R. 3098 which will prohibit the use of any language in American schools but English. Sat. 5-3-47

Congressman Charles Buckly (Dem., N.Y.) has introduced a bill to prohibit the sending through the mails any anti-Semitic or anti-racial material.

This should put a crimp into the activities of the KKK and American Firsters.

15 SNYC Delegates From 11 States Talk With 3 Senators, 4 Congressmen

Afro-American

8-Point Legislative Program Discussed; Stand on Poll Tax, Lynching, FEPC Aired

1-18-47 Sat.

Baltimore, Md.

By JAMES L. HICKS

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — A youthful interracial delegation from 11 Southern States paid a call on Capitol Hill last Thursday and Friday and gave experienced Washington lobbyists a demonstration on how to see members of Congress personally.

The 15 delegates, representing the Southern Negro Youth Conference, succeeded in laying before Senators and Representatives an eight-point legislative program for Constitutional liberties, and, in many instances accomplished the more difficult task of pinning down the legislators to statements on their program.

Their ability to get into the inner offices on Capitol Hill was in marked contrast to the run-around given 200 representatives of minority groups on the opening day of the 80th Congress when they sought to bombard the lawmakers with "Oust Bilbo" demands.

Talk With 7 Solons

Led by youthful Edward K. Weaver of Montgomery (Ala.), the delegation, many of them teenagers, gained interviews with:

Senators Lister Hill of Alabama; Claude Pepper of Florida; Glen Taylor of Idaho; and Reps. George Smather of Florida; William L. Dawson of Illinois and Laurie C. Battle and John J. Sparkman, both of Alabama, all Democrats.

They also talked with Phileo Nash in the office of David K. Niles, an administrative assistant to President Truman.

The delegation presented to each legislator a series of proposals which, "in our opinion, the 80th Congress is called upon to enact into law in the interests of the security and Constitutional liberties of the American people."

Proposals Cited

The proposals called for anti-poll tax, antilynching and fair employment practice legislation, a sixty-five cent minimum wage law and Federal action to aid education, national health legislation, extension of social security benefits and a youth employment training program.

1-18-47 Sat

Although the mimeographed 8-point program was left with all Senators and Representatives visited, the delegation verbally asked each one how he stood on the matter of anti-poll tax, antilynching and FEPC legislation.

Views of Hill, Pepper

Senator Hill told the delegation that he advocated abolition of the poll tax in Alabama by State legislation, and that he hoped Governor Jim Folsom would soon take action to bring about such legislation.

Mr. Hill said he was not yet prepared to vote on FEPC and on antilynching law, but that his mind "was not closed on the matter."

1-18-47 Sat

Senator Pepper said he was unprepared at this time to vote for an FEPC and an antilynching law, but would support cloture on such measures.

The group thanked Senator Taylor for his speech against seating Bilbo in the Senate.

37b 1947 Nurse Bill

Permanent Nurse Bill Has No Guarantee Against Segregation

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 4-19-47

WASHINGTON

Without writing into the measure any provision against race discrimination or segregation, the Senate last Monday passed and sent to the White House a bill to establish a permanent Nurse Corps in the Army and Navy and a Women's Medical Specialist Corps in the Army.

When the bill was under consideration by the House, Representative Adam C. Powell, Democrat, of New York, fought unsuccessfully to have an amendment written into the bill which would have barred race or religious disciminiation in appointments of nurses in the Army or Navy.

Only 97 Among 8536

As of January 1, the Army had ninety-three colored nurses in grades from second lieutenant to captain, two colored dietitians, and two colored physical therapists. The total Army nurse strength as of that date was 7,710 nurses, 413 dietitians and 413 physical therapists. Sat. 4-19-47

The Navy refused to accept colored nurses until late in World War II. After it dropped the color bar, only four colored nurses accepted appointments in the Navy. One was released on points in August, 1946, and the other one was given an extension of active duty to June, 1948.

Promise Fairness

The Navy, however, has said that all colored nurses who can qualify physically and professionally will be given the same consideration as all other applicants. A group of nurses recently graduated from Hampton Institute will be indoctrinated soon at the Bethesda (Maryland) naval hospital.

The bill, now awaiting President Truman's approval, is to establish an Army Nurse Corps and a Women's Medical Specialist Corps in the Medical Department of the Regular Army and to establish a Navy Nurse Corps as a component part of the Medical Department of the Navy. Sat. 4-19-47

At present, both Army and Navy nurses are occupying temporary commissioned rank.

The new legislation provides for the same pay, leave, promotion provisions and retirement benefits for Army and Navy nurses and personnel of the Women's Medical Specialist Corps of the Army as for male officers.

37b 1947 Taft- Hartley Bill

LABOR SURVIVAL IS THE ISSUE

The Negro worker has been caught in the pincers of the Taft-Hartley bill. It would be naive of anyone to suppose that an attack on labor would not automatically catch up the Negro people in its path. The mass Negro is a working man and whatever injures the white worker will hurt the Negro worker even before it does his white colleague. Chicago, Defender

In the struggle of conservatism to put over this law the voice of our people was not sufficiently raised. Negro opinion all too often trailed along with the tendency of many liberals to snipe at some labor and union practices, and by allowing themselves to take this approach they weakened the fight against the Taft-Hartley measure. Now all labor and progress face the threat of the down-push of the traditional iron heel. It was so easy to say, "Yes, some labor chiefs are dictators," or "Jurisdictional strikes are bad," or "There are labor abuses." But meantime anti-labor acton was striking at fundamental rights of collective bargaining, the right of unionists to act politically, the right to go out on sympathetic strike action, and other organic aspects of labor's means for advance.

There was a catch-all in the Taft-Hartley bill for Negroes. A token stipulation ruled against discrimination in unions. Chicago, Ill

But of what avail is such a noble sentiment if there are to be no unions!

For there can be no question but that this tyrannous bill was intended as and may have the effect of being the forerunner to the elimination of trade unionism in American life or rendering unions so impotent that big business need no longer fear them.

Actually the Taft-Hartley bill is a clarion call for a brutal struggle between wage-earners and their employers. Sat 7-12-47

This is class conflict which the dominant and ruling forces of American life have asked for and legislated for and will get. They have abandoned the liberal path of Roosevelt. They have taken the course of "grab it while we can."

In a situation such as this it is small wonder that labor has started fighting back, that miners have gone on strike, that the CIO marched 150,000 strong in New York City, that in every neighborhood in America the people are preparing to recall those Congressmen and Senators who failed them, that third party talk has reached a new level, that the world scene itself has been affected by the anti-labor drive here, that a new period of political and economic relationships has opened.

Can there be any question in the mind of the people as to our course of action in a struggle against the big anti-unioneers? Can even middle-class and professional Negroes fail to see that the main area for the integration of Negro and white, the vast labor movement, has been smitten and that we must heed its call for help and throw our support to the white worker in his just and noble cause of fighting for survival? We must remember that there are now a million of us in the labor movement. This may be the most decisive segment of the fifteen million.

We must mobilize our organizations, our press, our influence in all areas of society for an overwhelming repudiation of the Taft-Hartley crime. We must retire a great many Congressmen to their farms and law practices. We must urge divided white labor to unite. If the United States fought a war of survival against Nazism surely this is the hour when labor's issue with big business is also that of survival. Labor threw all of its resources into one cause, with Negro support, and both must do the same again in another equally significant cause.

37c 1947 General

This Evening

By Charles N. Feidelson

ALABAMA AND GEORGIA

The News Birmingham, Ala.

This is Inauguration Day in Alabama. Without benefit of legislative usurpation and under the terms of an unambigious constitution, one governor passes from the stage and another takes his place. And this occurs in broad daylight — in accordance with the will of the people. No mob has helped a general assembly to make up its mind, no threat of military force has made itself felt, no contention mars the decorum of the occasion. The democratic process under law has again expressed itself smoothly and creditably to the satisfaction of all concerned. Mon. 1-20-47

They do such things differently in Georgia. It is not pharisaical to note this contrast. It is merely a way of measuring our own freedom from the might-makes-right which at least for the time being is entrenched next door to us. One reads in Ellis Arnall's "The Shore Dimly Seen" the story of Georgia's political progress in recent years. A modern constitution, elimination of the poll tax, reduction of the voting age to 18, an admirable system of registration, independence for education, high, middle and low—these and other advances were somehow achieved during a quadrennium of good government. Yet they meant little, apparently, when they had to meet the onset of a fascist spirit engendered by the elder Talmadge. Mon. 1-20-47

Civilized onlookers can find no comfort in the Atlanta situation save that which comes from tasting the flavor of Arnall's phrase-making. When he called Herman Talmadge a "pretender," or described the storming of the executive offices as a "coup d'etat," or spoke of other resorts to force as a "Panzer movement" executed by "SS troops," he used the vivid and allusive speech one finds in his book. But it takes more than that to save Georgia from permanent domination by dark forces of violent prejudice and arrogant power-seeking. When Arnall was forced to appeal to the people of his state to assert themselves in their own behalf, he clinched what many had begun to suspect—that Georgians are, at least for the moment, too frightened or too indifferent to fight for their altars and their fires.

It is unbelievable that they will remain so. It is unbelievable that the courts will not redress the balance or that the people of Georgia will fail to realize their stake in this sorry business. It is unbelievable that the victory of the Ku Klux Klan and other fascist influences will be permitted to stand. But, on the record so far, Georgians have yet to make their showing. It must be heartbreaking to Ellis Arnall to recognize this fact. All his reforms have not worked the change he expected. They could not offset the corruption which has long infected the politics of his state. As an American poet put it, "They can only set free men free."

* * *

SPARKS AND FOLSOM

Mon. 1-20-47

Meanwhile, in Alabama, Chauncey Sparks retires with a grace we have come to expect from him. No Alabama governor has grown more than he has while in office. He has broadened and mellowed into an admirable personality, in spite of the fact that a hostile Legislature made mince-meat of most of his program. His appointments were notable, by and large. Public servants of the stamp of Hayse Tucker and H. G. Dowling are rarities. And his administration may prove to have left a deeper impression than is now apparent, if the impulse he gave to the integration of higher education results in a cohesive system instead of the too familiar pattern of rivalry, duplication and cross-purposes. The News

He is being succeeded by a man of great magnetism and large ideas, but a man about whom many Alabamians are keeping their fingers crossed. Jim Folsom is committed to some proposals which appeal to progressive Alabamians. He is committed to other proposals which do not look feasible. But the question which stands out in the thinking of most citizens is whether the machinery of government can operate effectively under such an inexperienced engineer.

But Gov. Folsom can quickly get his bearings and so justify the faith triumphant over fears with which most Alabamians regard him. He deserves not only the best wishes but the best cooperation of all of us. He deserves this support because he is fundamentally headed in the right direction. He is a liberal in the sense that he believes in government by and for the people, and wants to make that more and more of a reality. Such a man can go far toward emancipating the life and work of Alabama. All of us who have good will, all to whom democracy is not merely a political label, will join the Folsom column in the expectation that this new governor will move straight toward the goal of a happier people in a stronger state. Birmingham, Ala.

GOOD NEWS FROM THE SOUTH

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Hardly a week has passed in recent months without the news from some Southern State that colored candidates have filed for elective political offices.

37c gen

The trend is encouraging and we may look to see it accelerated as the years roll by. Not all of these office-seekers will win but the fact that qualified individuals, in some instances at considerable personal sacrifice, have decided to take an active part in political affairs is highly significant.

It is this political awakening in the South to which we called attention some months ago and we are happy to make further reference. The wise use of the ballot, we believe—next to economic independence—can do more than anything else to put an end to the second-class citizenship of which we have frequently complained but done little else. Sat. 5-3-47

We have been long in realizing the importance of this powerful weapon. A judicious use of it can work wonders.

37c (1) 1947

Board of Education(New Jersey)

Newark Lawyer Named To Board Of Education

37c(1)

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

NEWARK, N. J. — Herbert H. Tate, local attorney, was sworn in as a member of the Board of Education here last week.

He was appointed by Mayor Vincent J. Murphy to succeed William R. Jackson who resigned because he is moving to Montclair and must, under state law, quit his post when he leaves the community.

Tate, who has law offices at 183 Belmost ave., took his A.B. degree from the University of Newark and his L.L.B. from New Jersey Law School. He was born at Montclair 39 years ago. Sat 7-12-47

Serving in the U. S. Army from October 1942 to April 1946, Tate entered as an enlisted private and was discharged a second lieutenant. During his army career he was an investigator, prosecuting violators of liquor and narcotic laws, work for which he was highly commended by the headquarters of the Ninth Service Command.

Following his graduation from the School for Personnel Services at Washington-Lee University, he was commissioned a second lieutenant and assigned to give orientation lectures and serve as counsel on army courts martial.

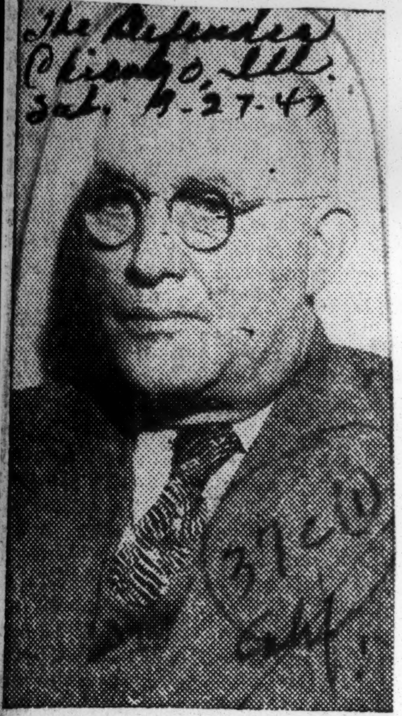
Had Varied Career

Prior to his army enlistment, he was chairman for "Colored Groups" in the Community Chest and Welfare Federation, was trustee of Community Hospital, and vice president of the New Jersey State Urban League. He is a neighborhood commissioner of the Robert Treat Council of the Boy Scouts of America. Sat 7-12-47

Tate is a commissioner on the Council of the Division Against Discrimination and also a member of the executive committee of the State Advisory Hospital Council and Chairman of the Joint Committee on Constitutional Bill of Rights, formulating proposed amendments to the New Jersey Constitutional Convention.

He is married to the former Miss Ethel Harris, who was the first colored teacher in the New Rochelle School System, and is now a teacher in the Newark School System.

37c (1) 1947 California



The Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 9-27-47

37c(1)
Calif

APPOINTED—Rev. Harold M. Kingsley, above, one of the two Negroes recently appointed by Governor Earl Warren to the Los Angeles Rent Control board. James Anderson, labor leader, affiliated with the A.F. of L., the FEPC and other community movements, is the other appointee. Rev. Kingsley is director of Pilgrim house, copastor of an interracial church and executive board member of the Human Relations, the Council for Civic Unity and the community relations organizations.

37c(1) 1947 D. C.

Atkinson Ok'd By Committee

37c(1) D.C.

WASHINGTON—(NNPA)— The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations last Thursday favorably reported the nomination of Richard R. Atkinson to be a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for a term of one year.

37c(1) 1947

D. C. (Board of Education)

THE Courier Salutes

. . for courageous stanc

Pittsburgh Pa

Courier

For standing forth boldly and openly challenging toleration of segregation at the first fall meeting of the Washington, D. C. Board of Education, of which she is a member, The Courier this week proudly salutes Mrs. Velma G. Williams.

37c(1) D.C

One of three members on the District of Columbia education board, Mrs. Williams urged the board to deny use of public school buildings for D. C. Recreation Department program until that department elminiated segregation on the city's playgrounds under its supervision.

In a dramatic, emotional plea to the board, Mrs. Williams said: "I don't like the idea of children being deprived of any playground that the taxpayers pay for. I don't see how we can teach children to live democratically if we are going to tell them they can't play on a certain spot just because their skin is the wrong color."

A veteran member of the education board, Mrs. William is a housewife and a mother. When The Courier opened its attack on Washington's segregated schools last year, she was the first education board member to openly support the attack.

At that time she declared: "In a democracy there is no justification for segregation on the basis of race, creed or color. I am opposed to a seperate educational system because it is undemocratic." Sat. 10-11-47

The Courier salutes this minority group member who has the courage to break with the tradition usually maintained by minority group representatives in such situations. Her action should inspire others similiarly placed to step forward and assume their obligation to the group they represent.

The Courier SALUTES A COURAGEOUS WOMAN.

MRS. VELMA C. WILLIAMS

37c(1) 1947

Federal (Advisory Committee on Citizenship)

NAME DR. CHAS. JOHNSON TO U.S. ADVISORY GROUP

Sat. 4-5-47 37c(1) Fed.

Chicago Defender Chicago, Ill

(Defender Press Service)

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk university, was named last week to membership on U. S. Attorney General Tom Clark's Advisory Committee on Citizenship which will carry out the comprehensive program of the Department of Justice to emphasize the worth and meaning of American citizenship.

Appointment of the 22-member committee which is headed by Justin Miller, former justice of the U. S. Court of Appeals for D. C., was described by the Attorney General as "another step in the program which the Department of Justice has been conducting since 1942 to give recognition to the importance of citizenship." Sat. 4-5-47

37c(1) 1947

Federal (Azores)

Baltimore, Md. Sat 3-8,

LIBERIAN OFFICIAL NAMED TO NEW POST IN AZORES

37c(1)

Afro-American

WASHINGTON (ANP) — William George, former secretary of the legation in Monrovia, Liberia, has been named as American vice consul in Ponta Delgada, Azores.

37c(1) 1947 Federal ("Black Cabinet")

Dustin' off the NEWS

Defender

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

Chicago, Ill.

"BLACK CABINET" GOES OUT WITH SPLENDID RECORD

37c

Sat. 5-24-47

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, paying more attention to foreign affairs than to vital matters at home, has found no use for the once famous "Black Cabinet" that functioned so smoothly under the Roosevelt administration. This "Cabinet" was a sort of personnel, or Negro intelligentsia, that furnished very excellent advice to the White House through various auxiliary channels — alphabetical bureaus—on affairs pertaining to Negro welfare throughout America. Last week the "Black Cabinet," or its last remnants was disbanded under a drastic Labor Department budget slash.

Lucius Harper

37c(1)

The "Black Cabinet" was at its zenith when Dr. Robert C. Weaver and Judge Wm. H. Hastie (now governor of the Virgin Islands) had the ear of President Roosevelt and those power closely allied with him. When they left Washington for other fields, the "Cabinet" for lack of leadership and proper connections became somewhat dismembered. But shortly thereafter self-appointed leaders began to function on the fringe as "advisors" to secondary whites in the various bureaus in which were many soft jobs paying comfortable salaries. Some as high as $7,000 yearly. This is truly a serious loss to these ousted "Cabinet" members who will find it exceedingly difficult to duplicate these yearly wages in private industries.

Politics, of course, is playing its part in the present reconstruction in Washington. We are fully cognizant of the fact that we are being squeezed out of many good positions by our enemies; positions where Negroes of college training have rendered inestimable services to their race throughout the entire nation. Be it said to their credit that no member of the "Black Cabinet" ever brought the slightest odium or scandal on the administration. They leave the government service with good recommendations.

Sat. 5-24-47

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WHATEVER losses the black race is suffering in a political way will not injure the masses financially. The federal government never did pay flattering salaries to its employees and the federal positions held by Negroes have in nowise enriched them. In fact, there has been a mistaken idea about the size of these federal jobs that we have received. Only a few men have drawn over $5,000 a year in salary, and no Negroes, to our knowledge and understanding have been made rich by the federal government. Only five now are in the high brackets: Dawson, Powell, Hastie, Mollison and Moore.

It should not be and never should have been the purpose of our people to wax fat off of national politics. What has been tendered to us by way of patronage has been done merely as a matter of recognition, and we have never been placed in positions and clothed with the authority to dictate politics to "big business." Sat. 5-24-47

We have read where money has been passed out very freely by the "interests" that would be effected by federal legislation, but we have never heard where any black men got any more out of it than the office boys. There has long been the idea that politics should be played for what is in it and there is only one thing in it for black American citizens and that is to be recognized as factors in the political parties, in both North and South, that guide and control the nation.

Whatever jobs we are honored with we should perform the duties entailed with care and caution. Whenever a little easy money is to be made our leaders in high places ought to think twice before they take it because it will be construed as a hideous thing and will be used as a weapon against us. If any black men had gotten themselves involved in the Garsson-May graft affair, we believe that the loud voices of the southerners would be raised crying out another reason why we should not be granted the ballot. Whenever the nation prospers we prosper, not in proportion to other groups, but we feel the advantage to a marked degree. Whenever a panic strikes we are the ones who suffer most bitterly and that is just about the extent that the money issue reaches us.

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WE SHOULD not crave for the government's riches at this time. There are higher and nobler things that we are more in need of. We are sadly in need of recognition and respect and we should place them above everything else and when they are granted, money, "the root of all evil," will surely come our way. Sat. 5-24-47

Senate Knifes Minority Units In Budget Cut

Chicago, Ill.
Defender
37c(1) Fed.

Professionals Out As Labor Economy Slash Hits USES

Sat. 5-17-47

By VENICE SPRAGGS

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The last members of the famous "Black Cabinet" assembled by President Roosevelt during the early days of the New Deal in Washington are on their way out of power. Any doubt about it was settled last week as the economy drives sparked by southern Democrats and old guard Republicans got into high gear.

Minority Group Services have been axed completely out of the United States Employment Service under a drastic Labor Department appropriations cut approved this week by the Senate, forcing a rock-bottom slash in USES personnel.

Upwards of a score of Negro professional employes throughout the agency with permanent status and impressive seniority records have been caught in a personnel-reducing onslaught that whittled the employment office staff to an administrative shell. The full impact of the cut is not immediately known.

Slash Unit Staff

Mrs. Thomasina W. Johnson, chief of Minority Group Services, is reportedly slated to be attached to USES Director Robert Goodwin's office as consultant on minorities, but will be provided no staff. While Laurence Oxley, Senior Employment Technician in the minority group section, has been placed in two weeks' leave status, pending some final disposition on his retention or transfer.

Oxley is a veteran with permanent status, and a seniority of

Chicago Ill. Defender

some 14 years with the USES. Kenneth Banks, Training Specialist in the division, also a status employe, was served his severance papers.

37c(1) Fed.

Minority group workers in the several states will now be left completely to the mercy of local employment service offices which even under federal supervision during the war years piled up a record of notorious discrimination against Negroes.

(Bl. Cabinet)

Foresee Local Job Bias

While the Minority Group Services has been relatively ineffectual since the time of Dr. Robert C. Weaver, primarily due to the lack of an unequivocal referral policy with respect to minorities and the full backing of the administrator's office, left unchecked to their own devices, local job placement offices are expected to become increasingly more discriminatory as the labor market becomes flooded with surplus workers. Sat. 5-17-47

Elsewhere in the USES office, Roy Ellis, field representative, with status and 19 years of federal service to his credit, also has been placed in two-week's leave status, pending his transfer or final separation from the agency. In the Occupational Analysis Division, Hattie Jones, Julia Brooks, and James Pawley, all Negro professional workers with war service appointments, have been given their separation notices, according to reports.

Harper Fortune, economist in the Report and Analysis Division, and Samuel Danley, in the Division of Standards and Methods, have for the present remained untouched, although their retention is questionable. The Labor Department position held by Alvin C. Rucker in Puerto Rico, who recently transferred from USES, has been held intact despite the trimming-down of functions. A large number of white professionals with status and seniority up to 25 years are booked for transfer or separation. Sat. 5-17-47

Otherwise, a fight is said to be shaping up in the United Public Workers of America (CIO) if Mrs. Johnson is retained in the face of loss of employment by status employes. The Minority Group Service chief was appointed a little more than a year ago, and has neither permanent status nor seniority. Some UPWA members are claiming "politics" as the reason for her being maintained in employment.

Negro professional USES employes will find it exceedingly difficult to transfer at grades carrying from $6,000-$7,500 yearly salaries which is the classification of several of the employes now under consideration. Likewise, few jobs in private industry are open to them at these salary levels.

37c(1) 1947

Federal (Citizens Food Committee)

Granger Named To President's Food Committee

Atlanta World Ga.

WASHINGTON—(A N P)—President Truman named Lester B. Granger as a member of a citizens food committee, established for the purpose of developing a nationwide food conservation program so more food will be available to feed hungry Europe without forcing higher prices at home. 10-1-47

The first step in a food conservation program is to "waste less" the President told newsmen Thursday. He said that bread thrown in the garbage pails in this country is equivalent to about 70,000 bushels of grain a year. Wed.

He emphasized the necessity of housewives being more selective in their purchase of food, especially of meat products whose production requires large quantities of grain.

The chief executive declared that the main reason for summoning congressional leaders to meet at a White House conference Monday was to review the food situation and to determine what immediate steps could be taken as a stop-gap to meet foreign needs.

Charge President By-Passed Negro Women On Panel

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON—Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women, has protested to the White House that no Negro woman was named by President Truman to his 26-man Citizens' Food Committee, headed by Charles Luckman of Cambridge, Mass., president of Lever Brothers, soap manufacturers.

Mrs. Bethune pointed out to the White House that although Negro women formed a sizable bloc of consumers in America, Negro women had been by-passed when the President appointed his committee "to advise on ways and means of carrying out the necessary conservation efforts" to stretch our reduced food supply. She firmly recommended that this omission be corrected. The women, Mrs. Anna Lord Strauss of the League of Women Voters and Mrs. J. L. Blair-Buck, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, both heading organizations of white women, were named to the committee. 10-4-47

Sole Negro named to the committee was National Urban League secretary, Lester B. Granger.

Mrs. Bethune Asks How To Spread Message

Journal & Guide Sat.

11-15-47 Norfolk, Va.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — "How can we speedily get this educational message of food conservation to reach the masses?" was the question asked Charles Luckman by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune at the meeting of the Citizens' Food committee. Journal & Guide

Mrs. Bethune pointed out that radio addresses alone were not enough because many people in many sections of the country never listened to a radio, since many do not have radios. She assured Mr. Luckman that she had a sane and sincere belief in the program but felt that there should be some concerted effort to get the program through to the people, it must be sent down to the grass roots. Sat

INVITED TO ATTEND 11-15-47

11-15-47 Sat.

Mrs. Bethune was invited to attend the meeting held in the international room of the old State Department, after she had expressed her surprise that no Negro women were named to serve on the Citizens' Food committee.

She said that she did not understand why the President only appointed one Negro to serve on the committee and no Negro woman at all, when Negro women are both purchasers and consumers.

Norfolk, Va.

Ex-ANP Man Joins Food Group Staff

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 11-22-47

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—Ernest E. Johnson, partner in the newly organized Negro public relations firm of Carter-Johnson Associates, started work last week in the Washington office of Chairman Charles H. Luckman of the Citizens Food Committee. Sat. 11-22-47

Mr. Johnson's firm has been retained to assist in promoting the food conservation program and he has joined several other advertising agencies and public relations firms which are cooperating in this program. Courier, Pittsburgh

A former newspaperman, he was chief of the Washington ANP bureau during the war and served for a time as a foreign correspondent. 11-22-47

Luckman's Committee Relieved of Food Task

Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky. Fri. 11-21-47

Washington, Nov. 20 (AP)—Charles Luckman's Citizens' Food Committee was relieved of active directorship of the food-conservation program by President Truman today.

The White House disclosed that the committee will continue in an advisory capacity for the long-range conservation program to be pursued throughout the winter and at least through the first half of next year.

Presidential Secretary Charles G. Ross disclosed that Luckman, president of Lever Brothers, Cambridge, Mass., will remain about two weeks before leaving the program's administration.

Agencies Inherit Duties.

A letter from Truman asked Luckman to continue as chairman of the new Citizens Food Advisory Committee, "so that your services will be available to me on call for so long a period as may be necessary."

The major responsibilities of the committee will be shifted to the Department of Agriculture and other Government agencies.

Truman acted after Luckman reported: Fri. 11-21-47

"The programs for the conservation of grain which have already been arranged and are now in effect, total considerably more than the 100,000,000-bushel goal of the emergency campaign.

"The response and support of the American people to this campaign have been immediate and effective. Industries, farmers, consumers, alike, have sensed to the full all of the implications of the conservation drive."

Has Sought to Leave Post.

11-21-47

Luckman has been trying for some time to leave the post which has required him to spend most of the time away from his private business duties.

CHARLES LUCKMAN, the Lever Brothers executive who bossed the food conservation program until recently and who worked diligently on the President's Civil Rights Committee, told the Capital Press Club last week that a permanent civil rights commission was a major need of the moment.

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

12-6-47

He said he didn't believe you could legislate tolerance but he favored and fought for the legislative recommendations of the report in order to establish the proper legal framework in which education for tolerance could prosper.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Luckman frankly admitted that he didn't "know from nothing" about race problems until he went to work on the committee. He said he's learned a lot

12-6-47 Sat.

37c(1) 1947 Federal (D. C.)

James Evans Named Advisor To Defense Secretary In D. C.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
[illegible]

WASHINGTON, —(ANP)— Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban league, announced at a press conference here last week that James C. Evans, civilian aide to the secretary of the army hes been designated advisor to Secy. of Defense, James V. Forrestal. Granger, who had been unofficially designated as advisor on Negro affairs in connection with the new national military establishment, said he had declined the permanent post because of pressure of business with the Urban league.

37c(1)

[illegible]

He had just left a one hour conference with Secy., Forrestall in which he pointed out the need for a full-time official to handle the problems involved in the full utilization of Negroes in various arms of the service. 11-[illegible]-47

The new adviser, Mr. Evans, will remain in his present post as aid to Secy. Kenneth Royall. His duties under the new job will be to serve as liaison official in matters of Negro interest arising in the army navy, and air force.

Mr. Granger also announced that Secy, Forrestall had agreed to appoint an advisory committee of white and colored citizens to discuss problems in the untegregation and utilization of Negro personnel. The proposed committee, to consist of about 12 outstanding persons, is to be set up late in November. Granger, Truman K. Gibson, Jr., and Marcus Ray are expected to be named on this group.

James C. Evans

37c(1) Fed. (D.C.)

New Adviser to Defense Secretary Introduced to Press by Forrestal

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 11-22-47

(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON—James C. Evans, recently appointed special adviser to Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal, was officially introduced by the Secretary to members of the press and other members of the Secretary's staff at a press conference held in the Pentagon Building here last Wednesday.

In his regular monthly press conference, Mr. Forrestal assembled eight of his key advisors, among them Mr. Evans. Quite casually, during the course of a discussion of the expenses called for in operating the new defense establishment which he heads, Mr. Forrestal remarked that he had added a new member to his staff. He asked Mr. Evans to explain his assignment. Sat. 11-22-47

LAUDED BY CHIEF

Mr. Evans said that he was "Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army and advisor to the Secretary of Defense." To which Mr. Forrestal added: "And I might say a good and useful advisor."

Courier

No formality marked the introduction. No reference was made to any special area in which Mr. Evans was expected to operate. It is understood that Mr. Forrestal dislikes the appointment of special race relations advisors just because they are colored, and that he insists that Mr. Evans is just an addition to his staff of advisors.

Pittsburgh, Pa.
11-22-47

It was idicated by the whole tenor of this conference, which did not touch Negro interest matters in any respect, that Mr. Evans will be integrated into the staff without special designation although it is implicitly understood that, while he may be included in general conferences involving all members of the secretary's staff, he will serve as advisor on problems involving utilization of Negro manpower in the Armed services.

37c(1) Fed. (D.C.)

PRESIDENT TRUMAN PROMISES CLOSER SCRUTINY OF RACIAL ATTITUDES OF APPOINTEES Dec. 19

Press Service NAACP New York, N.Y. 12-19-47-Fri.

New York, Dec. 18th--President Harry S. Truman today thanked the NAACP for calling his attention to the racial attitudes of John Broome, Carl Gray and J. M. Donaldson about which the Association wrote the President on December 1st, and pledged that administrative appointments will be made "on the basis of the ability of the man to do the job."

12-19-47 Fri.

The NAACP had cited the questionable attitude towards Negroes of the three recent appointments and urged that particular attention be given hereafter to insure that no man is nominated for key administrative posts unless his record towards minorities is above reproach.

PETITION TO U.N. ON BEHALF OF NEGROES RECEIVES WIDE APPROVAL

12-19-47-Fri.
Press Service NAACP New York, N.Y.

New York, Dec. 18th--The NAACP petition to the United Nations "is a superb job" Harvard University's famous professor of history, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. declared today. "I hope it has the effect it should have in rousing the conscience of the world and in stimulating our own government into more effective action." Press Service NAACP

That no other document on behalf of justice for the American Negro has ever focused so effective and world-wide attention on this problem is the concensus of opinion of scholar, editors, diplomats and other authorities. Thomas L. Stokes, in his widely syndicated column, declares the petition "a timely reminder for us to take a look inward at ourselves while we are declaiming about the shortcomings of people elsewhere." Dr. Frank Kingdom in the New York Post has declared that "the presentation is a masterpiece of research, documentation and legal argument...I believe that the Negro question is the most searching moral test of the contemporary United States. We have evaded, dodged, hushed and confused the issue. We can no longer do so. The history is in the record. Those who have put it there have done us the immeasurable service of making us face it honestly." 12-19-47-Fri.

The NAACP announced today that the 155-page document will shortly be published in printed form either by a regular publishing house with which negotiations are now in progress or by the Association itself. If funds can be raised for the purpose, it is planned also to publish it in various languages for world-wide distribution. New York, N.Y.

37c(1) 1947

Federal(D. C.)

RECORDER OFFICE TRANSFER SEEN AS MOVE TO GET RID OF NEGROES

37c(1) FEA(D.C)

Frederick Douglass Was First Appointed By President Garfield

Black Dispatch

DOUBT PHOTOSTATS SUPERIOR TO TYPING

Oklahoma City, Okla.

By LOUIS LAUTIER Sat. 6-28-47

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Enactment of the bill to transfer the office of Recorder of Deeds to the jurisdiction, control and supervision of the Commissioner of the District of Columbia does not appear necessary to accomplish the purposes for which Representative Walt Horan, Republican, of Washington, says he introduced it.

Mr. Horan admits that the office has been run efficiently by the colored men who have served as Recorders ever since the office was created and President James A. Garfield appointed Frederick Dongl ass in 1881.

Only once in the intervening 56 years has the precedent set by President Garfield not been followed. That was in 1916 when President Wilson appointed John F. Costello, a white resident of the District of Columbia, to succeed the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, whom President Taft had appointed in 1910. Sat. 6-28-47

Mr. Horan says his sole purpose is the modernization of the office. By that he means the installation of the photographic method of recording deeds and other instruments in place of the present method of copying them by typewriter.

If that is his sole purpose, there is no reason why it cannot be accomplished by a simple Congressional act prescribing that method of recordation.

News [illegible]

Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, announced in Washington last week that James C. Evans, civilian aid to the secretary of the Army, has been designated adviser to Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal. 37c(1)

The new adviser will remain in his present post as aide to Secretary Kenneth Royall. His duties under the new job will be to serve as liaison official in matters of Negro interest arising in the Army, Navy and Air Force.

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

Louisville, Ky. Defender

By LOUIS LAUTIER

THE OFFICE OF THE RECORDER OF DEEDS

ENACTMENT OF the bill to transfer the office of the Recorder of Deeds to the jurisdiction, control and supervision of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia does not appear necessary to accomplish the purposes for which Representative Walt Horan, Republican of Washington, says he introduced it.

Mr. Lautier

Mr. Horan admits that the office has been run efficiently by the colored men who have served as Recorders ever since the office was created and President James A. Garfield appointed Frederick Douglass in 1881. Sat. 6-21-47

Only once in the intervening 56 years has the precedent set by President Garfield not been followed. That was in 1916 when President Wilson appointed John F. Costello, a white resident of the District of Columbia, to succeed the late Henry Lincoln Johnson, whom President Taft had appointed in 1910.

Mr. Horan says his sole purpose is the modernization of the office. By that he means the installation of the photographic method of recording deeds and other instruments in place of the present method of copying them by typewriter.

If that is his sole purpose, there is no reason why it cannot be accomplished by a simple Congressional act prescribing that method of recordation and an appropriation with which to buy the necessary equipment. Sat. 6-21-47

But before Congress authorizes and directs a change in the method of recording deeds, a study needs to be made to determine how enduring photostatic copies are. Perhaps the Bureau of Standards can give the answer. But the copying method, first by long-hand and then by typewriter, has proved its permanence.

The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have long sought to have the office of Recorder of Deeds placed under their control. In the Seventieth Congress, the late Representative Frederick N. Zihlman, Republican, of Maryland, introduced a bill similar to Mr. Horan's. Colored Republicans objected to its passage, and the late Representative Martin B. Madden, Republican, of Illinois, who was chairman of the House appropriations committee, worked out arrangements with the late Arthur G. Froe, who was then the Recorder, to put the work on a current basis, and the bill was pigeonholed.

Discrimination in employment under the District of Columbia government is too rife to be detailed, but Gallinger hospital may be cited as an example. Sat. 6-21-47

Gallinger hospital is a public-supported institution. Three-fourths of its patients are probably colored. But the Commissioners have ruled that colored doctors may not practice in that hospital.

It is believed, not without reason, that if the office of Recorder of Deeds should be transferred to the Commissioners appointment of colored men as the Recorder would end.

Both Republican and Democratic Presidents have used the office prestige to pay off political debts for colored support in Presidential elections. As long as the spoils system is still a part of the American political system, there does not now appear any valid reason why this office should be removed from the list of appointments made by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and given to the District Commissioners.

Instead of doing that, other Presidential offices should be added to the seven now held by colored men.

Friend Lost In War Sec'y Resignation

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

Wed. 7-23-47

37c(1)

Successor Not Regarded Liberal Or Sympathetic

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) — — The resignation of Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson removes from the War Department the last of the civilians holding statutory positions who were chiefly responsible for the increased participation of colored people in both the national defense and the war efforts.

Appointment of Under Secretary of War Kenneth C. Royall as his successor is regarded in informed circles as definitely a step back. He is not considered as liberal or sympathetic in his attitude toward colored people and, on occasion, it was believed that he was responsible for reactionary moves of the Department. Wed. 7-23-47

Judge Patterson was appointed Assistant Secretary of War July 31, 1940, at a time when the War Department was under concentrated criticism from individuals and organizations for race discrimination in the national defense program.

When the office of Under Secretary of War was created, he was appointed to that position December 19, 1940. In the meanwhile, he and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson had begun to move to eliminate some of the barriers against which there had been complaint.

HASTIE APPOINTMENT

One of their first moves was the creation of the position of civilian aide to the Secretary of War and the appointment of Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands to that position.

At the time, Howard C. Peterson, Assistant Secretary of War, whose resignation becomes effective August 1, was executive assistant to Judge Patterson.

Judge Patterson and Mr. Peterson were largely instrumental in working out the duties of the civilian aide and after the President had created the Fair Employment Practice Committee they worked out with Governor Hastie the procedures for handling from the FEPC and for eliminating discrimination in the War Department and in plants handling War Department contracts.

Mr. Stimson himself was chiefly responsible for the development of policy for the utilization of colored personnel in the Army, which led to the commissioning of pilots in the

Army Air Forces and the opening of officer's candidate schools to colored men without discrimination.

BIAS ELIMINATION

When the war procurement program began to weigh very heavily upon Judge Patterson. John J. McCloy, who was then Assistant Secretary of War, took over supervision of War Department policies respecting utilization of colored per

sonnel and was responsible for the elimination of many practices of discrimination and segregation within the Army and at posts, camps and stations. Wed. 7-23-47

Later, he took the leadership in the appointment of a board of officers, which became known as the Gillem Board, to study and report on the utilization of colored personnel in the postwar Army.

All of these men have now re

gned, and insofar as it appears on e surface none of their replacements has as liberal attitudes.

BRADLEY TO TOUR

The White House announced last Friday that Omar N. Bradley, war time commander of American ground forces in Europe and new Administrator of Veterans Affairs, will leave next month on a six-week tour of inspection of United States troops and installations in Europe and the Mediterranean area.

Bradley's becoming Army Chief of Staff when General Dwight D. Eisenhower quits the post to become the president of Columbia University next year .

General Bradley's succession to General Eisenhower likewise is regarded in informed circles here as a step backward insofar as colored personnel in the Army is concerned.

On the other hand, as Administrator of Veterans Affairs, General Bradley has followed a policy of race segregation and discrimination in the hospitalization of veterans and the staffing of veterans facilities. Wed. 7-23-47

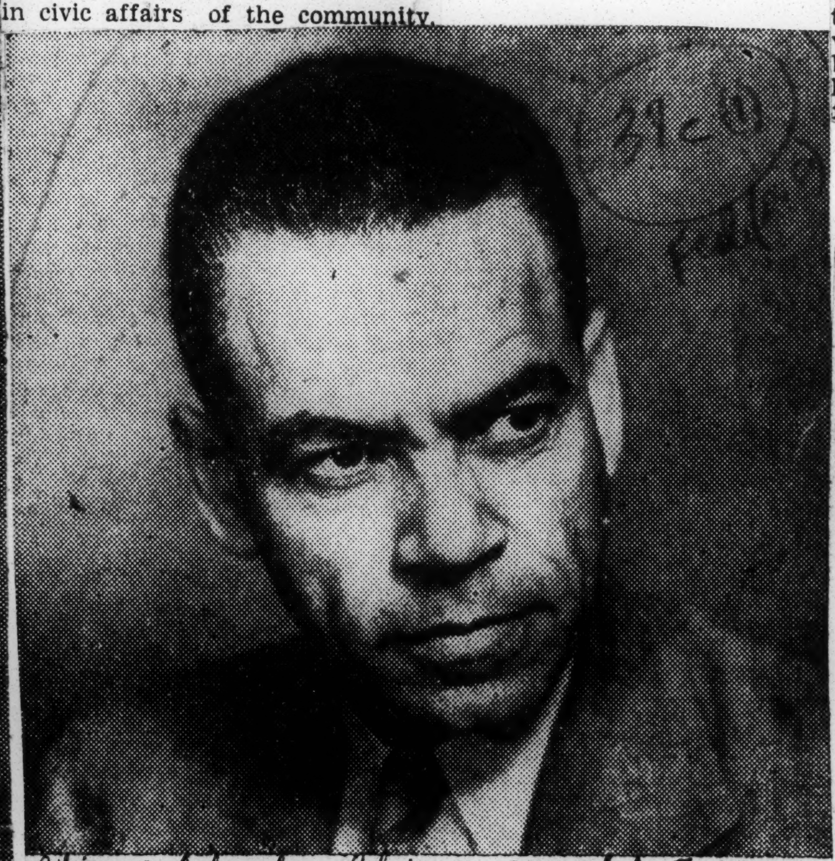
37c(11) Fed. (D.C.)

Daily World - Atlanta Ga. Sunday - 8-17-47

N. Y. NURSE GETS HIGH FEDERAL POST AT FREEDMAN'S HOSPITAL IN D. C. — Mrs. Latis Melba Campbell, outstanding health expert of Harlem and holder of both her bachelor's and master's degrees from Columbia university in health education, returns to her alma mater, Freedman's hospital, this month in a major federal appointment. Mrs. Campbell is one of the first Negro nurses to be appointed commissioned assistant health officer which is equivalent to the rank of army lieutenant (first). The appointee will head the public health program for intergrating the social and health aspects into the basic curricula at the Washington hospital.

Daily World Atlanta Ga. Sun. 8-17-47

The New Yorker is a member of Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, National League of Nursing education and Chi Eta Phi nurses professional sorority and has been active in civic affairs of the community.


37c(11) Fed. (D.C.)

Chicago Defender, Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-19-47

JAMES C. EVANS, assistant civilian aide to the Secretary of War since 1943, was named acting civilian aide to replace Marcus H. Ray, who resigned last week to accept a military post as Negro troop advisor on the staff of General Lucius D. Clay in the European theater.

Forrestal Undecided On Hiring Advisor On Negro Affairs

Chicago, Ill

By VENICE SPRAGGS

WASHINGTON—At a time when the present discriminatory policy of utilizing Negroes in all branches of the armed services is serving to dull interest in volunteering for military duty, Defense Secretary James Forrestal apparently has no intention of establishing a top-level civilian aide office to keep him informed and guided on policies and practices affecting the recruiting, training and utilization of Negro military personnel.

This was made clear at Secretary Forrestal's first press conference since taking over his new post as top U. S. defense officer. Here he disclosed that he would continue his Navy-inaugurated hit-or-miss procedure for dealing with Negro manpower problems, and hew to his practice of calling in an adviser on a specific issue as he saw fit.

Cites Granger Role Sat. 12-[illegible]

He hinted strongly that National Urban League secretary, Lester Granger who served in that role while he headed the Navy would continue as his number one ex-officio adviser, although past experience has taught that sundry problems affecting Negro troops require an adequately staffed office operating on a continuing basis. Moreover, that there will be the need for the establishment of adequate machinery in each branch of the unified forces to implement whatever policies formulated at the top level with respect to Negro personnel.

In reply to a direct question as to whether he intends to name a civilian aide to advise him on Negro affairs, Mr. Forrestal replied, "I haven't decided." He added, "I doubt very much whether I will have any aides for particular purposes except for dealing with such questions as they arise." He reviewed briefly how he handled these "Negro problems" in the Navy with Granger's assistance, and let it be known that in all probability he will continue in this same fashion.

James C. Evans Is Named Adviser to Defense Sec'y

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier,

WASHINGTON — Announcement was made here last week that Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal had designated James C. Evans, civilian aide to the Secretary of the Army, as his adviser. Mr. Forrestal made the appointment at the instance of Lester B. Granger, Urban League executive, after Granger had held a one-hour conference with Forrestal. Sat. 11-8-47

Mr. Evans will continue to serve as civilian aide to Secretary of Army Kenneth C. Royall, and will act as liaison official in matters of Negro interest arising in the Army, Air Force and Navy, maintaining direct contact with Mr. Forrestal, who will also appoint an advisory committee composed of white and Negro citizens. Sat.

Mr. Forrestal was reluctant to create an office of a civilian aide at the level of the Secretary of Defense, according to Mr. Granger, who had previously served as unofficial adviser to Mr. Forrestal when he was Secretary of the Navy.

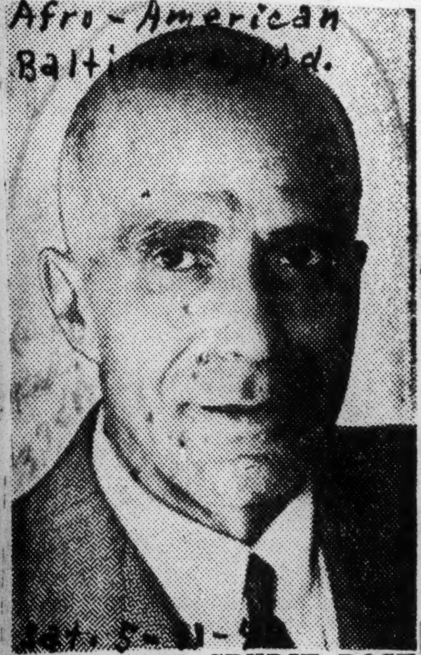
Senate Confirms Atkinson Nomination

Daily World

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Senate last Tuesday confirmed the nomination of Richard R. Atkinson, an attorney, to be a member of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency for a term of one year.

Four other nominations to this agency also were confirmed by the Senate. The other appointees were white. Tues 3-11-47

The nomination of Mr. Atkinson was one of three made by the District of Columbia Commissioners. Two were made by the President. Atlanta, Ga.



Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 5-31-47

GETS FARM CREDIT POST—A. H. Fuhr, formerly county agent in Oklahoma, is now assistant to the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 5-31-47

JUDGE'S AIDE—William T. Coleman, Jr., left, newly appointed law clerk to U.S. Circuit Court Judge Herbert F. Goodrich, listens intently during morning conference with jurist in latter's office in Federal Building, Philadelphia. Coleman, 26, led his class at Harvard Law School, graduating magna cum laude. Until his appointment, all law clerks were white.

Greene Gets Housing Post

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

WASHINGTON — Appointment of Walter L. Greene of Washington, D. C., as Assistant to the Commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration was recently announced here by Commissioner Raymond M. Foley. He succeeds William D. Flanders, who resigned to return to private business. Sat. 6-21-47

Mr. Greene, who came with FHA in August, 1934, was born in Owensville, Ky., was educated in the schools of New York City and entered the real estate business in Plant City, Fla., in 1914. After serving as cashier of the First National Bank of Plant City, and as auditor of the National City Bank in Tampa, he went to Miami in 1920 as executive secretary of the Miami Realty Board. In 1928 he went to Birmingham as sales manager of the Jemison Companies, engaged in real estate mortgage financing and investments.

Anderson Names 3 PMA Officers

Afro-American

WASHINGTON

Sat. 5-3-47

Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson recently announced the appointment of two assistant administrators and a deputy assistant administrator in the Production and Marketing Administration in accord with the realignment of PMA administrative functions and operations as ordered by the Secretary on Mar. 19, 1947.

Sat. 5-3-47

Dave Davidson, who was director of the PMA Field Service Branch, becomes assistant administrator for production. His responsibility for production activities will include agricultural conservation and adjustment programs, farm marketing quotas and farm labor supply.

Baltimore, Md.

Claudius B. Hodges, who has been deputy director of the Field Service branch, will not be associated with Davidson as deputy assistant administrator for production and Carl C. Farrington becomes the assistant administrator for commodity credit corporation.

BEHIND THE SCENES:

Salaries Decided Who Heard Wallace Speak

Afro-American Sat. 6-28-47

Baltimore, Md.

By RALPH MATTHEWS

Support of the Wallace speech at the Watergate last week went along economic lines in both races. races.

When Representatives Rankin and Thomas of the House Un-American Activities Committee announced that group would have spies in the audience to check on who attended, the little people ($2440 up to $2000) accepted the challenge to their liberty and packed the place out of defiance.

However, the big-shot Government workers ($3000 to $10,000) stayed at a safe distance listening to the speech via radio.

They Ducked Bloodhounds

A canvas of the upper bracket jobholders showed that not one took the chance. That's why the little people could not find their "leaders" in the audience. They were home ducking Rankin's bloodhounds. Sat. 6-28-47

No Help From Dawson

It wasnt only fear of Rankin Thomas and company that made the jobholders be good little boys and girls, but Congressman William Dawson, of the National Democratic Committee who still has a big hand in the patronage pie, did not put his approval on the rally.

So if any of the jobholders had been caught in the Rankin-Thomas trap they could have expected no help from that quarter. So they decided the safest place was home in bed.

Recorder's Office Staff Fingerprinted by Police

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Immorality Charges Lack Evidence, FBI Report Shows; Inefficiency Abundant

Sat. 3-1-47

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — The House District appropriations sub-committee, had all 81 employees of the Recorder's office fingerprinted last Friday as part of its investigation into charges of inefficiency and irregularites in the conduct of that office.

The fingerprinting was ordered by Rep. Walt Horan (Rep., Wash.) chairman of the subcommittee, and was conducted by Det. Sgt. Lewis E. Hazard, head of the criminal identification bureau of the Metropolitan Police, and Cpl. Robert Sandburg, Sergt. Lewis's assistant.

Morals Charge Fails

Representative Horan has refused so far to divulge the findings of committee investigators, who went into the Recorder's office on his orders after he received a detailed statement of alleged immorality, irregularities and inefficiency in that office.

It was learned on good authority, however, that the charges of immorality, investigated by special FBI agents last August, were not substantiated by their report, but that ample evidence of inefficiency and irregularities was uncovered.

Could Save $80,000

Dr. Marshall Shepard, the Recorder, himself estimated the office to be 22,000 papers behind in a letter earlier this month to the District auditor's office, in justification o his request for ten additional clerk-typists and employees for the comparing department.

Between $80,000 and $90,000 a year could be saved in office operation if photostating machinery were installed, Rufus S. Lusk, president of the Washington Taxpayers Association, declared in a protest against "horse car era" methods of copying documents.

Dr. Shepard's salary is $9,975, and he has continued as pastor of Mount Olivet Baptist Church, Philadelphia, at a reputed salary of $5,000 a year. He is charged with spending 90 per cent of his time away from office on his pastoral duties. Sat. 3-1-47

Investigation of the office, it is alleged, centers on examination of patronage practices, disputes among office personnel, lack of independent fiscal audits, and other factors relating to the charges of inefficiency, irregularities, or increased administrative costs.

Charges Fly In Recorder Probe

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World

Sat. 3-1-47

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Bible says Jesus told the woman who was caught in the act of adultery and, under the Mosaic law, should have been stoned, "Go and sin no more."

But that is not what the House District of Columbia appropriations sub-committee said in the case of a socialite matron, who is a division chief in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia.

A number of years ago, this socialite, following an impulse to steal without an economic motive, was arrested several times for shoplifting. Under various aliases, she pleaded guilty to nine charges.

At the time the Rev. Marshall Shepard, Philadelphia preacher, was nominated to be the Recorder of Deeds, the socialite, a clerk in the division which she now heads, was under suspension for insubordination. Before his confirmation, Mr. Shepard is alleged to have telephoned instructions to the recorder's office to put her back to work.

Since his confirmation, Mr. Shepard is alleged to have advanced her to the head of the division.

One version is that the late Colonel Edward J. Kelly, superintendent of police, took her file to Mr. Shepard and advised him against putting her in the responsible position she occupies.

The other is that Colonel Kelly approved her appointment and a reputable bonding company bonder her.

Personnel Fingerprinted

Although her identity was known to the House District appropriations subcommittee, it had all eighty-one employees of the recorder's office fingerprinted last Friday as a part of its investigation into charges of inefficiency and irregularities in the conduct of that office. Sat. 3-1-47

The fingerprinting was ordered by Representative Walt Horan, Republican, of Washington, chairman of the House District appropriations subcommittee, and was conducted by Detective Sergeant Lewis E. Hazard, in charge of the criminal identification bureau of the Metropolitan Police, and Corporal Robert Sandburg, Sergeant Lewis' assistant.

Representative Horan so far has refused to divulge the findings of committee investigators, who went into the recorder's office on his orders after a detailed statement of alleged immorality, irregularities and inefficiency in that office had been given him.

It was learned on good authority, however, that the charges of Congress appropriated in the 1947 District of Columbia appropriations act the sum of $1,050 for the purchase of an automobile.

Car Purchased

Instead of buying a light car within the appropriation for the purchase of an automobile, Mr. Shepard is alleged to have bought a 1946 four-door Buick sedan. He also is accused of violating intent of Congress that the car be kept in the central garage by keeping the car in the recorder's garage and not making it available to other District officials.

When Mr. Shepard took office in 1944, it is charged, there were 735 papers waiting to be copied. There were seventy-two employees in the office working forty hours a week. At present, the office admits to being 22,000 papers behind in its work. There are eighty-four employees in the office.

Between $80,000 and $[illegible]0,000 a year could be saved in the operation of the office if photostating machinery were installed, Rufus S. Lusk, president of the Washington Taxpayers Association, declared in a protest against "horse car era" methods of copying documents in the recorder's office.

Kept Church Job

Mr. Shepard's salary is $9,975. Since his appointment he has continued as pastor of Mount Olivet Baptist Church, Philadelphia, at a reputed salary of $5,000 a year. Another charge against him is that he spends 90 per cent of his time away from the recorder's office on his pastoral duties.

At the time the FBI began its investigation last August he was vacationing in Maine. When the House District appropriations committee's investigators moved in he was reported to be in California preaching. Sat. 3-1-47

A. Oliver Thornton, of St. Louis, first deputy recorder of deeds, is in charge of the office in Mr. Shepard's absence. Mr. Thornton's salary is $6,150 a year. The second deputy recorder receives $4,400 a year and the executive assistant, $4,270.

Fees derived from the recording of deeds, trusts, mortgages and other documents are turned over to the tax collector's office, which in turn deposits them with the Treasury. House Appropriations Committee records show a steady rise in receipts of the office from 1943, when $105,509 was reported, to the estimated $189,000 for the current fiscal year. Sat. 3-1-47

The investigation of the office reportedly is centering now on examination of evidence of patronage practices, disputes among the office personnel, lack of independent fiscal audits, and other factors immorality, investigated by special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation last August, were not substantiated by the FBI report but that ample evidence of inefficiency and irregularities was uncovered.

Another charge which investigators are looking into concerns the purchase and use of an automobile by the recorder's office, relating to the charges of inefficiency, irregularities, or increased administrative costs.

House Committee Clears Deeds Office of Charges

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

Charges involving personalities in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds appear, upon investigation, to be "unfounded and untrue," the House Subcommittee on District Appropriations reported on Saturday. Sat. 3-8-47

The Subcommittee, at the same time, recommended that the Recorder of Deeds and his office staff become full-time employees under the Government of the District of Columbia, and a complete reorganization be made.

It was also recommended that the Auto Liens Office be placed under the District Traffic Division, and modern methods of recording documents be installed.

The investigators held that there is merit in the accusation that Dr. Marshall L. Shepard, recorder, "has spent a considerable portion of his time away from his Recorder of Deeds duties while enjoying full salary." Sat. 3-8-47

Shepard Guilty

Specifically noted, as a case in point, was the fact that Dr. Shepard left his office for a trip to the West Coast during the investigation. "This," the committee said, "adds substance to this charge."

Want Full Time

Rep. Walt Horan (Rep., Wash.) chairman of the Subcommittee commenting on this statement, said:

"If it is necessary to have a man to go about the nation, then one should be assigned to that specific duty. A man assigned to the purely local job of recording the District's affairs should spend his whole time doing just that."

The investigation by GAO into alleged irregularities in the Auto Liens Office of the Traffic Division are still in progress, Mr. Horan said. Afro-American

The Subcommittee prefaced its report that the probe of the Recorder of Deeds Office is one of several studies it is making of the District municipal government.

No Scandal Probe

"It should be definitely and clearly asserted that Subcommittee investigations are not directed toward uncovering 'ghosts' or situations which can be used as 'scandal' in municipal department copy for public release.

"The Subcommittee's interest is of a fiscal nature.

"Whatever may be submitted to the press is done with the intention of informing the local residency and officials of the District Government of situations in government and management which stand in need of corrections and better control. Sat. 3-8-47

"Charges and investigation of the Recorder's Office were made by colored individuals only," said Mr. Horan. Oliver Thornton, deputy recorder, asked for the probe of the Auto Liens Department, by the General Accounting Office.

Wouldn't Name Weaver

Mr. Horan would not commit himself as to who requested the probe by his group. When asked whether it was Frederick Weaver, former deputy recorder, Mr. Horan hedged.

Mr. Weaver is alleged to have filed an affidavit with the Subcommittee making charges involving certain individuals and procedures in the Recorder's Office.

"It had been said that one woman who handles funds had been arrested on nine occasions. We found this untrue," Mr. Horan stated.

"Actually, the woman was arrested about 17 years ago on a charge of shoplifting and was not convicted. We found most of the emotional charges made were unfounded," he stated.

5-Point Report

The Subcommittee's five-point report stated:

1. Charges which involve personalities in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds appear to be unfounded and untrue.

2. Charges involving the alleged embezzlement of public monies in the Auto Liens Office is still being factually examined by the General Accounting Office and a complete report must await their audit. Baltimore, Md.

Meanwhile, the matter has been referred by the First Deputy to the District Attorney's Office and to the company holding the surety bond.

3. A charge that the present occupant of the Recorder of Deeds Office has spent a considerable portion of his time away from his Recorder of Deeds duties while enjoying the full salary, appears to have foundation.

Some on Gravy Train

4. While it appears true that a few selected positions are of the so-called "gravy-train" category, the vast majority of the employees are hard-working, conscientious public servants.

5. The Office presents a flagrant example of inefficiency, requiring prompt remedial measures.

Five Recommendations

Mr. Horan's group said that they will refer the five following recommendations to the legislative committee: Sat. 3-8-47

1. That the Recorder of Deeds become a full-time employee under the Government of the District of Columbia.

2. That employees of the Office should become employees of the District of Columbia under laws, rules, and regulations of the United States Civil Service Commission.

3. That the Auto Liens Office be removed to the Traffic Department of the District.

4. That modern methods of recording of instruments for permanent public record be immediately installed.

5. That the installation of such modern methods be accompanied by a general reorganization.

House Subcommittee on Appropriations included Representatives Carl Steffan (Rep., Neb.); Ralph Church (Rep., Ill.); Lowell Stockman (Rep., Ore.); George Anderson (Dem., Ala.); Joseph Bates (Dem., Ky.), and John Fogarty (Rep., R.I.).

Named To Undertakers' Examining Committee

WASHINGTON—Robert G. McGuire Jr. was named last Tuesday as a member of a five-man examining committee for licensing undertakers, appointed by the commissioners of the District of Columbia to conform with a law enacted by the 80th Congress.

1-4-47 Sat.

Four undertakers and the director of the Bureau of Vital Statistics comprise the committee, which is to be under the jurisdiction of the health department.

37c(1) 1947

Federal (D. C.--Marcus Ray)

Says Attacks On Ray Should Be Aimed At War Department

37c(1) D.C.

World Memphis, Tenn.

Fri. 1-3-47

By LEON W. TAYLOR

DAYTON, O.—(ANP)—During the past six months much criticism has been directed against Marcus Ray and his projections in the office of civilian aide to the secretary of war. Many of the darts aimed at Ray have originated with persons unacquainted with the sensitive environment in which the distinguished officer is placed. Some of them bear the taint of personal vindictiveness.

Most of the attacks are motivated by altruistic publicity objectives, yet they have been destructive in result, and generally uncooperative. Others have been from hearsay, and the majority either from antagonistic angles or with pernicious intent.

The attacks upon Marcus Ray have been directed in some quarters by vitriolic instruments, with the bitter purpose of discrediting a man who knows as much about the ultimate processes by which American Negro soldiery will attain perfection as any military expert in the country—far more than his detractors will ever learn.

WIDE FLOODGATES

Floodgates of venom have been opened wide, without looking beyond to the results that might be achieved with a different concentration of the power of the Negro press. The controversy generated leaves the office of civilian aide without the logical support of a public opinion necessary to bolster its position in the objectives sought by a race.

In an extended interview with Marcus Ray, the writer discussed many of the problems surrounding a workable program within the war department's structure. Ray left the impression he is fully capable of unraveling the tangled skein, and that he is aware of obstacles to be overcome.

The Negro press can exert tremendous influence upon the war department's attitudes by directing its attacks upon higher-ups who screen themselves behind the civilian aide. This is the only logical course that can produce results.

Memphis, Tenn.

Ray can and will spearhead pressure for military alignment, and his early moves are bearing fruit, but his further efforts will reap little without support of a press that fails to strike at the heart of the evil. At present, it appears considerable sniping is being practiced, without constructive suggestions for anything better than Ray has as his ultimate objective.

1-3-47

37c(1) 1947

Federal (Foreign Service Officer of the United States)

BY MATTIE B. ROWE

12-25-47

President Harry S. Truman has confirmed the appointment of Giles A. Hubert, professor of economics at Fisk University, as a foreign service officer of the United States.

For his first assignment, Mr. Hubert will serve as agricultural attache in the U. S. Embassy at Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

37c(1) Fed.

Prof. Hubert has been a member of the faculty at Fisk since 1934. He is a graduate of Jackson College and the University of Iowa; he has done advanced study at the University of Minnesota and at the Royal Veterinary and Agricultural College of Copenhagen, Denmark.

37c(1) 1947

Federal (General)

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

By Louis Lautier

(For the NNPA News Service)

37c(1)

Black Dispatch Okla. City, Okla.

Should race relations advisory jobs in Government agencies be abolished?

Sat. 8-30-47

The answer is an emphatic yes. There are a number of reasons why such jobs should be abolished, but the chief one seems to be that such jobs are inconsistent with the aims of colored people themselves to be treated as first class citizens and not as ward of the Government.

As long as colored people deem it necessary to have guardians in Government posts so long will they be denied the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizenship.

Rather than strive for places as race relations in Federal agencies, it appears that the goal should be extension of the protection of the laws of the land to all citizens without distinction on account of race, color, religion or national orgin, and the elimination of discriminatory policies and practices in the administration of the law.

If the law were fairly and equitably administered, without regard to race, color. religion or national origin ,most of the ills from which colored people suffer in this country would disappear.

But the presence of race relations advisers in Federal agencies is doing little, if anything, toward ameliorating conditions.

Moreover, there is nothing that any race relations adviser is doing that could not be done more effectively by the appointment of colored persons, on the basis of merit, to kep positions in Federal agencies, carrying on the functions and duties of their positions but not specializing on the problems of any minority group.

In actual practice, race relations advisers perform very little if any useful service, to the agency in which they are employed or to the people whose special interests they are supported to serve.

Their positions are not statutory and they have no authority. They advice is merely recommendatory and may be accepted or rejected as it may please the official whom they are supposed to advise.

Sat-8-30-47

Race relations advisers came into popularity during the early days of the New Deal Administration. As far as can be recalled, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes appointed the first one. He was Clark Foreman. now president of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. Bob Weaver succeeded him. Since then there has been a host of race relations advisers.

Outside of William H. Hastie, who is now the governor of the Virgin Islands, none of these race relations advisers has mand an outstanding record. The position of civilian aide to the Secretary of War was created by former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and Hastie appointed to that post.

At the time the War Department had peculiar problems. Only one agency, the Navy, had policies more discriminatory. The country was just beginning a national defense program. By order of Mr. Stimson, all matters of policy affecting colored military and civilian personnel, and all important questions arising thereunder, were to be referred to Mr. Hastie for his concurrence or recommendation. Upon Hastie's resignation the same order was put into effect respecting his successor, Truman K. Gibson, Jr.

Despite the order of the Secretary of War, Hastie found himself bypassed on all important matters in the Army Air Forces simply because he had opposed the construction of the Tuskegee Army Air Field for the separate training of colored pilots. and he found it necessary to quit in protest.

There is not a single race relations adviser, except James C. Evans, who is not the civilian aide to the Secretary of War, who can point to any similar order issued by the head of his agency to subordinate chiefs.

Weaver, quite an able person, did all right as long as he was in the United States Housing Authority and that agency was under the administration of the Old Curmudgeon. But look what happened to him when he transferred to the War Manpower Commission and was made chief of the minority groups section in the United States Employment Service. He was gradually shorn of his authority until he quit in disgust.

It appears that race relations advisers have served their purpose and now is the time to press for appointment of colored men to key positions in Government on the basis that the right to hold office is a concomitant of citizenship.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL

The Informer

By Louis Lautier

37c(1)

"I am dcidely of the opinion that the race relations advisers in Federal agencies, about which certain people have made so much amount to nothing more than buffers. In fact, it appears that they are in those positions to keep other people away and so far I am informed they have not made any substanial contribution to racial development: I regret to say that I am irresistibly driven to the conclusion that they are a liability to us rather than an asset."

Houston Tex

Thus spoke Perry W. Howard Republican National committeeman for Mississippi and a practicing attorney in Washington for the past twenty years.

Mr Howard is in a good position to form an estimate of the effectiveness of the services of race relations advisers in Government agencies as compared with colored persons occupying key positions in Government and performing regular Government duties and functions

Sat. 9-13-47

During the Harding administration, when Harry A. Daugherty of Ohio was the Attorney General, Mr. Howard was a special assistant to the Attorney General. His duties, however, were not advisory. He was a lawyer in the Claims Division of the Justice Department and defended the Government in suits brought by railroads, contractors and other claimants.

Houston, Tex.

After Mr. Howard resigned, Louis R. Mehlinger, an attorney who had worked under him, was given Mr. Howard's assignments and gradually rose in the Department, from an assistant attorney to an associate attorney and then to an attorney. As an attorney defending the Government annually against suits running into millions of dollars, Mr. Mehlinger has been quite successful.

There have been other colored attorneys in the Justice Department. The late Robert L. Vann of Pittsburgh served as a special assistant to the Attorney General in the early days of he Roosevelt administration and was assigned to the anti-trust division. Upon his resigning, Theron L. Hamilton, also a Pittsburgh lawyer, was appointed to succeed him. When Mr. Hamilton resigned, William L. Houston of Washington was appointed to succeed him.

Maceo Hubbard of Philadelphia also is an attorney in the Civil rights section of the Justice Department at present. He is assigned to civil rights cases without distinction as to the race, color creed or nationality of the person who has been deprived of his civil rights.

Sat. 9-13-47

Attorney Genera Daugherty was an Ohio politician. As attorney General he made no reputation for integrity. But this may be said in his favor: Not only did he appoint Mr. Howard and Mr. Mehlinger as attorneys in the Justice Department, but he also appointed colored assistant United States attorneys in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington Chicago and Cincinnati and he appointed another colored lawyer in Cleveland as a special assistant. No Attorney General before or since has equalled his record in this respect.

If colored lawyers were capable then of serving as attorneys in the Justice Department and as assistant United States Attorneys in the larger cities of the east and middle west, why should they not now be appointed to such positions and in larger numbers?

One answer, of course, is the race relations advisers. Politicians can point with pride to them in several agencies and tell colored people: "See what recognition I have given you!"

As Mr. Howard says, race relations advisers are primarily buffers. The colored delegations which would like to lay their complaints and grievances before the heads of the agencies are hunted to them. They prepare for the signature of the heads of their agencies the letters which are written in reply to complaints and grievances. They tell the agency heads what to say and what to do to appease colored people.

Sat. 9-13-47

That race relations perform no more meritoriously is not altogether their fault. Some of them are capable. But they have no authority and can advise only on matters on which their advice is sought, and even then their advice may be discarded. Given regular assignments instead of the sniecures they now hold, some of them would turn in good job performances.

Since a Presidential election is little more than a year away the time is propitious to insist that colored persons be appointed to regular Government jobs on the basis of merit and that the race relations jobs be abolished.

Walter White

People, Politics And Places

Two Distinguished Americans

Chicago Defender Chicago, Ill.

NEGROES AND THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY owe a very sizeable debt of gratitude to two distinguished Americans who have just retired from government service—Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson and Under Secretary of War Howard C. Petersen. Both men have been the target of criticisms from time to time because they did not do more to smash the color line and other anti-democratic practices in the armed services of the U.S.A.

A small part of that criticism may have been deserved. But the bulk of it was not deserved. No two men in recent American history have worked

more faithfully and fearlessly in the fight to wipe out the color line as did Messrs. Patterson and Petersen. It is for this reason that I want to take this opportunity to pay a tribute of admiraion and gratitude.

Sat. 9-6-47

Only those who have had first-hand experience with the power of West Point graduates and military men whose business it is to make war and to build up an ever increasing military machine can appreciate the heaviness of the load a civilian bears in trying to democratize the armed services.

This is true even when men bear so exalted titles as in the case of the Secretary and Under Secretary of War. There are a thousand ways in which statements of policy can be evaded or twisted to defeat an order even from the head of the War Department.

Attends White House Conference

I HAD AN OPPORTUNITY to meet Mr. Patterson for the first time shortly after he became

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T. M. Campbell on Board Of American Overseas Aid

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

37c(1)

Sat. 10-11-47

WASHINGTON—T. M. Campbell, Extension Service field agent of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, has accepted membership on the board of directors of American Overseas Aid, Inc. The board called on President Truman last Wednesday and later held a luncheon meeting at the Mayflower Hotel

Assistant Secretary of War under Henry L. Stimson as Secretary. Mr. Patterson attended a conference at the White House as Acting Secretary of War during Mr. Stimson's absence from the country, when A. Philip Randolph and I discussed with President Roosevelt discrimination in what were then called defense industries and the armed services.

The late Secretary of the Navy Knox was absolutely close-minded in refusing even to consider the abolition of segregation in the Navy (which policy fortunately was not shared by his successor James Forrestal). But Mr. Patterson with his judicial mind and freedom from the slightest semblance of race prejudice was not only willing but eager to discuss and to do whatever he could to end Jim-Crowism as rapidly as possible. Sat. 9-6-47

He was always eager to receive both suggestions and criticisms. He backed up William H. Hastie as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War often when that support meant the bitter enmity of anti-Negro Army personnel. He fought a good fight and such progress as has been made towards the integration of Negroes in the Army as American citizens instead of as members of a minority race is in large measure due to his ability and courage.

Fought Against Prejudice

HOWARD C. PETERSEN both as Assistant Secretary and later as Under Secretary of War fought as resolutely against prejudice as did his chief, although Mr. Petersen rarely received publicity on what he did. A man of quiet efficiency who rarely raised his voice above a quiet conversational tune, Howard Petersen was a glutton for work. Often have I seen a look of bewilderment on his face when he was told of some new manifestation of race prejudice in the Army. But it was never the bewilderment of defeatism. It was instead the amazement of an honest man who had only contempt for those stupid enough to endanger their own safety by perpetrating prejudices in the time of war.

Negroes have had reason to resent the treatment received in a war "for the freedom of all men everywhere." But the Negro's lot would have been far worse had not two able and gallant men made it their business to fight racial prejudice whenever and wherever opportunity offered. I would like to take this opportunity to thank them publicly for all they did and to wish them both a happy and successful future in whatever they do.

NATION'S CAPITAL

By - Louis Lautier
For the NNPA

Journal & Guide, Norfolk Va.

Gibson Takes Exception To Series Of Articles Advocating Abolition Of Race Relations Positions in Government, Writer Answers His Arguments

Sat. 9-20-47

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Truman K. Gibson, Jr., formerly civilian aide to the Secretary of War, takes exceptions to the series of articles advocating abolition of race relations jobs and the appointment of colored persons to regular Government jobs on the basis of merit. He writes:

"You know that I have always been an advocate of the foot-in-the-door theory. Also, as you well know, racial relations advisers have been directly and indirectly responsible for the integration of many Negroes into regular departmental positions. It was Bob Weaver who started Bill Hastie in his career as solicitor in the Department of the Interior.

"Certainly I agree that the time is past when Negroes ought to be appointed on their merits to high positions in the Government. But I do not think this process will be accelerated by discontinuing the few racial relations people in the Government.

"From your long experience in Washington, you know things just do not happen and that there will be no rush to hire top notch Negroes. Even if the advisers merely by their presence reminded the departmental heads of their too often forgotten obligations, their retention would be justified. Actually most have done more than this. It doesn't seem to me wise to give up what you have at the chance that you might get something more."

* * * *

Diligent effort to find out what race relations advisers were doing was made before the articles were begun. The answer was — the present crop of advisers is doing nothing but hoodwinking colored people. In the past, some were conscientious and made earnest effort to do something.

The "foot-in-the-door" theory would be acceptable if it were not for the fact that race relations advisory jobs are used as political sops to preclude appointment of colored persons to Government jobs at policy making levels. Moreover, there is a small number of colored persons holding regular Government jobs and performing quite satisfactorily. There is no valid reason why that number should not be increased. Sat. 9-20-47

No one is advocating that incumbents in race relations jobs be dismissed. They can be transferred to regular Government jobs where they can perform the duties of their office in a democratic manner, and an additional number of colored persons appointed to policy making jobs on the basis of merit and in return for the political support they have given the Roosevelt and Truman administrations or which the administration hopes to receive from colored people.

Of all the race relations advisers, the positions of Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League; Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Claude Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, are most untenable.

Mr. Granger has been a consultant to James B. Forrestal, former Secretary of the Navy and now Secretary of Defense. Under Mr. Forrestal, the Navy developed a good policy respecting colored naval personnel. But there has been no implementation of that policy nor effective utilization of colored personnel in the Navy. Nor has any colored civilian been employed in the Navy Department at any decent level. Not more than two colored officers served in the department at any one time, and the highest ranking one was a lieutenant commander, the equivalent of a major in the Army.

Dr. Patterson and Mr. Barnett have served as consultants to a succession of Secretaries of Agriculture. During the entire period of their service, and prior, colored land-grant colleges have been denied an equitable share of federal funds allotted to land-grant colleges in Southern States, colored students have been barred from use of the research facilities of agricultural experiment stations, for which federal papropriations have been made, and colored boys and girls belonging to 4-H clubs, sponsored by the Agriculture Department in cooperation with the states, have been segregated and discriminated against.

37c(1) 1947

Federal (Liberia)

Roanoke Man Appointed Consul To Liberia

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

37c(1)
Fed.-(Liberia)

By S. R. JOHNSON, JR.

Fri 3-28-47

ROANOKE, Va. -(ANP)—Albert Witcher, 29, son of Mr. and Mrs. William Witcher, recently received an appointment as vice-counsul to Liberia. He has reported to the state department for a brief period of training before sailing for his new appointment.

Mr. Witcher is a graduate of the Lucy Addison high school here, and a graduate in political science of Lincoln university, Jefferson City, Mo. Fri. 3-28-47

The new appointee to Liberia served in the Army of the United States for three years. Since his discharge he has taken a course at the Latin American institute in New York.

Name Lincoln Grad Liberia Vice-Consul

Chicago, Ill. Defender

37c(1) Fed.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—Albert Witcher, 29, a graduate of Lincoln university, Mo., with a major in political science, has been appointed vice-counsul to Liberia, according to recent announcement.

Sat. 4-19-47

The appointee, son of Mr. and Mrs. William Witcher, of Roanoke Va., served three years in the army. Since his discharge he has taken a course at the Latin American Institute, New York City.

Wallace Van Jackson

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.

37c(1) Fed.

It is not often in the career of a teacher in colleges for Negroes in Atlanta, who, when and if the opportunity comes to him to secure employment elsewhere, that the whole of Atlanta community is moved to regretful tears because they will miss his service to them. For the greatest majority of teachers, even at this very moment, have done and are still doing, exactly nothing to narrow the chasm existing between town and gown. For the most part, they do not identify themselves with the civic and social agencies working to ameliorate conditions in the community. And despite the fact that all of the colleges in Atlanta are church-related institutions, a cursory estimate would show that the Sunday schools of the various denominations are being taught by teachers with an average of about a seventh grade education or less, merely because our trained educators will not serve.

Sunday - 4- [illegible] 47

Happily, Wallace Van Jackson is a rare exception to this distressing rule. He has been in Atlanta less than a decade, but is better known for his service and interest in community affairs than some Atlantans who have spent a lifetime draining the community of all they can, without returning anything in the way of service, either in civic or church life.

Atlanta will miss Wallace Van Jackson. The Atlanta chapter of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been greatly helped and highly lifted through his leadership and devotion.

The Atlanta Urban League, the Citizens Democratic Club, together with every other uplift agency and organization in our midst, owe this good man a lasting debt of gratitude.

Mr. Jackson has recently been honored by the U. S. State Department by appointment to serve on the staff of the American legation of Liberia. That is an honor which comes once in a lifetime and we rejoice with him and his family for it. And in his going. The Atlanta Daily World wishes to add its voice to that large chorus of friends who are extending to the Jackson family congratulations and best wishes for continued success in his new field.

37c(1) 1947 Federal (Liberia--R. O'Hara Lanier)

HOW'S ALL THE FOLKS OVER HOME?

R. O'HARA LANIER, our Minister to Liberia, was luncheon speaker at Capital Press Club last week. His diplomatic service seems to have added to his natural clarity of thought a certain explosive and dynamic quality and he has become a past master at diplomatic language. Lots of things he wants to say he can't because of State Dept. restrictions but if you can't read between his lines, you're not very bright.

Sat.

Africa, the scribblers gathered, is now in for a re-exploration of its natural resources, being the sole remaining world frontier. There is no strong pan-African nationalist movement within individual countries and colonies.

10-18-47

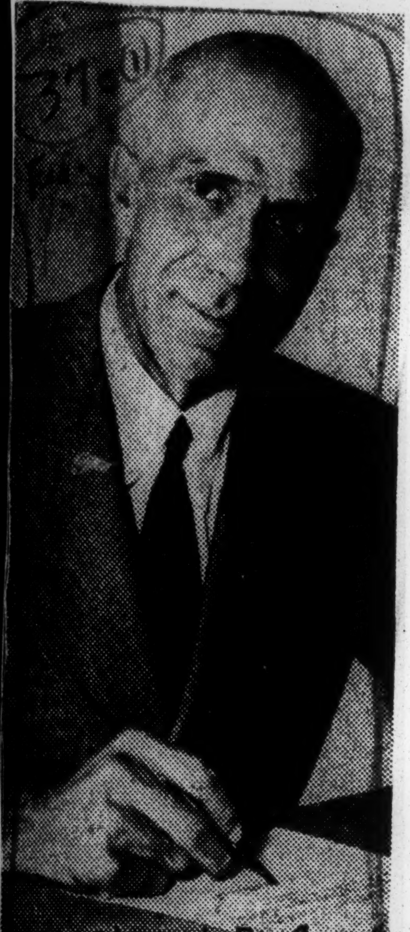
Liberia is afflicted with that malady common to the tropics—everybody who is educated wants to be a politician or philosopher and will not work with his hands. All roads, bridges, dams and such have to be built by foreigners because the native youth shun engineering. Liberia will be respected when and if it can overcome this tendency.

Chicago Defender, Ill.

Lanier is a stormy petrel in the Department and his explosions over some bits of stupidity by our government have disturbed the Dept. more than once. Officials probably wouldn't cry if Lanier stepped out to become a College President which he has a chance to do. Diplomatic Service would lose a strong character but it would be education's gain. Lanier has praise for Negro career diplomats Consul Bill George and Secretary Rupert Lloyd.

37c(1) 1947

Federal (Oklahoma)



Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Promoted— For eighteen years a county agent in Oklahoma, A. H. Fuhr has been appointed assistant to the governor of the Farm Credit Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. He was transferred from the Production and Marketing Administration.—USDA Photo.

Sat. 6-7-47

Chicago, Ill. Defender
Sat. 6-70-47

APPOINTED assistant to the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, A. H. Fuhr will work with general agents of the southern district of FCA and other officers in informing Negro farmers of credit facilities. For 18 years a county agent in Oklahoma, he transferred to his present post from the Production and Marketing Administration where he was state contact representative in Oklahoma.

37c(1) 1947

Federal (Puerto Rico)

Rucker Goes To Puerto Rico

Daily World Fed.
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Alvin H. Rucker of the United States Employment service has recently received an appointment by Labor Secy. L. B. Schwellenbach as his territorial representative in Puerto Rico. Thurs. 1-16-47

37c(1)

This appointment was made as a result of a recent study of problems of departmental administration in Puerto Rico which led to the conclusion that they have assumed such importance that a representative of the secretary, with adequate authority, should be stationed there.

Mr. Rucker will be directly responsible to the secretary and will assume full responsibility for all U. S. Department of labor activities in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. He will supervise and coordinate all activities with which the labor department is concerned.

Mr. Rucker received his B. S. from the University of Illinois and has done graduate work at the University of Pittsburg, the University of Chicago and the graduate school of the department of agriculture. He was first employed as city editor of a weekly newspaper in St. Louis. In 1932 he was appointed vocational advisor and later office manager for the Chicago Relief administration. He then became assistant manager and employment office manager for the Illinois State Employment service and the division of unemployment compensation and placements for that state. 1-16-47

Coming to Washington in 1940 to work with the Social Security board, continuing the same specailized work in employment, he was attached to the War Manpower commission. In 1943, associated with USES, he organized the employment office in Puerto Rico, planned its program and selected the personnel. Back in Washington, he has since served in the standards and methods division of USES. Thurs.

Rucker Gets $8,000 Post

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

37c(1)

Sat. 1-11-47

WASHINGTON —(NNPA)— Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach last Thursday appointed Alvin Rucker of Chicago to an $8,000 post as a territorial representative of the United States Labor Department in Puerto Rico. Sat. 1-11-47

Mr. Rucker, the first colored man to occupy such a post, thus becomes one of the highest-paid colored persons in Government, sharing this honor with Dr. Frank Horne of the National Housing Agency, and Mrs. Thomasina W. Johnson of the United States Employment Services.

Alvin Rucker To Labor Post In Puerto Rico

37c(1)

WASHINGTON — Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach last Thursday appointed Alvin M. Rucker of Chicago to an $8,000 post as a territorial representative of the United States Labor Department in Puerto Rico.

ALVIN RUCKER

Mr. Rucker, first Negro to occupy such a post, thus becomes one of the highest paid Negroes in government, sharing this honor with Dr. Frank Horne of the National Housing Agency and Mrs. Thomasina W. Johnson of the United States Employment Services.

Born in St. Louis in 1904, Mr. Rucker received his bachelor's degree from the University of Illinois in 1929 and has done graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Chicago and the graduate school of the Department of Agriculture. He attended the University of Pennsylvania through a National Urban League scholarship.

In 1932 he was made first vocational adviser and then office manager for the Chicago Relief Administration and later became assistant manager for the Illinois State Employment Service.

He came to Washington in 1940 as an employe of the Social Security Board and in 1943 was sent to Puerto Rico by the Labor Department to organize the United States Employment Services there. While there he set up plans of operation of the USES offices and selected its personnel. Returning to Washington he took a position in the Standards and Methods Division of the USES, a post he held until given his new position.

Mr. Rucker will not leave immediately for Puerto Rico but will spend some time in Washington getting better acquainted with Labor Department chiefs with whom he now will be working, the department said.

Sat. 1-11-47

ALVIN M. RUCKER of Chicago, Ill., who has just been appointed Territorial Representative of the United States Labor Department in Puerto Rico. The position pays $8,000 per year. Until his appointment, all men who held such a position were white.

Afro-Am. 37c(1)
Baltimore, Md. Fed.

Sat-1-11-47

37c(1) 1947 Federal (Virgin Islands)

Truman Appoints District Attorney For Virgin Islands

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 6-28-47

37c(1) Fed.

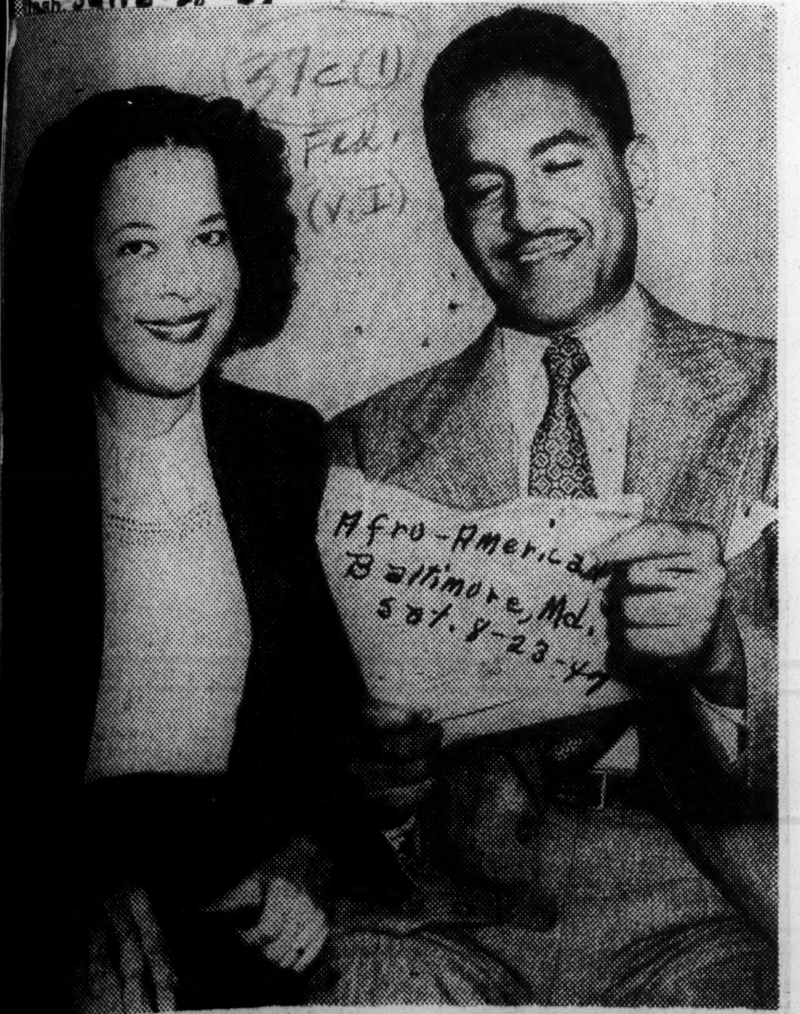
(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON — President Truman last Monday appointed Francisco Cornerio district attorney for the District Court of the Virgin Islands. Cornerio is a graduate of the law school of Howard University. 37c(1) Sat. 6-28-47

Mr. Cornerio was recommended for the post by Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands. His appointment is subject to confirmation by the U. S. Senate.

A graduate of Howard Law School in 1943, Mr. Cornerio took the Master of Law degree from Harvard University in 1944. He was later employed by the Interior Department and he worked in the Washington office of the Virgin Islands Company.

Meanwhile, the Senate appropriions committee ,approved the rgin Islands budget with a 5 cent cut while the entire Inter- Department took a much deep-lash. Sat. 6-28-47



37c(1) Fed. (V.I.)

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 8-23-47

G D.A.—Francisco Corneiro, 27, of Washington, shown above his wife, was sworn in as U.S. District Attorney for the Virgin ds in the presence of Gov. William H. Hastie, last Wednesday, at Amalie, St. Thomas, V.I.

37c(1) 1947

Foreign Service Officer

Appointment of Fisk Professor as Attache in Haiti Approved

(37c(1))

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—President Truman has approved appointment by the State Department of Giles A. Hubert, professor of economics at Fisk University since [illegible]4, to be a foreign service office, grade 4.

Mr. Hubert will be assigned to the United States Embassy at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, as agricultural attache. He will assume his new duties about Feb. 1.

A graduate of the University of Iowa, Mr. Hubert has done advance study at the University of Minnesota and Copenhagen, Denmark. While teaching at Fisk, he also served with the Farm Security Administration. Jan. 18, 1947

Familiar With Caribbean

Professor Hubert has traveled widely in Europe, the Soviet Union and more recently in Caribbean countries, studying the economic problems of agriculture in those areas, particularly in Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

He is the author of several papers published in professional journals, among which are two widely read articles on economic problems in the Caribbean, "A Framework for the Study of Peripheral Economic Areas" and "War and the Trade Orientation of Haiti."

GILES A. HUBERT

Woman Lawyer Gets State's Atty's. Post

The Bee

37c(1) 222

Chicago Ill.

Atty. Edith Sampson became the second Negro woman in Chicago to receive apointment as assistant state's attorney this week. The first was the late Atty. Violet Anderson, who was appointed to that post in 1922.

Mrs. Sampson, wife of Atty. Joseph Clayton, renowned criminal lawyer, was formerly a juvenile probation officer. She enjoys the distinction of being the first woman to receive the degree of mastre of law from Loyola university. Sun. 5-11-47

She is chairman of the executive committee of the National Council of Negro Women.

A. W. Williams Appointed To Civil Service Board

Chicago, Ill. Defender

37c(1)

Sat. 7-5-47

Acting on his campaign promise to name outstanding citizens to all city posts regardless of politics, Mayor Martin H. Kennelly this week appointed A. W. Williams, President and General Manager of Unity Mutual Insurance Company, to Chicago's Civil Service Commission.

Announcement of the appointment to the city council Wednesday was greeted by Ald. Archibald J. Carey (3rd) as one of the best selections made by the new mayor for his public appointn.ents.

"Mr. Williams is not a resident of my ward," Carey said, "but he is an outstanding business man, civic leader who has given generously of his time to public causes. As a representative of the community from which he comes, Mr. Mayor, I salute you upon this ex- appointment."

Williams' appointment was hailed by civic leaders as marking a new era in Chicago's merit system. Well known for his community leadership and executive competence, Williams' appointment emphasizes above all qualifications for the job.

Resident of Sixth

Williams who resides at 6218 Vernon ave., is a resident of the sixth ward, and is a Republican. Born in Augusta, Ga., in 1900, he was educated in the public schools of Philadelphia and the Wharton School of Commerce.

He is a member of St. Thomas Episcopal church, and a regular contributor to a number of South Side community projects. He is chairman of the board of directors of the Wabash Avenue YMCA, a member of the board of the South Central association, and during the war was commander of the Washington Park district of the office of civilian defense, which was the largest district in the city.

He headed the eight war loan drives, served as chairman of the war housing center, and as a director of the war price and rationing board No. 2. Sat. 7-5-47

Williams came to the Unity Mutual company in the 1930s when it was about to fail, ·nd successfully brought it through the depression to build it into a $15,000,000 business which he now heads as president. He is married and the father of two daughters.

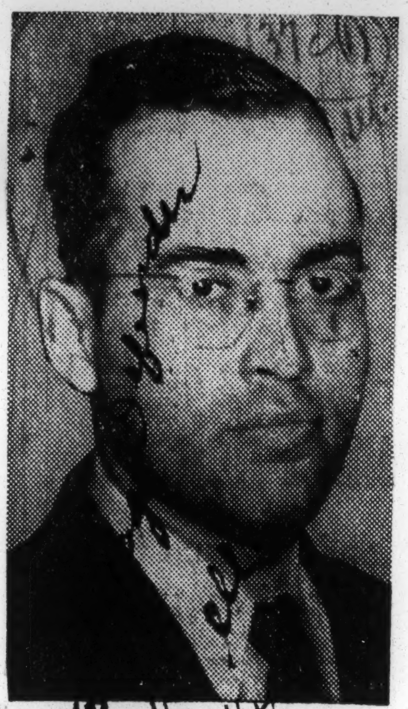
When Williams takes over the duties of his new job, he will be well acquainted with operation of the merit system because merit has brought him up in a practical rise from the bottom to top of his profession.

BIBB REAPPOINTED

Mayor Kennelly this week announced the reappointment of Joseph D. Bibb, prominent attorney and newspaper columnist, to serve on the board of the Chicago Public Library. The appointment was reported to the city council in the meeting on Wednesday and referred to committee in accordance with usual council procedure.

Bibb has served on the library board for several terms, and has initiated many of the progressive programs introduced by the library service during hi period of service. He was largely responsible for the building of the Hall branch library at 48th and Michigan avenue.

Sat. 7-5-47



10-4-47

ATTY. TRUMAN K. GIBSON, prominent Chicago lawyer, was recently appointed to Mayor Martin H. Kennelly's slum clearance commission for a three-year term. Gibson was recently a member of President Truman's Universal Military Training commission.

37c(1) 1947

Indiana

Appoints New Lake County Prosecutor

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

EAST CHICAGO—William Henry Walker, 3622 Butternut st., who was permitted to practice law in the state of Indiana and sworn in only last Thursday at Indianapolis, Sat. 10-11-47 was appointed Tuesday as deputy prosecuting attorney for Lake County. He will be attached to the office of Charles Kozkowski, who heads the department.

Atty. Walker

Atty. Walker was sworn in by County Clerk Walter Mybeck at which time he received instructions as to his new duties.

37c(1) 1947

10-Man Board of Foreign Scholarships (Fullbright Act)

The Black Dispatch

Name Fisk Head To Scholarship Board

Oklahoma City, Okla.

37c(1)

Sat-8-24.

WASHINGTON.—(ANP) — Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk university, was one of the persons appointed by President Truman last week to serve on a 10-man board of foreign scholarships to select American students for study abroad under the Fullbright act. Sat - 8-2-47

The board, which will have general supervision of the educational exchange program authorized by the act, is made up of the following leaders chosen from fields of cultural, educational student and war veteran activities; Gen. Omar N. Bradley, administrator of veterans' affairs; John W. Studebaker, commissioner, U. S. Office of Education; Francis Spaulding, New York commissioner of education; Helen C. White, professor of English, University of Wisconsin; Laurence Duggan, director, Institute of International Education; Sarah Blanding, president, Vassar college; Walter Johnson, professor of history, University of Chicago; Martin P. McGuire, dean of the graduate school, Catholic University of America; and Dr. Johnson.

37c(1) 1947

Md. (State Department of Education)

37c(1)

AN EDUCATIONAL 'FIRST':

Afro-American

Md. Principal Made Assistant Supervisor

Baltimore Md.

BALTIMORE

Maryland has named a colored member to its State Department of Education for the first time.

He is George M. Crawford former principal of the Robert Moton High School at Westminster, Md., who will assume the duties of assistant supervisor of curriculum on Oct 1.

The AFRO suggested editorially, two weeks ago, that such an appointment be made. Sat.

Ex-Carroll County Educator

According to Mr. Thomas G. Pullen, State Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Crawford will assume his post after a "successful teaching career" in Carroll County, where he has been a leading figure in both educational and civic activities. 10-4-47

He was born in Somerset County, Md., in 1907, and attended the schools there, graduating from both the high and normal school courses at the old Bowie Normal School, now Maryland State Teachers College. 10-4-47

Following three years of teaching in the elementary grades at Westminster, he entered Morgan State College in the fall of 1929, from which he was later graduated with his bachelor's degree, majoring in science and English.

Progressive Training, Experience

Mr. Crawford attended Hampton Institute and Temple University receiving his master's degree from the latter in 1939.

His training and experience covers both the elementary and secondary field, and includes special work in elementary curriculum at Temple.

He also attended and took an active part in the series of summer work shops conducted by the State Department of Education at Bowie for the past three years.

For two years he has been co-leader of child study groups in Carroll County. 10-4-47

Active in Civic Circles

Mr. Crawford is a member of the Maryland Education Association, the American Education Association, and the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

He also holds membership in the NAACP, Westminster Methodist Church, where he has been Sunday school superintendent for some years, and the District Committee of the Boy Scouts. Sat.

For several years he has been co-chairman of the Westminster Interracial Fellowship, and for the past two summers, supervisor of recreation for colored youth in Westminster.

He is married and has a three-year-old son.

37c(1) 1947 Missouri

Assistant Prosecutor Sworn into Office in Mo.

Afro-American 1-18-47

KANSAS VITY, Mo. (ANP)—Jackson County, on Jan. 1, swore in its first colored assistant prosecutor in 22 years, when James H. Herberts, 49, took the oath of office as assistant to James G. Kimbrell, newly-elected prosecutor. In 1925 Duane B. Mason served as assistant under Forest Hanna, a Republican, for two years. Baltimore, Md. 1-18-47 [illegible]

37c(1) 1947

New Jersey

ON PROSECUTOR'S STAFF

The Times

Negro Clergyman of Plainfield Joins Union County Office

New York N.Y.

37c(1)

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ELIZABETH, N. J., Jan. 4—Probationary appointment of the Rev. John S. Tate of Plainfield, a Negro Baptist clergyman, and Louis J. Martel of Garwood, a former investigator for the New York Milk Control Board, as special investigators for his staff was announced today by Union County Prosecutor Edward Cohn. The nominations are for three months at the rate of $2,500 a year.

The prosecutor's staff still is short one detective as a result of the ouster of Roy A. Martin by Attorney General Walter D. Van Riper and former Prosecutor Donald H. McLean. Sun. 1-5-47

Mr. Tate is a graduate of Northern Theological Seminary, Baltimore, and was ordained as a Baptist minister in 1922. He has a wide acquaintance among Negro residents of the county.

Mr. Martel, a veteran, has had considerable experience in testifying in major criminal litigations. He is secretary of the Board of Tax Assessors in Garwood.

Woman Holds High Post With Housing Authority

37c(1) N.Y.

Defender

Chicago Ill

NEWARK—(ANP)— Alene Simkins holds the unique position of "Supervisor of Leasing and Occupancy, with the housing authority of her city where she is the only Negro in an administrative capacity. Sat. 10-4-47

A native of Edgefield, S. C., the executive is a product of Scotia seminary, Bishop Tuttle School of Social Work, Rutgers and New York University. Her specialization in the field of housing was carried on in the latter two institutions.

Miss Simkins had excellent experience in various allied fields for her assignment. She taught school in Greensboro, N. C., and Columbia, S. C. Her casework experience was acquired while on the staffs of the Women's Prison Association in cooperation with the New York Urban League, New Jersey Urban League, Church Mission of the Help of the Episcopal Diocese of New York and as casework consultant to the judge of the juvenile court, Essex county, New Jersey.

One of the heads of four departments, she has under her direct supervision what she termed a "United Nations in miniature" since the employes are of Italian, Irish, Jewish and Polish extraction.

In private life Alene Simkins is the wife of Harold A. Lett, chief assistant in the State Division of Discrimination, board of education in Newark, a well known former Urban League administrator.

37c (1) 1947

New York

Miss Dublin Welcomes Chance to Aid Others

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.

37c(1)

MISS CAROLYN J. DUBLIN

By RICHARD DIER

NEW YORK—Miss Carolyn J. Dublin, recently made a probation officer in the King's County Court, here, told the AFRO-AMERICAN, this week, that she is happy about the appointment she has long looked forward to.

The post will give her an official opportunity to continue in work which has long been a volunteer hobby with her.

Miss Dublin's previous work for the Brooklyn Urban League had taken her to the children's and adolescents' courts, and she is familiar with the processes involved in probation work. She is easy to talk to, and has a way, all her own, of understanding adults and youngsters. Nevertheless, the ease with which she can be approached does not mean she can't be firm when firmness is required, a fact which all probation seekers will soon find out.

To Investigate

"I will do investigating work on people coming up before the judges," she said this week. "We don't want to have repeaters, if possible. I will be given both white and colored cases in the adolescent group. These include criminal cases, too. And, a number of cases from the Youth Courts, ages 17 and over."

Those on probation will regularly report to her. Her work includes field investigation, too. The appointment is for an indefinite period and carries an annual salary of $3,000.

"I am fond of this work. This is my field," she told this reporter. Sat. 2-15-47

Surprised at Attention

Miss Dublin was chosen from a long and impressive list of applicants. On the day she was to be sworn in by County Judge Carmine J. Manasco, she thought the affair was going to be short and sweet. She was surprised to find the press and a battery of photographers present. Even the judge was surprised, and nobody knew how the newspapers were notified of the event.

"I thought I was going to sneak into the Court without a bit of notoriety," she laughed, "but it just wasn't so."

Miss Dublin resides with her sister, Mabel D. Gantt, a public school teacher, at 266 Decatur Street, Brooklyn, in a home owned by the family for many years. Both were born in New York City and can trace their family history in New York for more than 100 years.

They have been faithful AFRO readers for many years.

Urban League Aided

Miss Dublin attributes most of her experience in the field to her work for the Urban League, during which she helped youthful offenders in the 79th Police Precinct. Her name is well known to police, who know and respect her. Since her appointment, she has received batches of congratulatory letters and wires from friends and well-wishers.

While associated with the Urban League, Miss Dublin was for a time, director of the Mothers' Club. Her preparation for social work was made at New York University and the New School for Social Research. Upon severing her connections with the Urban League in 1945, she served as social worker for the Little Flower House of Providence, Wading River, L. I., of which the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Raymond J. Campion is rector. Sat 2-15-47

Is Church Worker

At St. Peter Claver's Church in Brooklyn she was director of the Claverettes for the past 8 years. For five summers, she guided the destiny of Camp Claver for Girls.

Although Msgr. Campion had a contract with Miss Dublin that still had 6 months to run, he stated that he realizes that the County Judges have made a wise choice and approves heartily of it.

"Her wealth of experience and fine character will aid immeasurably the splendid work of the County Court," he declared.

SOCIOLOGIST APPOINTED TO NYC YOUTH BUREAU

37c(1)

NEW YORK, (ANP)—George Gregory Jr., a sociologist, was one of the four appointees named by Mayor O'Dwyer to the Youth Bureau. He will work on a survey of work by private and public agencies active in welfare.

U.S. Judge Says Success Requires Only A Job Done Without Fanfare

Chicago, Ill. Defender

37c(1)

Sat. 5-17-47

By LILLIAN SCOTT

NEW YORK—The experience in the past year and a half of Judge Irvin C. Mollison of the U. S. Customs Court, only Negro federal judge within the continental U. S., is added proof that Negro appointees will be accepted.

Judge Mollison recently returned to New York from his third circuit which took him to Washington, Oregon and California. Neither on the trip, nor in New York has anyone mentioned his race. To his colleagues, lawyers and court workers he's just an American judge.

Judge Mollison is a personable, keen-witted jurist who goes to the heart of a question on the bench or off.

In his chambers on the twelfth floor of the Customs Court building in lower Manhattan, he leaned back in a high-backed, blue-green leather-covered chair as he told the Chicago Defender:

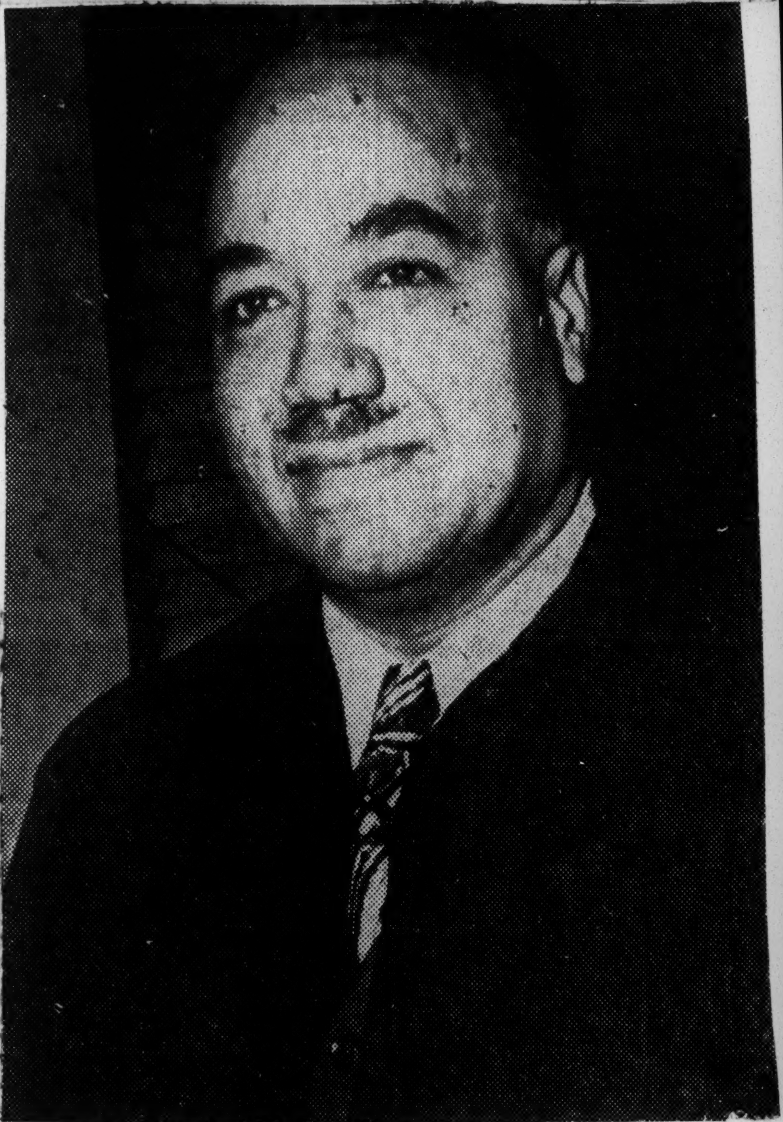
Recommends Modesty

"I've had the feeling that if a person who happens to be colored goes about his business in the same way as other judges without publicity, and without causing a stir or being emotional; the result and impression obtained will be much better for everyone and especially the colored group. It is desirable to prove," the Judge continued in Midwestern accents, "that colored citizens are American citizens who have capabilities which can be utilized by the federal government and other governments. It is wise and sensible for those people to perform their duties in a quiet and unostentatious way."

Judge Mollison firmly believes, "Fears of adverse reaction to such appointments will be lessened or removed if official duties are performed without fanfare."

Native Mississippian

Forty-nine-year-old Irvin Mollison came well-qualified to the federal judiciary. Born in Vicksburg, Miss., he went to school in Chicago where he graduated from the University of Chicago as a Phi Beta Kappa man. Three years later he received the degree of Doctor of Law and was admitted to the Illinois state bar. He practiced chancery law in Chicago and became known as an authority on restrictive covenants, civil rights and extradiction cases before his appointment by President Truman in 1945.



His father, Willis E. Mollison, was one of the few Negroes ever to hold elective office in Mississippi; while the grandfather of his wife, Mrs. Alice Mollison, Jefferson Long, was once Congressman from Georgia. Sat. 5-17-47

The Customs Court is composed of nine judges, who are organized into three divisions of three judges each. Its headquarters is at the port of New York where approximately 60 percent of the nation's import business is handled. Each judge hears reappraisement and classification cases arising under the Tariff Act of 1930, in which the U. S. government is the defendant.

The Tariff Act mentions between four and five thousand different items of merchandise and in the course of time, a customs court judge hears about a good many of them. Judge Mollison says, "The amount of information you gain is enormous. You never dreamed of so many things—there's an infinite variety of them."

Chicago Defender

Hears $4,000,000 Case

At Seattle, Portland, and Los Angeles, Judge Mollison heard the Dogfish Liver Oil Case which arose when the U. S. charged a duty on processed dogfish oil imported from Canada, and claimed it an advanced drug. The case involved $4,000,000 in duties on the vitamin containing oil. Importers sought to prove it a crude drug on which no duties are levied. Final decision is still pending.

Among other important cases

Judge Mollison heard on the West Coast were two which hinged on whether special taxes levied in foreign countries were a part of the foreign value of imported merchandise. He also heard cases in California in which the principals were Paramount Pictures, Inc., and Loew's Inc., better known as the holding company of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer films. Sat. 5-13-47

Learns Odd Terms

During this last circuit, too, the Judge learned about water chestnuts, ajinomoto, a drugget and technicolor film. To screen fans the last may be familiar, but scarcely anyone knows that ajinomoto is monosodium glutanate or a special salt for flavoring; or that a drugget is a rug.

In San Francisco he heard the case of the Mutual Supply Co. vs. the U. S. which involved the fancy-named salt discovered by two Chinese chemists who found that if sprinkled on food it gave a meat tang. The importer contended it was a flavoring in order to pay less duty; while the government held that it was just a chemical compound — therefore duty more. Judge Mollison hasn't decided yet.

Recalls Cattle Case

The judge sighs that the case of the Green Cattle Company vs. the U. S. received much more publicity than it deserved. A representative of one of the litigants knew the editor of the Nogales, Ariz., newspaper.

Sometime ago a cattle shipment was received during a dry spell. During a delay, it rained and the cattle absorbed water and picked up mud. Then, said Judge Mollison, "the weight increased. According to the importer water and mud are not merchandise and objected to paying a higher duty." The government finally admitted the point; but the case has not yet been finally decided.

Cattle, liver oil, drugs, grain are not spectacular items but the quiet performance of a Negro federal judge hearing cases involving them is an exciting facet in the Negro American's struggle to prove his capabilities in this democratic U.S.A.

Dewey Names Mrs. Roberts To State Unit

37c(1) N.Y.

World Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 12-23-47

Albany, N. Y.—Governor Dewey Tuesday appointed Mrs. Ruth Logan Roberts, of New York City, as a Member-At-Large of the New York State Board of Social Welfare. Mrs. Roberts succeeds Arnold T. Hill, of New York City, who retired recently after he had served on the Board for the statutory limit of ten years. Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Roberts' term runs until July 1, 1950.

37c(1) N.Y.

Mrs. Roberts is a member of the Executive Committee of the New York State Tuberculosis and Health Association and Chairman of the Harlem Division of that Association. She is also Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. Daily World

Mrs. Roberts resides at 130 West 130th Street, New York City.

. . . AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

Tom Clark 'Would Back' Qualified Negro For New York Bench Vacancy

37c(1) N.Y.

Defender, Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 10-25-47.

EXCLUSIVE

NEW YORK—The possibility of a second Negro federal judgeship within the continental U. S. loomed again last week as Atty. Gen. Tom Clark told the Defender exclusively that he would be "glad" to support "a properly qualified" Negro for a federal judgeship.

The attorney general was asked his position following announcement three days earlier of Justice Francis Caffey's resignation from the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York, creating the second opening on a New York federal bench within a year.

Glad To Help

The attorney general said, "I'm hopeful that one (a Negro) comes up properly qualified. And I'll be glad to give him all my support."

Last February, speculation was rife about possible appointment of a Negro to fill the late Justice Samuel Mandelbaum's place on the federal bench. Defender.

At that time, Frank Sampson, leader of Mayor O'Dwyer's Democratic forces who successfully took over Tammany Hall, pushed the candidacy of City Judge Vernon C. Riddick, a youthful magistrate with a brilliant war record. Reports were conflicting about State Democratic Committeeman Edward J. Flynn's position on the judgeship then. However, it was believed that he supported Riddick. However in March, President Truman appointed Columbia Law Professor Harold Medina to the vacancy.

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 10-25-47

Negroes Hesitant

It is believed here now that local forces who supported the proposal of a Negro as federal district judge are reluctant to broach the matter again as they believe powers within the administration scotched the first appointment. Several unofficial political sources were obviously surprised to hear of Attorney General Clark's most recently expressed viewpoint.

Before a successor to Justice Caffey can be named, each county leader must submit his choice to Flynn and State Democratic Chairman Edward Fitzpatrick. As county leader of the area including most Negroes, Sampson would be the most likely to submit a Negro's name. However, an informant in his office held it unlikely that he would take the charge of reopening the touchy issue. The President has reportedly been favorable to such a move.

The only Negro now a federal judge within the continental U. S. is Judge Irvin C. Mollison of the U. S. Customs Court, who was appointed two years ago, Judge Herman Moore has long been a federal judge in the Virgin Islands.

37c(1) 1947

New York

Mavor's Harlem Choice: J. Raymond Jones

37c(1) N.Y.

By Amos Landman

PM New York, N.Y.

On the record, J. Raymond Jones is Deputy Commissioner of Housing and Buildings, a $6500 job which heretofore has created no particular stir in municipal circles.

Behind the title, however, is the man whom Mayor O'Dwyer has designated as his personal secretary, cabinet member, and representative on matters pertaining to Harlem and to the city's Negro population of nearly 500,000. Thurs. 1-30-47

Former redcap, merchant seaman, real estate salesman, and ice dealer, Jones owes his appointment and the Mayor's complete confidence in him to an 18-month-long personal association with O'Dwyer, rather than to his position as a Tammany Assembly District leader. He is the Harlem leader upon whom the Mayor relies most.

Jones got to know the Mayor through John M. Murtagh, an associate of O'Dwyer in the Army, and his present Commissioner of Investigation. The Housing Department has been under the scrutiny of Murtagh for some time, and in some quarters it is said that this probe resulted in part from information turned up by Jones.

Deeply conscious of the problems confronting his people, Jones, the first Negro appointed by O'Dwyer to high office in a city department, believes in working with any group seeking to improve the conditions of the Negro people. For example:

¶ He collaborated with the Urban League in a campaign to have a Negro appointed to the Board of Education. "We're going to get one, too," he says.

¶ He got Tammany to give a nomination for the City Council in 1945 to Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist, on the theory that there should be a Negro in the Council and Davis had the best chance of success. Public pressure caused Tammany to withdraw the nomination. Davis won anyway.

¶ He is collaborating with City Court Judge Francis E. Rivers, a Republican, on an educational problem concerning Harlem.

¶ He has worked with groups of all political hues on housing in Harlem. 1-30-47

All of which is irregular behavior for a regular Democratic district leader, but according to Jones, it is just part of his job.

"I figure that a political organization has to be interested in civic affairs," he told PM. "It must concern itself with the problems of the people. It has to understand these problems and take a constructive approach toward solving them.

"That is the least we can do if we go around and ask a man for his vote." Thurs. 1-30-47

Jones is associated with the forces of Frank J. Sampson, who are now trying, with Mayor O'Dwyer's assistance, to unseat Clarence Neal and Bert Stand, and the forces they represent, from control of Tammany Hall. PM

Before appointment to his present job, Jones was chief investigator for Borough President Hugo E. Rogers, an exempt job of which he could be relieved without recourse. Rogers' membership in the club of James Pemberton, leading Neal-Stand leader in Harlem, did not affect Jones' support of Sampson. New York, N.Y.

Jones says he hopes to use his position to clean up tenement conditions, particularly in Harlem.

Baltimore, Md.

Afro-American

HONORED — Dr. Charles R. Drew, head of the Department of Surgery at Howard University and medical director at Freedmen's Hospital, this week, was awarded the honorary degree of doctor of science by Amherst College. Dr. Drew was graduated from Amherst in 1926. Sat. 6-28-47

Francis A. Turner Named for $8,400 School Post

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 6-28-47

Harlemite Nominated to Direct Community Education for New York City School System

NEW YORK—Francis A. Turner of 400 Convent Ave., has been nominated by John E. Wade, superintendent of Schools, to the new $8400-a-year position of assistant director of community education in New York City.

If his nomination is approved by the Board of Education this week Mr. Turner will be in charge of school-community relations for all levels of the school system, working with parent associations, neighborhood houses and other community agencies.

A member of the city school staff since 1919, he has since 1943 been working with a similar project in the junior high school division where he holds the rank of first assistant, with a salary of $6588 annually. Sat. 6-28-47

Got Veteran Preference

Mr. Turner attained a score of 74.3 on the examination for the post to which he has been nominated, ranking second to Hyman Sorokoff who stood first with a score of 75.1.

However, Mr. Turner's status as a veteran of World War I gave him precedence over Mr. Sorokoff on the eligible list. Sat. 6-28-47

A native New Yorker, he is 49 years old and was educated in local public schools, City College and at New York University where he earned the M.A. degree. His wife teaches at Junior H.S. 164 Manhattan. They have one son, 7.

Ray Jones, Top Aide To Mayor Of New York, Gains Wide Power

37c(1) Chicago Defender

By LILLIAN SCOTT
(Defender New York Bureau)

NEW YORK—Although he firmly disavows the title of "political boss" of Harlem, 48-year-old Raymond Jones, recently appointed to the $7,500 post of Deputy Housing Commissioner, is fast becoming the most influential Negro in the powerful New York Democratic Party Machine.

Mayor O'Dwyer found Ray Jones an able ally in his campaign to streamline Tammany Hall and the mayor has publicly acknowledged that he regards the new deputy housing commissioner as his "personal pipeline" to Harlem.

SAT.

Able Politician

No novice to Harlem politics, Ray Jones is head of the Carver Democratic Club and leader of the 13th Assembly District which includes thousands of whites as well as Negroes. He is credited with engineering the successful candidacy of Atty. Harold Stevens, a prominent Catholic layman, for the state legislature in the last election despite stiff opposition.

Commissioner Jones believes strongly in Negro participation in government at all levels and his fight on behalf of colored appointees to important posts is noteworthy.

As he puts it himself, Ray Jones came up in the 'school of hard knocks," and that's not just a phrase in his life. He was born in St. Thomas, the Virgin Islands in 1899—his speech still has a faint trace of an islands accent—and before he was 16 had already shipped out once to Germany. When he was 16, he ran away from home and stowed away to Puerto Rico where his well-to-do grandfather took him in.

"That was the most miserable ride I ever had," he recalled wryly. "Did you ever try to sleep on anchor chains — the links as big around as your wrist? I was coiled up in the locker smelling the bilge. The trip is supposed to take just a few hours, but I was in the bilge for 16 hours. The first thing my grandfather said was to 'take a bath, you stink'," laughed Mr. Jones. "I did, too!"

2-8-47

Looks Belie Age

The district leader is a handsome man with a black mustache and mixed gray hair whose looks belie his years. He talks with clipped, aggressive speech but underlying it is a languid suavity. He was married in New York first in 1918 and had two children by that wife: Raymond, 27, and Dorothy, 22. He was divorced from the first Mrs. Jones in 1934 and in 1936 married his present wife, the former Ruth Holloway who is now an auditor in the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

After his trip to Puerto Rico as a youth, he shipped out on a German line and was aboard when the U. S. declared war on Germany. A contingent of Marines took the crew off and he was interned for 24 hours until he proved his U. S. citizenship. Then he says: "I shipped on an Argentine transport and made a trip around the horn to Chile and back, then to Brazil and the Azores, and then journey's end —I came to New York." Within three months of his arrival in Manhattan, he was married.

Iceman To Docks

When asked what he worked at meanwhile, he answered, "I was doing everything. Write your own ticket! Everything rough — longshoreman, then for a while, in the rolling mills at Stamford, a red cap, then I started an ice business." Before the last development a friend got him a job as a Pullman porter in 1918 and he went with a troop transport train from New York to Jacksonville en route to San Diego. On the way out as he was "fresh out of the West Indies and South America and not being accustomed to the traditions of the South" he had an altercation with some Southern soldiers. He was protected by Northerners on the train but was taken off at Yuma, and thrown into jail until the sheriff could decide what to do with him. But before the sheriff knew what was happening, Jones had hopped a train with the 10th Infantry and gone to Los Angeles. Meanwhile, Uncle Sam was looking for him for induction, but by the time he got back to New York to report, the war was over. 2-8-47

In the twenties he built up a nice ice business with a partner, also named Jones, and fought an ice war against racketeers. In 1930 he organized the Afro-American Ice Dealers and was president. After frigidaires knocked the ice business out, he sold the business and "lived on the prophets." He had already started in politics in 1924 because at that time he was working with an old political party worker who interested him in it.

"In 1928 I came into this section then known as the 22nd Assembly District and a year later I started a movement against the leader of this district. Then it was one series of political fights after another from then on." During this time he held several city jobs.

"My personal political ambition was attained long ago," he answered to a question about his goals, "when I became leader. I only had two ambitions: one was to see Negro leaders all over Harlem, and one was to be one, too." He paused a moment and then said decisively, with a grin, "One ambition I have not got is to be a congressman or a councilman — let's make that definite!"

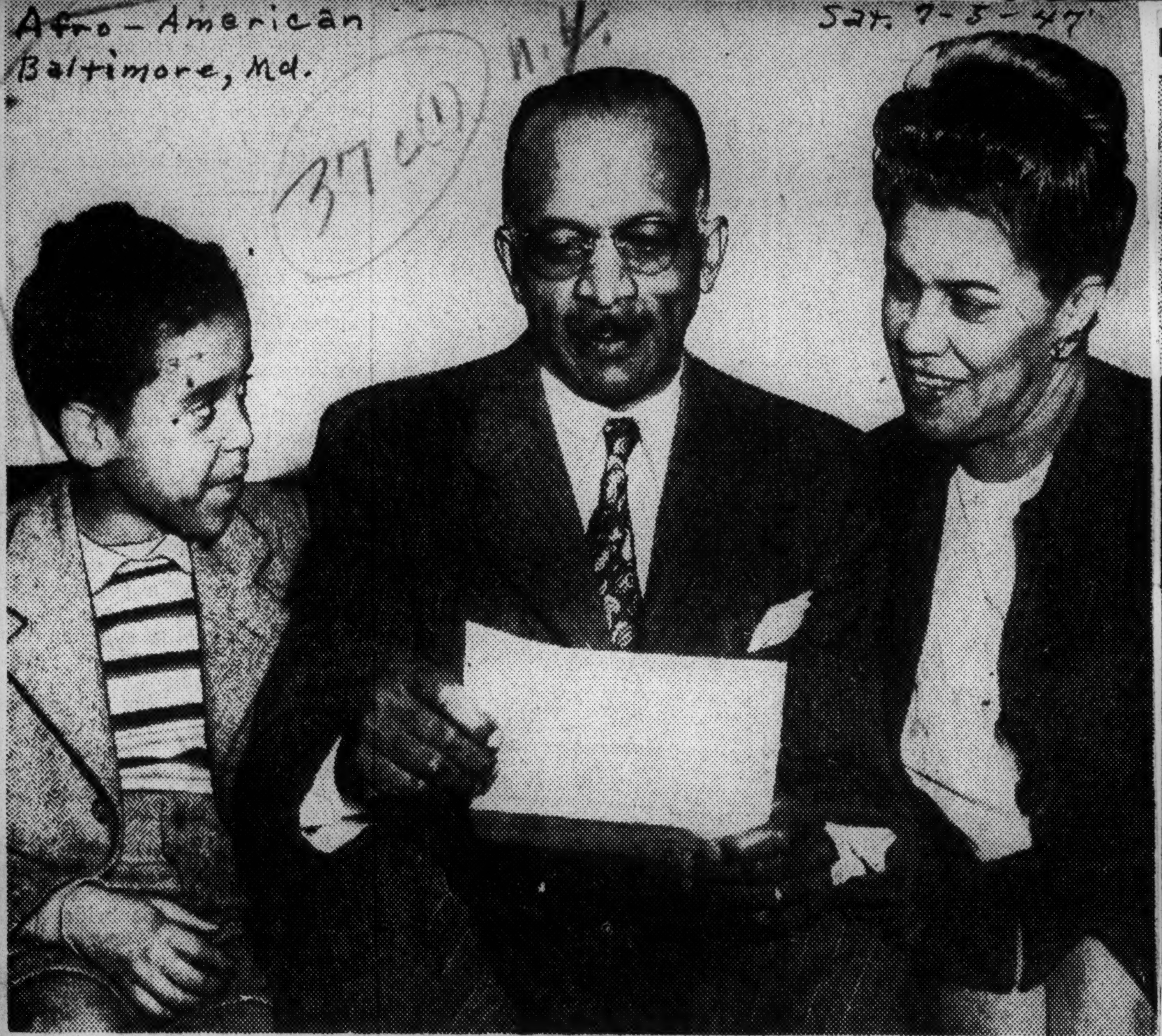
Asked what he liked about politics, he answered, "I like it because you can do things with it— you can help people with it. You meet people, get to know people. Politics is one means any minority group has to achieve its economic and social goals—and to use a hackneyed phrase—it's place in the sun." He says he could have been a Republican, of course, but chose the Democratic party because he believes it offers the working man more of the things he wants.

He corrected the report that his new job as deputy commissioner in the Department of Housing and Buildings only paid $6,100, actually his salary is $7,100. His attractive wife, whom he terms the "brains" of the family told us about his hobbies of woodworking and gardening. "He likes to work with his hands," she said with a smile. He calls her "bud," or "chum" and they both laugh at her vain attempt to join the Waves during the war which failed due to her poor eyesight which she tried to conceal by various subterfuges from the Navy doctors.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 7-5-47 N.Y.

37c(1)



GLAD TIDINGS—Francis A. Turner, 49, World War I veteran and a teacher in New York's City schools since 1919, reads of his appointment to the $8,500-a-year post of assistant director of community education in New York City. With him are his wife, Menta, and their son, Frankie, 6. They live at 400 Convent Ave., NYC. Sat. 7-5-47

NEW HOUSING DEPUTY

37c(1) N.Y.

Chicago Ill. Defender

J. TAYMOND JONES

District leader in the 13th Assembly District East, who was sworn in as New York's Deputy Commissioner of Housing and Buildings by Mayor William O'Dwyer in ceremonies at City Hall, New Year's Day. Jones, formerly chief investigator for the office of the Borough President of Manhattan will receive $6,500 a year in the new job.—Chick Solomon Photo. Sat. 1-18-47

New Deputy Housing Commissioner

Harlem Politician Gets Housing Post

NEW YORK — Raymond E. Jones, chief investigator for the Borough President of Manhattan and leading figure in Harlem politics, was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Housing and Buildings by Mayor O'Dwyer last Monday in a surprise announcement.

Sat. 1-11-42

The post carries an annual salary of $6,500. Jones succeeds Morris C. Comar, who resigned recently with Commissioner N. Thomas Saxl at the mayor's request. He will serve as chief assistant to the new commissioner, Robert F. Wagner Jr., son of the Senator from New York.

New Year's Ceremony

Official swearing in ceremonies were set for 2 p.m. on New Year's Day at City Hall. Jones is Harlem District leader in the 13th A.D. and an associate of Frank Sampson, opposition Tammany leader.

He lives with his wife, Ruth, at 415 W. 156th St., and they have two children, Ray Jr., 28, a World War II veteran, and Dorothy, 22, a student nurse at Bellevue Hospital.

Sat. 1-11-42

The new housing appointments came as a result of widespread dissatisfaction with the investigations in the tenement fire catastrophe which wiped out 37 lives on Dec. 12.

Negligence Blamed

The disaster was caused by the collapse of the 24-inch-thick wall of an abandoned ice-house on an occupied tenement building during a fire.

Some youngsters reportedly had gotten into the ice-house and set fire to it; and negligence was attributed to the housing commissioner in not seeing to it that the abandoned building was properly boarded up so that no one could get in.

Afro-Am.
Baltimore, Md.

37c(1) N.Y.

Sat. 1-11-47

Raymond Jones, former chief investigator in the office of the Borough President of Manhattan, New York, was sworn in on New Year's Day, by Mayor Bill O'Dwyer as Deputy Commissioner of Housing and Buildings in ceremonies at City Hall. Mr. Jones, a district leader of the 13th Assembly District, will receive $6,500 a year. Until his appointment all commissioners were white.

Named District Att'y Aide At $7,500 A Year

Defender
Chicago Ill.

NEW YORK — James Yeargin, ranking staff member at the downtown office, has become a full-fledged aid to the district attorney at a salary of $7,500 a year.

The new appointee has served as deputy assistant in the office of the district attorney since 1938. He was appointed to that post by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey. [illegible]

37c(1) 1947

Ohio

Began Career As Teacher; Versatile

37c (1) Ohio

World

Memphis, Tenn.

By JUANITA MORROW

CLEVELAND. — (ANP)—One of the women who worked hardest in her two campaigns for councilman on the Democratic ticket asked Jean Murrell Capers how she could be so calm about her appointment as assistant county prosecutor of Cleveland—the first time a Negro woman has been so honored in the city and, as far as is known, in the nation.

"I am excited," avers the 33-year-old attorney, sworn in last week to replace another young Negro, Atty. Theodore Williams, who resigned to resume private law practice. She's the only Negro woman practicing law in the city.

But the excitement of good looking young Atty. Capers isn't the kind that bubbles effervescently.

Sitting in her blue and white office, located in the heart of the Negro district, she expressed her deep appreciation of the honor bestowed through her on all the Negro women of the city by Mayor Thomas A. Burke. She sees the appointment as an opportunity for her in the criminal aspect of the law and as a chance to get at the source of the type of problem which is reported every day at her office. She will be interested in keeping as many cases as possible out of court. Fri. 1-3-47

Wearing a yellow pull over sweater with a simple black suit and sensible spectator pump Jean Capers reviewed a career which rather resembles a patchwork quilt.

NATIVE OF KENTUCKY

Born in Georgetown, Ky., on Jan. 11, 1913, her family moved to Cleveland in 1919 so that the children could have the advantage of better educational facilities.

This is not the first time that Atty. Capers has been a "first." After majoring in education at Western Reserve university, which she attended on a scholarship, she was the first Negro woman physical education instructor in the Cleveland public schools.

Five years of teaching ended with her first marriage at a time when married women weren't deemed fit educators. But by this time she had decided that teaching was not for her, that it did not afford an opportunity for personal achievement or for going to the roots of deep social problems which have always interested her.

TEACHING FOR ROUTINE

A humorous glint in her eyes, she reveals, "I saw teaching as a sort of routine profession which didn't suit my temperament at all. I couldn't see myself waiting 25 or 30 years for a principalship."

In fairly, quick succession, she worked for the treasury department, became the first Negro editorial assistant at the World Publishing company, was staff member of the Cleveland Call and Post and the Pittsburgh Courier.

This occupational hodge-podge was not leading anywhere, Mrs. Capers decided. Already she had discovered that the broad philosophy of the law, with its responsibilities to the people and to the state, fitted in with her interest in the Negro problem.

Bolstered by all these advantages, all she needed was a little reassurance. That assurance came from one of the city's civic leaders who told Mrs. Capers he felt she would do excellent work in the field. Almost immediately she began a gruelling schedule of attending law school three nights a week, leaving her little time for active participation in sports, her chief avocation. From 1935 until 1941, when she started law school, she "played lots of tennis" and had a good reputation on the basketball court. She's getting back into sports now as sponsor of both a basketball and bowling team.

She's assistant secretary of the Cleveland Bar association and a member of the national board of the National Negro congress.

Atty. Capers who with her husband of three and a half years live with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Everett E. Murrell, plans to study for her master's degree in law and eventually her doctorate and to specialize in labor law and taxation. 1-3-47

Talking to the slim, quietly determined young lawyer, you realize that she will continue to mark up "firsts."

Attorney Named To Rent Board

Chicago Defender

37c(1)

Ohio Governor Heeds NAACP Plea

Chicago Ill

COLUMBUS, Ohio — Following the recommendation from the local office of the NAACP that he place a qualified Negro on the Rent Advisory Board upon naming the board, Gov. Thomas J. Herbert last week included the name of H. Alfred Glascor, prominent local attorney, as a board member.

Other local residents named to the board are the Rev. Frederick Kirker, 148 Richards rd., wartime chaplain of Ohio's 37th Division; Paul McCarthy, president of Columbus Federation of Labor; the Rev. Augustine Winkler, in residence at St. Anthony's Hospital; Charles W. Bechtol, a director of the Columbus Real Estate Board; Rabbi Nathan Zelizer of Broad Street Temple; and Richard Addison, World War II veteran.

The board will make recommendations to the National Housing Expediter in Washington concerning area rental problems. The nominations are subject to the expediter's approval. Sat 2-22-47

Attorney Is Law Director For Akron, Ohio

World

Atlanta, Ga.

Tue 12-30-47

37c(1)

Young Lawyer Identified With Labor Movement

Tue 12-30-47

AKRON, Ohio — (ANP) — Attorney Luther Johnson last week became the first Negro to be appointed to a major political office in this city when Mayor Charles E. Slusser named him an assistant law director. Johnson, a Democrat, was appointed after consultations with Ray Bliss, county Republican chairman and other GOP leaders. Johnson will serve a two-year term.

The 38 year old attorney has practiced here for a number of years and has been actively identified with the labor movement. At one time, he was financial secretary of Goodyear Aircraft local 826 UAW-CIO. He is vice president of the NAACP, chairman of the board of trustees of the Akron Community Service Center, member of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Masons and Elks. Tue. 12-30-47

Johnson attended the University of Akron, Western Reserve university, and the Akron law school. At the latter institution, he was a class mate of Law Director Roy E. Browne and Ray Bliss. He and Browne were members of the university's debate team.

Johnson is married and the father of three children.

37c(1) 1947

Pennsylvania

Coleman Named Law Clerk in Pa.

Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

Appointee Is Honor Harvard Law Grad

Sat. 5-24-47

37c(1) Pa.

PHILADELPHIA

William T. Coleman Jr., 26, of 232 W. Earlham Tr., honor graduate of the Harvard Law School, was appointed, last week, as law clerk to Judge Herbert F. Goodrich of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

Coleman, the first colored law clerk appointed to serve with a judge in the State of Pennsylvania, is the son of William T. Coleman Sr., executive director of the Wissahickon Boys' Club.

Recommended by Harvard

Each year, Harvard recommends its top-ranking graduates, who are editors of the school's Law Review, to serve with judges throughout the country, who may or may not reject them.

As one of the Review's editors, Coleman was recommended, and was considered, Judge Goodrich said, solely on the basis of his scholastic record.

A graduate of the Germantown High School, Coleman earned his A.B. degree at the University of Pennsylvania, in 1941, with summa cum laude honors.

He was graduated magna cum laude from the Harvard Law School in October of last year, earning his LL.B. degree. At present, he is preparing his thesis for an S.J.D. degree from Harvard.

Three Years in Army

A veteran, he served three years in the United States Army, winding up his Armed Forces service at Godman Field, Ky.

He has a three-week-old son, William III. His wife is the former Miss Lovida Hardin of New Orleans.

Now serving his clerkship, Coleman plans to practice law rather than seek a position as an instructor. He is the first lawyer in his immediate family, the only other relative in that profession being cousin. Sat. 5-24-47

Millen 13th Race Judge In America

Courier

Pa.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 11-8-47

PHILADELPHIA — Herbert E. Millen was sworn in as a judge of Municipal Court last Friday noon at Room 676, City Hall, in a ceremony which has had no equal for an affair of this kind, in drama and in the size of the attendance.

It appeared that all of the pent-up ambitions for a Negro judge, which Negroes have harbored for years, was released in one torrent on the sixth floor of the City Hall. Upwards of 5,000 people milled about the entrance to 676 in a vain effort to get inside the packed courtroom to hear the ceremonies.

At least 1,000 people were jammed into the courtroom, which normally would accommodate only 350. It was necessary for a score of policemen to keep open the passageways on the west side of the sixth floor. 11-8-47

CONGRATULATE JUDGE

The thousands who could not get into the courtroom where the ceremony was taking place had to be content to fall in long lines and move slowly towards the courtroom after the ceremony was over, to personally congratulate Judge Millen, who was accompanied in the receiving line by his wife.

The ceremonies themselves were very brief. Mr. Millen was presented to President Judge John Boyle of the Municipal Court by Atty. Wallace Egan, councilman from the West Philadelphia District and a resident of Mr. Millen's Fifty-second Ward.

Egan's speech to the court was very short, and included the statement of Mr. Millen's authority to receive the oath of office. After his presentation, Judge Boyle administered the oath of office.

These ceremonies were witnessed by nearly every judge of the courts of Philadelphia, and most of the high dignitaries of the Republican party. City Chairman David W. Harris stood by Mr. Millen when the oath of office was being administered. 37c(1) Pa.

Judge Millen was director of public safety for six years, and distinguished himself in that position as an executive who could effectively command a police force of some 5,000 men and women. Previously, he had served as Special Deputy Attorney General in the Pinchot administration, and held a non-salaried position on the City Board of Assistance and was a member of the Mayor's City Housing Rent Commission. Courier

Judge Millen is a graduate of Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania Law School. He is a former Grand Master of the Masons for the State of Pennsylvania, and a member of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. He is married, but has no children. For years, he and his wife, Mrs. Carrie Millen, have been inseparable. She has been his constant companion in public and private life. Pittsburgh Pa.

NEGRO JUDGES

The appointment of Millen gives the Negroes of America thirteen judges throughout the Nation, as there were twelve judges in State and Federal courts prior to his appointment. Here are where these judges are located, and the courts they occupy: Sat. 11-8-47

FEDERAL

Irving C. Mollison, U. S. Customs Court, New York City; Herman E. Moore, of Chicago, U. S. District Court, Virgin Islands, U. S. A., and Armond W. Scott, Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

STATE

NEW YORK CITY—Charles E. Toney and James E. Watson, Municipal Court; Jane M. Bolin and Hubert T. Delany, Domestic Relations Court; Myles E. Paige, Special Sessions Court, and Francis E. Rivers, City Court.

CLEVELAND—Artee Fleming, Common Pleas Court.

CHICAGO—Wendell E. Green, Municipal Court.

LOS ANGELES—Edwin L. Jefferson, Municipal Court.

Judges Watson and Toney of the New York Municipal Court were first elected in 1931, and have been re-elected for ten-year terms.

Millen Sworn In as Philly Judge

37c(1) Pa. 11-8-47

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

PHILADELPHIA

More than 500 persons crowded into Room 676, City Hall, Friday to see Herbert E. Millen sworn in as Pennsylvania's first colored judge of a court of record.

The new Municipal Court judge was given a long ovation by the

JUDGE MILLEN

enthusiastic audience after he received the oath of office from President Judge John A. Boyle.

Then, after receiving congratulations from city officials and judges who stood nearby during the five-minute ceremony, Judge Millen stepped down from the flower-banked dais and with his wife at his side, shook hands with his well-wishers for almost an hour. 37c(1) Pa.

300 Stand Outside

Cards of admission had been issued for the ceremony, in anticipation of a large crowd, but so many admirers showed up so early that policemen guarding the courtroom door decided the best policy was to admit any one who could squeeze in.

At least 300 other persons who couldn't get in milled around outside the courtroom door. After the ceremony, they joined the handshaking line. Md.

Appointment of Judge Millen to the $12,000 a year position was announced two days earlier by Governor James Duff during a musical program at Convention Hall. Afro-American

Millen was endorsed by both the City Republican Committee and the Philadelphia Bar Association. He was obviously not prepared for the Governor's announcement and appeared visibly moved when called to the stage. Sat.

Grateful for Honor

After thanking the Governor for the high honor bestowed upon him, Millen added, with the dignity and poise that have characterized his 27 years as an outstanding attorney, that he viewed his elevation not as a singular honor for himself, but as a tribute to the progress of his race.

The vacancy on the Municipal Court bench was created early last month by the death of President Judge Charles L. Brown. Ironically, it was Judge Brown who reportedly stood in Millen's way when the attorney was a strong candidate for other vacancies on the bench.

Millen, 55, is president of an insurance company and one of the most respected attorneys in the city. He ran as judge six years ago and made an impressive showing. 11-8-47

Supported by Bar Group

He was a prominent candidate for a vacancy on the Municipal Court bench last year, but although he was endorsed by the Bar Association, failed to get the nod of Republican leaders.

He first held public office as a deputy attorney general under Governor Pinchot and later served as secretary of the City Board of Assistants, a non-salary position. At present, he is a member of the City Housing Rent Commission.

Former NAACP President

Active in fraternal and civic affairs, Millen is a former president of the Philadelphia Branch NAACP and a former deputy grand master of the Pennsylvania Masons.

A Pennsylvanian by birth, he was born in Lancaster County. He is a graduate of Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania Law School. He lives with his wife, Carrie; and a niece, Frances T. Whiting, at 5417 Vine St.

Millen Makes 1st Public Address in Judicial Role

37c(1) Pa.

Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

Tells Catholic Interracial Council Unity Between Races is Key to National Harmo

Sat. 11-15-47

PHILADELPHIA

In his first public address since his appointment to the Municipal Court bench, Judge Herbert E. Millen declared Monday that better interracial relations would lead to national harmony.

The jurist, who was sworn in Friday as Pennsylvania's first colored judge, told the Catholic Interracial Council of Philadelphia at a communion breakfast that until racial unity is achieved, America can't be a happy country.

Judge Millen, who is expected to sit on his first case next week, decried the hate and prejudice which is keeping the nation divided.

Given Long Ovation

More than 500 persons crowded into Room 676, City Hall, for the swearing in ceremonies.

The ceremony was scheduled for noon, but at least an hour before that the courtroom was packed. Rather than create ill-feeling, police guards on the door admitted anyone who could squeeze in a foot.

Wearing the robes of his new office, Judge Millen, former assistant director of public safety, did not enter the courtroom until 11:58 a.m. Afro-American

Commission Read at Noon

Accompanied by Federal and State judges and city officials, he received a big hand from his admirers when he appeared.

Promptly at noon, Judge Boyle started the ceremony. Reading of the Governor's commission by th court clerk and administering o the oath by Judge Boyle took ex actly five minutes.

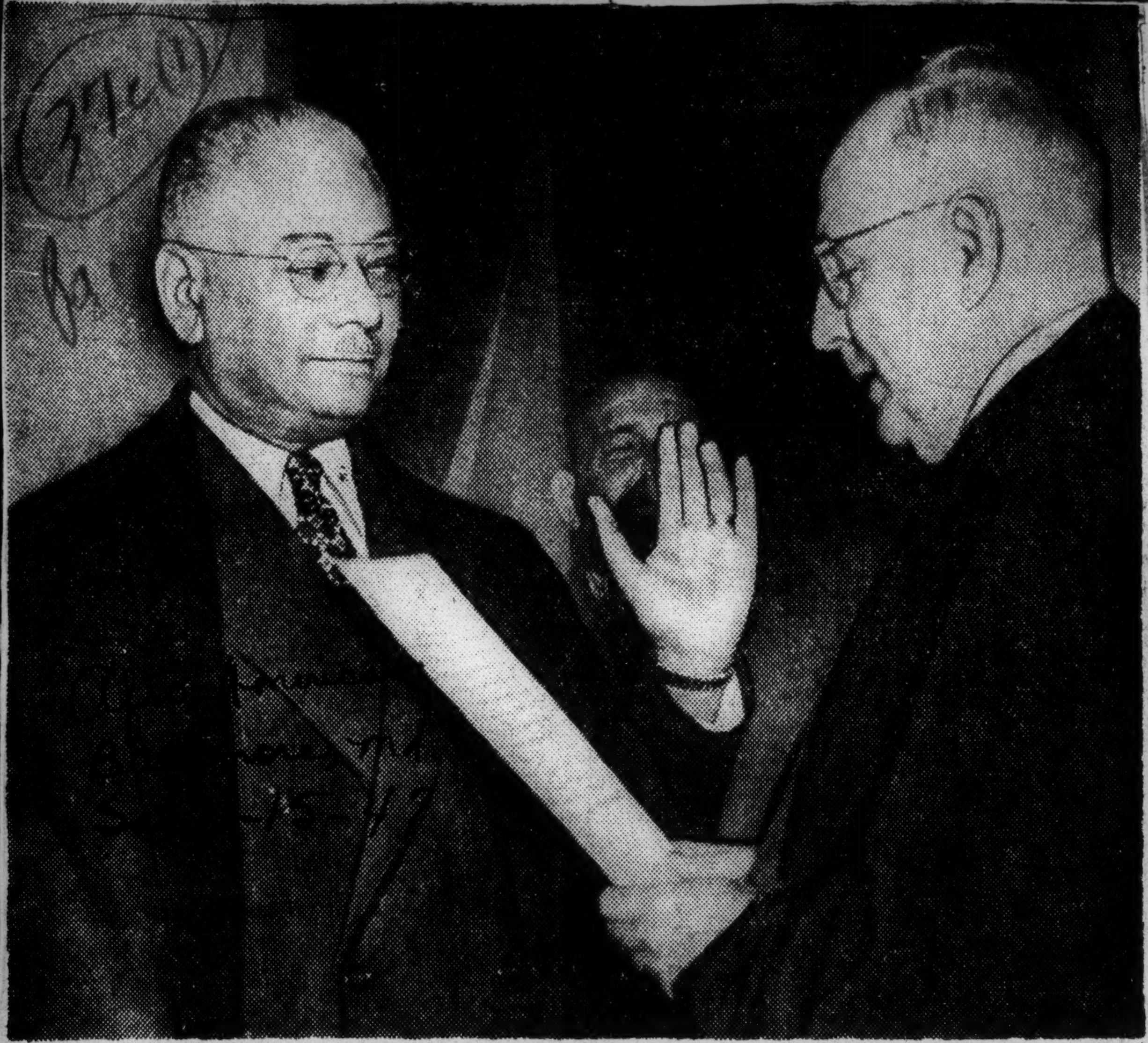
Hold Office Until 1950

Judge Millen's term will expir in January, 1950. Under the taci agreement of political leaders t support sitting judges, he wi hardly have to worry about elec tion. Baltimore, Md.

Appointment of Judge Millen to the $12,000 a year position was announced two days earlier

by Governor James Duff during musical program at Convention Hall.

A Pennsylvanian by birth, he was born in LancasterCounty. He is a graduate of Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania Law School. He lives with his wife, Carrie; and a niece, Frances T. Whiting, at 5417 Vine St.



37c(1)
Pa.

TAKING OATH—With the robe of his new office about his shoulders, Herbert E. Millen is sworn in as Municipal Court judge in Philadelphia by President Judge John A. Boyle. The ceremony was held in Room 676 of Philly's City Hall.

Sat. 11-15-47
37c(1)
Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

PROUD MOMENT—Happiest person in Room 676, City Hall at noon, Friday, was Mrs. Carrie Millen, left, who is shown here as she watched her husband being sworn in as Municipal Court judge. Her neice, Miss Frances Whiting, who lives with the Millens in W. Philly, keeps an anxious eye on Mrs. Millen fearful the strain of the last few days prove too much for her.

Meet the 'Woman Behind the Judge'

Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

By RUBY SMITH

37c(1) Pa.

PHILADELPHIA

In almost nine cases out of every ten, the great men who have reached a successful fulfillment of their ambitions have been chiefly motivated by a woman, and Herbert E. Millen, newly-appointed Municipal Court Judge, is no exception.

Mrs. Carrie Whiting Millen, political leaders notwithstanding, has always been the main person who encouraged her husband in his persistent plodding toward and arrival at his goal.

Law Her Choice

One might say that Mrs. Millen was almost morally obligated to see to it that her 'husband was a success, or it was she who was responsible for his selection of law as his profession.

When he sought her hand in marriage 35 years ago, he was under the impression that he was going to be a Presbyterian minister.

Sat. 11-15-47

Changed Course, Won Bride

But the future Mrs. Millen demurred. She felt, she said, that she was not cut out to be a minister's wife. Her suitor, evidently a determined man even then, simply changed his course, took his bride, and became a lawyer instead.

While Judge Millen would have probably made a good minister, he certainly has no reason today to regret either his choice of a profession or his choice of a wife.

Met During Vacation

A native of Alexandria, Va., Mrs. Millen was a student at the Armstrong High School in Washington, D.C., when she met young Herbert during a vacation in Asbury Park, N.J.

Two years later, they were married by the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Sr. in New York City, and made their home in Philadelphia.

Bolstered Morale

Through 35 long, and sometimes hard years, (they will celebrate their anniversary on Dec. 28) she has inspired him and bolstered his morale with little recognition other than his own. But this, she insists, is as it should be.

"Many an otherwise successful man has been overshadowed in his efforts by a too-ambitious wife," Mrs. Millen said. "I'm quite content to remain in the background and help my husband forge ahead."

Arriving at Convention Hall last Wednesday night, Mrs. Millen was totally unprepared for the shock of Governor Duff's announcement of her husband's appointment.

"I guess I should have been warned," she said, "because I had been advised to listen very closely to every word the Governor said.

At first, I felt nothing but shock. Then I was so completely overcome with happiness that I just had to cry."

Her reaction was that of any typical woman who is suddenly faced with the realization of a life-time dream toward which she has watched a loved one work.

And her tears that night were not her only typical reaction. She shares with thousands of other women in all walks of life an inborn enthusiasm for clothes.

Partial to Suits

She is especially partial toward suits, but likes them dressy, not tailored, and most of them are custom-made. She seldom goes out wtihout a hat, and admits a fondness for shoes, too.

For the formal induction ceremony Friday afternoon, she selected a black suit made from a bolt of doeskin material she had brought back from Bermuda, with a lamee waist.

Using the typically female cry that she "didn't have a decent hat to wear" to the ceremony, she dashed into a center city store Thursday afternoon to buy the black ostrich-plumed chapeau which completed her outfit.

She also wore a fur scarf and black, open-toed pumps trimmed in gold and a purple orchid. The new hat must have been the usual outlet a woman uses for releasing her emotions, for Mrs. Millen has an entire closet dedicated solely to hats and shoes.

Home Reflects Personality

She has a charming, cordial personality which is reflected in their home at 5417 Vine St. Tastefully furnished, the living room is enlightened by a portrait of Mrs. Millen which hangs over the mantel.

Ten years ago, the Millens brought her niece, Frances Whiting, to live with them. Miss Whiting, a graduate of the Pennsylvania Business School, is employed at the Provident Home Industrial Mutual Life Insurance Company, of which Judge Millen is president.

NEGRO JUDGE IS HONORED

37c(1) Pa. N.Y.

H. E. Millen of Philadelphia Is Made a Church Elder

New York Times

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 23 — Judge Herbert E. Millen of the Municipal Court was ordained a ruling elder this morning in the Reeve Memorial Presbyterian Church. 11-24-47

The first Negro to become a judge of record in the State of Pennsyvania, he was sworn in as a member of the Municipal Court last October 31. He has been a member of the church for twenty-five years and during that time served as a trustee, superintendent of the Sunday school and president of the Men's League. Mon.

The Rev. George F. Ellison, the only minister of the congregation since the church was founded twenty-seven years ago, conducted the ordination ceremony. Lieutenant Governor Daniel B. Strickler, an elder of the First Presbyterian

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A JUDGE FOR PHILADELPHIA

Afro-American

Appointment, at long last, of Herbert E. Millen, Philadelphia attorney, to the bench of the Municipal Court in that city is to be applauded on all sides.

37c(1) Pa.

It would be difficult to find a better qualified or more capable man for this $12,000-a-year post. The wonder is that the appointment was not made years ago. 11-8-47

A former assistant Director of Public Safety and Deputy Attorney General of Pennsylvania, Mr. Millen, by training, experience and temperament, will add, we believe, more lustre to an already brilliant record of public service.

Regardless of any political considerations, Gov. James Duff is to be commended for making the appointment which gives Philadelphia, for the first time in its history, a colored judge of a court of record. Baltimore, Md.

If Mr. Millen's past performance is any criterion, this will not be the last appointment of its kind in the City of Brotherly Love.

THE OLD SMOKESCREEN

Editor, The Advertiser: 37c(2)

As a native of Montgomery, Ala., and a recent resident of Athens, Ga., I was surprised and shocked to read in The Advertiser that Representative Givhan, in attacking Governor Folsom before the meeting of the Farm Bureau in Birmingham, not only accused the governor of "following a Red course" but also raised the old shiboleth of White Supremacy. It sounded more like Talmadge than a member of the Alabama Legislature. Advertiser

It is very popular these days to label people Communists, though how Big Jim or his so-called advisors merit the Red tag after he supported the Martin-Beck bill I fail to see. But to drag in the race issue now seems inexcusable. Montgomery, Ala.

During the late battle over the governorship in Georgia and the accompanying outbreak of lynchings that shocked the nation, I was able to point out with some pride to my Georgia friends that in Alabama no candidate dragged the race issue into the campaign. Since Big Jim received some 263,000 white votes in addition to a possible 2,000 Negro votes, I trust that this new appeal to fear and suspicion will be taken for what it is, the old familiar political smokescreen.

Let the farmers of Alabama judge Folsom and his administration on its merits or lack of merits. I hope that for the sake of these farmers, the Farm Bureau devotes as much attention to agricultural problems as it appears to spend on local politics.

NICHOLAS READ

Montgomery. Sat. 11-1-47

Sirs: Life

Your article on "Big Jim" Folsom strikingly illuminates democracy's most heart-rending failure: the failure to raise the standard of mass education to a point where our people can be rendered immune from at least the grosser forms of exploitation and propaganda. Our politics, our movies, our tabloids, our radio, all indicate how far we have missed what Oxford's Sir Richard Livingstone calls education's first goal: "the power of distinguishing what is first-rate from what is not." 10-6-47-m.

Chicago, Ill., GRANT NEUTEBOOM

Cleveland, Ohio

BIG JIM

Life 10-6-47- mon.

Sirs: Chicago, Ill.

Your denunciation of Alabama's governor ("Outsize Governor," LIFE, Sept. 15) is doubtless justifiable, and no one would agree with the general contents of your article more quickly than I; however I feel that your article creates an erroneous impression. You failed to include the information that a large percentage of Alabama's voting population has come to regard Mr. Folsom as a monumental fraud. Furthermore many of this critical group are former Folsom supporters. His failure to fulfill his campaign promises and his frequent display of irresponsible capers has caused widespread indignation. . . . Although Mr. Folsom was elected by a majority of Alabama's voters, he should not be accepted as an accurate representation of what Alabamians want and expect in a governor. . . . 10-6-47 mon.

DONALD C. PARKER

Union Springs, Ala.

Sirs: Life Chicago, Ill.

I've just finished reading "Outsize Governor" and I'm absolutely boiling. The people of Alabama must have been suffering from hallucinations of the brain when they voted him in. . . . God pity the South if they place their future at the mercy of such absolute nincompoops.

10-6-47 mon. MRS. NORMAN DERREHERRY

Copperhill, Tenn.

THE FACTS

Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser: 37c(2)

The most important thing before the voters of Alabama at the present time is the Self-Starter Amendment to be voted on Jan. 6. Montgomery Ala

The failure of this amendment to pass would probably mean that the citizens of Alabama would continue to be embarrassed by the antics of the chief executive for the next three years; the success of the amendment would, no doubt, save much of this embarrassment. Sun. 12-7-47

I believe that all that is necessary to carry this measure is to let the people know the truth, especially those who voted for Big Jim. Give them the FACTS.

Among these facts are: James E. Folsom went to the so-called Conference for Human Welfare, according to Malcolm Dobbs, for the purpose of "getting material on which to base his gubernatorial campaign platform." For proof of this see Advertiser of Nov. 30, 1946. A fine place to go for advice, inasmuch as this SCHW has been declared a Communist "front" by the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities.

Well, this outfit took Big Jim up and gave him all the support they could muster, as did also the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) which seems to work hand in hand with the SCHW. One of the leaders at the recent meeting of the NAACP in Montgomery, said, "In Alabama the Negro supported the candidate who was the most 'liberal' of the lot—Gov. Jim Folsom. At the same meeting of the NAACP, one Aubrey Williams (who helped organize the SCHW) made the statement that "racial segregation is the root of all racial conflict and unrest." An idea which the South knows is absurd. . . Sun. 12-7-47

We are well acquainted with the people of our state and are sure that they will not stand for the things that Big Jim's crowd is trying to put over. Advertiser

HUGH S. CALDWELL.

Union Springs, Ala. Montgomery

37c(2) 1947

Alabama (Governor James E. Folsom)

Folsom Inaugurated As Governor Of Ala.

37a(2) World Memphis, Tenn

Tues. 1-21-47

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—"I am not afraid of too much democracy but of what happens to people who have too little democracy," declared Governor James E. Folsom in his Inaugural Address before uncountable numbers here Monday.

Two new precedents were set as a unit of Negro soldiers and the State Teachers College Band participated in the parade.

These two groups were neither linked to each other nor on the tail end of the parade.

Negro spectators viewed the parade from all points in a democratic manner. They surged into the Capitol following the ceremony and were shown every courtesy.

Charles Lang, photographer for the Alabama Newspaper Association was admitted to the press section and made close-ups of the Governor from the speaker's stand the same as photographers from the daily press.

Governor Folsom pledged to be "the faithful servant of all" and asserted "my hands are untied" as he said that he would take up the Georgia fight against differential freight rates, would fight monopoly.

He promised to sponsor more support for education, to work to end the poll tax and to restore reapportionment. 1-21-47

SPARKS PAVES WAY FOR FOLSOM

The News Birmingham, Ala.

A new courtesy to the incoming Folsom administration which will have a great deal to do in making the first year in office easier for the new chief executive has been extended by Gov. Chauncey Sparks through the transfer of $2,500,000 from liquor store profits to the general fund to assure an adequate "cushion" in cash money available. Added to the balance of more than $1,000,000 already in the treasury, the $2,500,000 fund will assure Mr. Folsom of $3,500,000, which is adequate to assure efficient operation of government until the Legislature can make appropriations.

1-6-47 Mon. Birmingham, Ala.

State Finance Director Hayse Tucker said the transfer ordinarily would have been made at the start of the fiscal year last Oct. 31, but that it was purposely delayed in an effort to "assure a successful first year for the Folsom administration."

News 37a(2) Ala.

Had the money been switched in October, he explained, it would have been spent. The $2,500,000 came from the portion of Alcoholic Beverage Control Board store profits which are earmarked for the general fund. 1-6-47

"What we are trying to do," Tucker said, "is assure a successful first year for the Folsom administration by withholding liquor profits which could have been spent last year, but were conserved and transferred as of today into the general fund." Mon. 1-6-47

He added that approximately $2,500,000 in conditional appropriations remains outstanding, but that Gov. Sparks refrained from releasing funds for them for the fiscal quarter starting Jan. 1, "with the thought in mind that this decision should be made by the new administration." Birmingham, Ala.

It is a rare thing, indeed, when an outgoing chief executive deliberately saves money for use by his successor, and Mr. Folsom has new cause to be appreciative of the consideration shown him by Gov. Sparks. If the Folsom administration does not get off to a good start it will not be the fault of the outgoing governor, who has made every possible effort to pave the way for his successor, and in so doing has given a fitting climax to a brilliant and successful regime that will go down in state annals as possibly the best in Alabama history to date.—Selma Times-Journal.

Hallmarks

The Advertiser

Chauncey Sparks Wrought Well

Montgomery, Ala.

Sun. 1-12-47

By GROVER C. HALL, JR.

State

CHAUNCEY SPARKS, 45th governor of Alabama, will, in a few days, return to Eufaula with the well-earned good wishes and gratitude of Alabama.

His was a forward march administration characterized by dignity, good sense and enlightenment.

The bachelor governor has not been a great political pesonality in the ballot box sense.

Sparks has always recognized that. He has realized, indeed, that his election was a-fortuity—an inadvertence growing out of the death of Bibb Graves. Sun. 1-12-47

In March, 1942, no informed person doubted the election, virtually by acclamation, of Graves. A few weeks before all the State's politicians had come here for the meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee. They swarmed in the hotel suite of Graves. We visited Sparks' suite and found him alone with his brother, Leon. It made one wince. Only a man with tenacity fashioned out of leather could have borne that circumstance. The Advertiser

That tenacity prevented Sparks from accurately appraising Graves' strength. Then Graves died. Almost en masse, the Graves legions marched into the camp of Sparks. Sparks surveyed the masses of centurions and legionnaires in surprise and bewilderment. With somber humility, he said to a friend, "I never knew until now what Graves had." Montgomery, Ala.

* * * *

AGHAST

What followed was one of the most spectacular contradictions in Alabama political history. The Advertiser

All his political life in the Legislature Sparks had been the fierce insurgent, the unsparing, ferocious obstructionist.

The sum of his political life gave him the clear-cut, unchallengeable designation of Conservative. He was to all people, the "Barbour County Bourbon," beloved of the Bourbons of Jefferson County.

Now, four years later, Sparks in what most everyone would agree in terming a sane Liberal. Montgomery, Ala.

From the crouch of remorseless obstructionist in the Legislature, Sparks assumed the stance of leader and advocate.

The wrecking crew became an agent of construction. Sun. 1-12-47

The Bourbons who loved Sparks so well were aghast when he advocated a state wage and hour law. They could not at first believe it was their Chauncey who called for abolition of the cumulative feature of the poll tax. They've never felt the same since about their old flame.

* * * *

THE CONTRADICTIONS

In his long legislative career the name Sparks was interchangeable with slashed budgets and cut salaries. The Advertiser

But in his term as governor, Sparks has spent more money than was ever spent by any other governor. He has raised salaries of state employes time after time. He is paying one appointee the largest salary ever paid a state official $12,000 a year to Dr. John M. Gallalee, technical director, the Building Commission). Montgomery, Ala.

The contradiction is compounded when it is considered whence came the record amount of money spent by Sparks. This money was tax gold provided by Govs. Benjamin Meek Miller and David Bibb Graves. It was they who bloodied their heads to enact the income tax and harness the Big Mules. Sun. 1-12-47

And it was Chauncey Sparks and his Macedonian phalanx of Hayse Tucker, Heck Russell and Robin Swift that Miller and Graves had to vanquish in dozens of famous battles.

Time ran. The people who screamed and ground their teeth at the imposition of the Miller-Graves taxes became reconciled. Sparks became governor. He appointed Tucker finance director; Swift, highway director; Russell, convict head. Alabama has had no finer team of public servants. They have, so far as we see, spent the money wisely, quite probably in a manner of which the departed providers, Miller and Graves, would approve. Sun. 1-12-47

The latter contradictions, however, are more apparent than real. Indeed, we mention them chiefly for their pettiness. With the tax gold flowing in from a willing citizenry, naturally Sparks has been willing to spend it for the advancement of Alabama. He has raised salaries for reasons too obvious to warrant recitation.

Sparks has spent more for education than has ever been spent; he has built more things than Bibb the Builder—in every department he has been able to surpass his predecessors. This performance is not to be airily dismissed with yes-but that he had it to spend as his predecessors did not. We contend that Sparks spent the money with imagination, good sense and a reliable sense of the priority of Alabama's needs.

* * * *

THE TANGIBLES

So much for the "tangibles" of the Sparks administration? What can be said of the intangibles of his leadership?

Friday night we attended a party in honor of the Governor and his high-ranking appointees. There stood Sparks laughing lustily (with more frequency and abandon than ever he laughed until recent years). Clustered about him were his appointees, who will presently leave Goat Hill with him. It was an able team, composed of sober, experienced men—one in whom any citizen might take pride. The Advertiser

Sparks was the wartime Governor. Some measure of credit is owing Sparks for leadership for the fact that those who did not go off to war, stayed home and behaved themselves well . . . buying bonds . . . drilling in the Home Guard . . . salvaging, etc.

The relationship between white man and black man was in a state of accelerated flux during Sparks' quadrennium. One might be a little left or a little right of Sparks in his racial viewpoints, but still he would willingly concede that Sparks dealt with race problems judiciously, firmly and wisely. He insisted on inflexible segregation; but he insisted with equal force upon giving the colored man his economic chance and civil due. Time after time he spoke boldly and frankly on the subject. There is, of course, no means of calculating the influence Sparks' philosophy had; but anything that comes from a governor's mouth is pervasive, and is insinuated into the public's thinking. Sun. 1-12-47

* * * *

A CHANGED MAN

The Advertiser

Egg-sucking in the Sparks administration? Naturally we don't know certainly, but we believe there was virtually an irreducible minimum of irregularity. Leon Sparks, the Governor's brother? We believe Leon was crudely aggressive in selling bonds and insurance, but we believe that his operations were in accordance with accepted custom. The Governor answered a complaint about Leon once: "He gave up his college education so I could have one." We do not know that the fact has anything to do with the State of Alabama, but it is impossible to be indifferent to the qualities of loyalty and gratitude. We leave further consideration of the point to those who are a good deal more concerned with piety than we presume to be.

And so there sits the 45th Governor of Alabama with his feet on his mahogany desk, ready to return to his Eufaula law office. He's a little wistful, as are all down-stepping governors. He is a little sensitive to the fact that, as Graves said, "a setting sun gives off little heat." Like the rest of us, he is hungry for approval; he is deeply pleased when associates drop in to tell him he has wrought well, that he will be missed.

His personality, like his philosophy, changed during his term. He likes solitude as the staple of his routine. On occasion he was crusty, gruff, truculent and tactless. The story is told that Sparks gave one of his department heads such a lacing once that the grown man emerged with tears in his eyes. We have seen stenographers leave his office muttering about "that man's disposition." But for the most part, Sparks expanded into a good-natured, winsome, companionable personality. Like others, we've gone in his office many times to gossip and kid and blaspheme, to talk discursively of freight rates, women, whisky, "Old Miller," and why the Crusaders went after the Saracens.

There sits Sparks, packed to go home. . . . Sparks knows that the politician never gave the customers a thrill. But he knows he gave Alabama four years of the kind of government that was alert, bustling and enlightened—of the kind that will be bearing fruit for many generations to come. . . .

From the top of Goat Hill Sparks surveyed Alabama and saw what he had not been able to see from Barbour County. The retrenchment instinct that guided him for 20 years in the Legislature became an expansionist instinct. The Barbour County Bourbon became something like an enlightened progressive to the astonishment of all. The critic became advocate. The wrecker turned builder; The people turned

The Governor And The P

Birmingham News — 3-21-47
Birmingham, Ala.

In opposing James E. Folsom in the gubernatorial campaign this newspaper was under the conviction that he was not well qualified, well prepared, for the governorship. His inexperience and a vagueness and looseness of ideas and aims counted heavily against him in our judgment.

37a(3)

But when he was elected, this newspaper, like so many good citizens who had not voted for him, was resolved to give him as governor all the aid and support it conscientiously could in dealing with the many urgent and difficult problems of the state.

The important thing, of course, was the welfare of the people of Alabama, not mere vindication of our opinion. We are not now interested in finding occasion to say we told you so. We would much prefer to be surprised by an excellence we had not expected in Gov. Folsom's meeting of his heavy responsibilities. 3-21-47

We have not been so surprised.

* * *

The governor has continued to show certain engaging personal qualities.

He does, we believe, want to do a good job.

He has, in our opinion, a genuine feeling for people and would like to serve their interests.

He has pride in Alabama.

He has some excellent objectives.

But so far he has not been able to advance his purposes far. On the contrary, he has seemed to be in danger of a great deal of frustration and failure in seeking his ends.

His appointments have not been impressive.

His handling of the Auburn situation has not been good, however well intentioned he may have been and even though he has done well in bringing the Extension Service controversy forcefully to public attention.

He suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of the State Senate in the special legislative session. His new constitution proposal was ignored. He could not get confirmation of his original Auburn board appointees.

* * *

In his radio address to the people this week Gov. Folsom seemed to recognize that he had not gotten far.

He appears to realize now that his administration must be strengthened, his program revised and made more realistic. He evidently is seeking help and advice to these ends.

Birmingham News

This newspaper continues eager and anxious to be helpful to the governor in any good way it can. It believes that good citizens of Alabama generally desire to keep the interest of the state first.

Fri. 3-21-47

There doubtless are some who would take great personal satisfaction in seeing Folsom go down in failure and humiliation. There are those eager to increase their own personal power. But what would the people of Alabama gain from such a course of events?

The greater interest of the people of Alabama lies in making this administration as effective and successful as possible in sound service.

With the governor in his present apparently receptive and concerned mood, good citizens may find unusual opportunities to serve their state and themselves by giving this administration all the support, aid and cooperation they can, consistent with their own convictions. 3-21-47

The alternative to such a spirit could bring great calamities upon Alabama.

Our New Governor

37(2) (Ala.)
News

Gov. Folsom's inaugural address was characteristic and impressive. His feet are planted on the good earth, but he looks to far horizons. No one who heard him, whether in Montgomery or by radio, could have failed to recognize the secret of his personal power. He does not hesitate to use the technique he acquired on the hustings, but this is merely a medium for the impact of his sincerity. When he talks about the democratic values he is not the demagogue, but the spokesman for "the average man" whose cause he has so earnestly espoused. Whatever else can be said about Folsom, his heart is truly with the rank-and-file of the people of Alabama. Birmingham, Ala.

When he undertook to be specific, he merely rang the changes on a theme which has grown familiar. He is now, as he has always been, for the "common folks." When he declares against "worn-out restrictions of voting" or is in favor of a nine-month school term, when he demands the best utilization of our material and human resources for the well-being of the whole community, when he pleads for the larger participation by women in public affairs, when he calls for other reforms which brought him the approval of a vast majority of Alabamians, he is only reiterating his conception of democracy as an approach to the widest possible good for the masses of the people. Jan. 1-21-47

He is for the kind of democracy which Jefferson and Jackson insisted on, the kind that "goes back to the branch heads and the bush arbor gathering places," the kind that "gives the average man and woman more to say about the way our government is run." When he talks about hard-surfacing county roads, or helping the aged, or welcoming industry, or making wages and working conditions as good as they are anywhere else in the country, he is thinking of a great body of unknown and unidentifiable men and women, not those who are already well placed, well heeled or well trained. The idea is not original with him, but no one can question his profound conviction that this is the road to a better life for all of us.

The sole question which lingers in the minds of sober Alabamians is whether Gov. Folsom can make his aspirations good. For that purpose, he has chosen to avoid bitterness or threats. His intentions are plain enough, but he has certainly not started out as a fanatic or a partisan. He knows he is in for a hard fight, he has no illusions about the opposition he faces or the defeats he may encounter. But he remains moderate in the profession of his faith. A man with such an outlook and with such gallantry in making it known is entitled to the prayers of all Alabamians of good will. A governor who says he wants to be "the faithful servant of all the people" deserves the support of all the people.

By John Temple Graves

South Is on the Move

The News and Courier
Charleston, S. C.

"It's growing time in the South."

Big Jim Folsom, governor of my state, writes in his guest column for me today that sometimes he thinks we put too much emphasis on our short-comings in the South. He never said or wrote a truer word. We have developed a complex all misery and minus sign. What we need is some plus signs as big as Jim, a victory complex, sense of all of us together, with infinitely more in common than division. Alabama's amiable, picturesque, magnetic, large-hearted governor could make himself a great agent of that plus sign if he would. Fri. 4-11-47

By JAMES E. FOLSOM
(Governor of Alabama)

The South has before it a period of growth and progress such as it has never before experienced. It's growing time in the South.

It has needs, certainly. It needs to break through the artificial restraints which have hampered the growth of Southern industry. I am thinking of such devices as the freight rate differential which makes us send our raw materials north and east for processing. Most of all, however, we who live in the South need awakening to the great opportunities all about us. There could be less talk about a "backward South" and more talk and work toward a "forward-looking South".

In Alabama, for example, and I think Alabama may be considered a typical Southern state, there are rich resources which make many a high-income state look poor in comparison. Many of these resources have been hardly touched. They still await development, but they are here for this generation and the next to turn to use.

Some of these resources have been dissipated by wasteful methods in the past, notably the great stands of timber that still rank Alabama third among the states in timber production. However, modern conservation methods, selective cutting and forest planting, are building up the timber crop, and saving eroded hillsides as well.

We've got power resources to run the wheels of new industries as fast as they will come South, from the great power developments of the TVA system and the Coosa-Tallapoosa dams of the Alabama Power company in Alabama, and from similar water power development in other states.

Fri.

I'm interested in the modern farming methods that are transforming the rural South, replacing cotton fields with clover and fat cattle standing in the pastures. I'm interested in the effort to get farmers to plant better varieties of cotton, in diversification, terracing, proper use of fertilizers, modern farm machinery—all those things that are making it possible for the Southern farmer to make a decent living. 4-11-47

The South, industrially and agriculturally, is on the move.

There are human resources, too, and the South is rich in people. These people deserve the best. And in that best I include the best schools that we can give our young people. Not schools almost as good as the schools somewhere else, but fully as good. Buildings and equipment are important in the education of our children but the key to education is in the kind of teachers we can afford. It is disturbing to read that the teaching profession is not attracting young people any longer, but we know that we have too long paid our teachers too little. They've got to have a living wage. In Alabama we are fighting for a wage that will attract young men and women to education. I think we'll get it. Charleston, S.C.

That best includes, too, hospital facilities, good roads, adequate income for the aged, and all those things that make a section a good place in which to live.

The South is not perfect. There is much here that needs to be mended. But where is the perfect section? Sometimes, it seems to me, we place too much emphasis on our short-comings. I don't think we should be blind to them: On the other hand, I think that we must correct them. We must make the South the kind of place we'd like it to be, rather than pretend that it is already a paradise. But I am not disturbed over the future of the South. It is coming into its own.

If we're smart, we can hasten its growth and progress, but it is going to make progress in any event.

37c(2) 1947 Alabama (Gov. James E. Folsom)

Negroes Participate In Inaugural Ceremonies Of Alabama Gov. Jim Folsom

Louisiana Weekly Sat. 2-1-47
New Orleans, La.
37c(2)

Montgomery, Ala., Jan. 28—(ANP)—Hopes for a larger share in Alabama democracy were raised here Jan. 20, when a unit of Negro soldiers and the band from the State Teachers College participated in the inaugural parade of Geo. James E. Folsom. Negro spectators were impressed by the fact that the two Negro groups were not thrown together nor placed at the rear of the parade.

In his inaugural address, the governor himself seemed to be filled with the spirit of Americanism when he declared, "I am not afraid of too much democracy, but of what happens to people who have too little" of it. The governor pledged to be the "faithful servant of all" and asserted that "my hands are untied." **(Take notice, Gubernatorial Candidate James H. Morrison.)** Moreover, he promised to sponsor additional aid to education and work to put an end to the poll tax.

Negroes attending the exercises were surprised at the courtesies extended them. Charles Lang, a colored photographer, was admitted to the press section and allowed to make closeups of the governor from the speakers' stand in the same manner as white photographers representing the daily press. Sat. 2-1-47

Among the more colorful visitors was "Uncle Tom" Jordan, who boasted 107 years of age, and who dressed in his finest array for the "big doin's." Holding a paper pennant bearing the governor's name, his frosty beard and happy, almost toothless smile, made him a center of attraction. A resident of Bogahomme, a colored section in one of the Montgomery suburbs, Jordan had come just to hear "that gentleman" speak. In his thinking the speech was "fine."

He chatted amiably with passersby, telling them of his experiences as a slave and his domestic life. The high cost of living, however, seems to be cramping his standards. Fourteen dollars a month old age benefits isn't enough to live on nowadays, he says.

37c(2) 1947

California

L. A. Doctor Loses Race

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

37c(2) Calif.

Dr. Hudson Polls 98,871 Votes in Bid for Office

Sat. 6-7-47

LOS ANGELES—On the basis of complete returns from the Municipal election Tuesday of last week, Dr. H. Claude Hudson polled almost 100,000 votes but was defeated in his bid for Office 7 on the Board of Education.

Olin E. Darby won the only Board of Education race, 201,582 votes to 98,871.

In four Councilmanic Districts boasting comparatively heavy minority group populations, two new City Councilmen were elected to office.

Assemblyman Don A. Allen defeated Councilman Carl C. Rasmussen in the Seventh District, and Kenneth Hahn bested Councilman Charles A. Allen in the Eighth. Councilmen Parley P. Christensen, Ninth District, and George C. Moore, Fifteenth District, retained their seats.

The voters approved bond issues for new fire, police, and health department buildings, as well as for more and better playgrounds, incinerators and sewers.

Election of Assemblymen Allen and Ernest E. Debs, Thirteenth District, to the Council, will create two vacancies in the Lower House after June 15 when the present session of the legislature is expected to end. Both will take their new offices on July 1.

37c(2) 1947

Federal (D. C.)

Charges Said To Run Gamut Of Sensational Misconduct

Daily World. Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 2-19-47

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—A full-scale investigation into the conduct of the Office of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia has been launched, it was learned last Friday.

37c(2) D.C. Fed.

The investigation was ordered by the House District of Columbia appropriations subcommittee after it had received reports of alleged speculations in the auto liens division.

According to reports from reliable sources, an employee of that division was suspected of pocketing fees paid for releases of liens on automobiles and destroying records.

Immediate Motion

The House District of Columbia appropriations subcommittee was reported to be in the process of a preliminary inquiry to determine whether it should order an investigation of the office when this report reached it. Its investigators and special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation moved in immediately.

The investigation, however, is said to be not limited to the auto liens division, but to cover all activities of the office, including matters recently investigated by the FBI. 2-19-47

At the time the investigators moved in, the Rev. Marshall Shepard, Recorder of Deeds, was on a train bound for California. He left February 10 and the investigators arrived at his offices the next day. He was away when a previous investigation into his office was begun.

Dr. Shepard, however, was said to have been apprised of suspicions regarding the employee in the auto lien division before he left the city. At the time Dr. Shepard was informed of the suspicions, the employee was on leave. Dr. Shepard is said to have favored asking the employee to resign quietly so that the office would gain no further notoriety and its appropriations would not be jeopardized.

Investigators last week were questioning title men regarding their relationships with the office.

Employee Furloughed

Oliver Thornton, First Deputy Recorder of Deeds, revealed last Friday that the assistant chief of the auto liens division has been "furloughed" without pay as the result of an investigation into the affairs of the division.

The "furloughed" employee is Marcellus Williamson, who was not available for comment last Friday. Thornton claimed that the investigation which led to the "furloughed" of Williamson was initiated by him, acting on the belief that procedures followed in that division "offer an opportunity for mishandling of funds." 2-19-47

Thornton refused to comment as to whether any shortage had been found in the office's accounts. He said he did not know when Dr. Shepard would return nor the nature of his trip.

The disclosure concerning the auto lien division of the Recorder's office is believed to be the first of a series that will come to light as the result of the full-scale probe ordered by the House Appropriations Committee. 37c(2) D.C.

The charges which investigators are said to be inquiring into run the gamut from official to personal misconduct, some of which are sensational, and as a result of the investigation official heads are expected to fall and reputations to be ruined. (Fed - Rec of Deeds)

This is the second investigation into the affairs of the Recorder's office within four months. The FBI made the first investigation just before the November elections, and as a result informed circles said Dr. Shephard would be asked to resign. He has continued to hold the office. Daily World

One of the charges that committee investigators will inquire into is that Dr. Shepard has spent approximately 95 per cent of his time carrying on his pastoral duties, while drawing a salary of nearly $10,000 a year as Recorder of Deeds. He has continued to pastor a church in Philadelphia since his appointment as Recorder of Deeds here. Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 2-19-47

Disintegration In Staff Of Housing Relations Foreseen

World Memphis, Tenn.

37c(2) D.C. Fed.

Creedon Sends Memorandum To All Employees

Fri. 2-14-47

By JAMES L. HICKS
NNPA Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Disintegration of the staff of race relations advisers formerly serving the National Housing Agency under Dr. Frank Horne appeared almost certain here last Friday when Frank R. Creedon, national housing expediter, announced that "with reorganization" the staff of his office could be reduced at once.

Race relations advisers in the eight regional offices of the National Housing Agency were recently transferred to Mr. Creedon's office following an executive order by President Truman that the office of the housing expediter and that of the national housing administrator be split. In the split, Dr. Horne and his deputy, Dr. Booker T. McGraw, were separated from their regional staff and placed in the office of the housing administrator.

In a memorandum last Friday to all employes of his office, including his eight race relations advisers in the field, Mr. Creedon said the first notices of termination would be issued to some employees "within the next several days" and that the personnel branch of his office would make every reasonable effort to find jobs in other agencies for dismissed personnel.

While many of the liquidating agencies here have been more or less successful in placing their terminated clerical employees in other agencies, colored employees occupying positions similar to those held by the eight race relations advisers have found it almost impossible to find comparable jobs. The regional race advisers hold positions in grade CAF-13, which pay more than $7,000 a year.

While Dr. Horne and Dr. McGraw are not directly affected by Mr. Creedons' order, many former members of their staff will face Mr. Creedon's pruning knife.

Advisers Listed

Among them are William H. S. Dabney of Boston; Clarence R. Johnson, New York City; George B, Nesbitt, Chicago; Albert L. Thompson, Atlanta; A. Maceo Smith, Dallas, Texas; Bernard Roos, San Francisco; Edward Rutledge, Seattle, and DeHart Hubbard, Detroit, race advisers in the field offices and Donald Wyatt and Miss Ann Mason in the Washington offices. Fri. 2-14-47

In his memorandum Mr. Creedon told employees of his office that termination notices will involve one month in active duty status and that in the reductions Civil Service regulations would be followed with due regard to the organization's requirements.

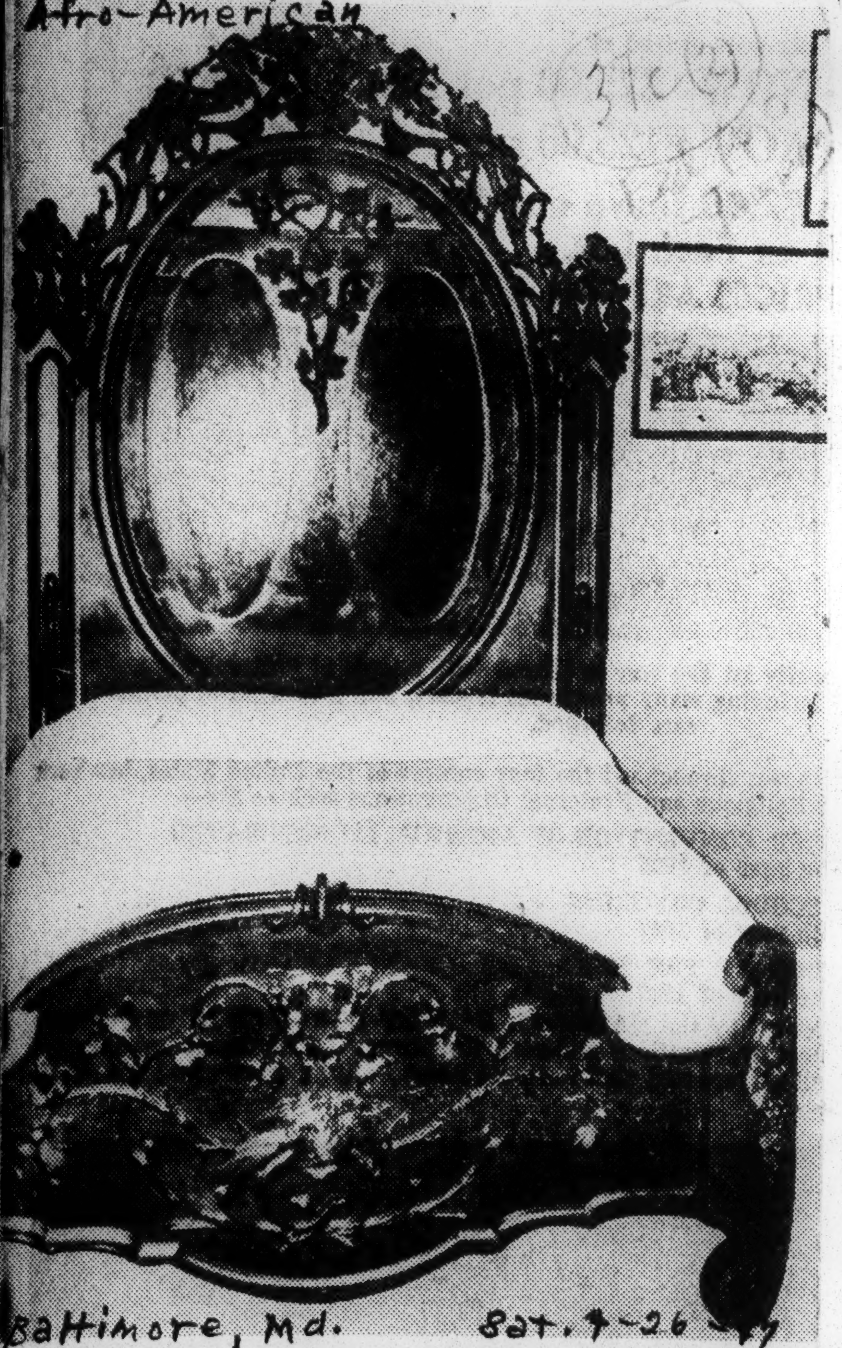
He said that there was a marked change in work loads within the agency and that by eliminating duplication of effort and by "simplification and coordination" the reduced staff would be ample for present needs of the agency.

Some observers saw in Mr. Creedon's move the death knell for the entire veterans' emergency housing program. They point out that the Patman Act, which set up the office of the expediter, specifies that the office will terminate on December 1, 1947, and that Mr. Creedon's action was only the first step toward liquidation of the entire office. The job of housing expediter was created to speed the veterans emergency program.

37c(2) 1947 Federal (D. C.--Truman)

REMEMBERING ABE LINCOLN

Afro-American



Baltimore, Md. Sat. 7-26-47

Shown above is the Lincoln Bed at the White House in which President Truman's mother, according to reliable reports, refused to sleep.

On a visit to the White House, she was quoted as saying that she would rather sleep on the floor than occupy the bed in which Abraham Lincoln slept. Whether in jest, or not, the remark has stuck.

History records that the Trumans were on the "wrong" side in the Civil War and that the Federal troops not only killed the family's cattle, but burned their haystacks and their barns, causing them tremendous financial loss.

Mother Truman's philosophy, which she passed on to her sons: "Be loyal to your friends, never forget your enemies," might in some measure explain her attitude toward Lincoln or anything connected with him. Sat. 7-26-47

It has been a lot of satisfaction to the South, as President Pat Neff of Baylor (Tex.) University once said, to see one of its own—Mr. Truman—in the White House.

Southerners, it seems, like the proverbial elephant, never forget.

37c(2) 1947

Federal (General)

Assignments Given Powell And Dawson

World Memphis, Tenn

37c(2) Fed. (gen.)

Fri. 1-24-47

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)—In the organization of the Eightieth Congress, which was completed last Thursday, Representatives Adam C. Powell, of New York, and William L. Dawson, of Illinois, were given assignments on important committees with the approval of the Democratic caucus of the House.

Mr. Powell was placed on the House Committee on Education and Labor, and Mr. Dawson on the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

The action left Representative Vito Marcantonio, American Labor party of New York, a staunch advocate of legislation in behalf of minority groups, without a committee assignment. Both Democrats and Republicans failed to give him an assignment.

A House Republican leader, however, last Friday said Mr. Marcantonio would be assigned a committee post, although the assignment might be delayed until it was decided whether an election contest would be filed against him.

Leaders of both parties agreed that under the Congressional Reorganization Act, Mr. Marcantonio would have to be assigned to a committee if he retains his seat. The act provides that every House member must be named at least to one standing committee. 1-24-47

Frederick Bryan, Mr. Marcantonio's Republican opponent in a hardfought campaign in which Mr. Marcantonio had both the ALP and the Democratic nominations, has threatened to contest the election.

Powell Votes 'No' on Aid to Greece; Dawson Keeps Mum

Afro American Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—On the House roll-call bill to authorize $400,000,000 worth of direct economic and indirect military aid to Greece and Turkey, passed by a vote of 287 to 107, Rep. Adam C. Powell, (Dem., N.Y.), voted "nay."

Rep. William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.), was recorded as "not voting." Sat 5-24-47

CONGRESSMEN DAWSON AND POWELL

(37c(2) Fed. (gen.))

There are two Negro members of the 80th Congress; William L. Dawson of Illinois and Adam Clayton Powell of New York.

Nature has done much in making these men. They have strong vigorous bodies. They have educated themselves to the extent that they share life freely with the other member of Congress. The St. Louis Argus St. Louis Mo. Fri. 8-8-47

These gentlemen have had their homes in two of our largest cities; New York and Chicago. They have had unusual opportunities for rich and varied experiences. They have witnessed the playing of the game of politics by masterful politicians. Their eyes eagerly follow the ball. The kind of defense the carrier of the ball needs to make a touch down is well understood by them.

To their high place in national life, members of their group. Especially is this true since the other states have no how they find their place on the team and how they play the game.

If their play takes care of the interests and needs of the group, how they play will be a minor matter with the group, and the largest liberties will be allowed the players.

Messrs Dawson and Powell are members of Congress, representing the states of Illinois and New York. They are however, congressmen of the United States. Their first concern is the national life. Then, because they are Negro congressmen, they have a peculiar interest in the entire Negro group Especially is this true since the other states have no members of the Negro in Congress.

As constituents of Messrs Dawson and Powell, we appreciate their modesty in not wishing to project themselves before their assembly on the least provocation. At the same time, the occasion makes definite requirements.

All of the people of the United States and of the world should know that there are Negro members of the 80th Congress of the United States. As far as possible people of the United States and the world should know what these gentlemen plan to accomplish as members of Congress, for their own country and for the world. Fri. 8-8-47

While there will be white congressmen friendly to minorities, the Negro group will, in all matters of deep concern, expect their case to be presented by Messrs Dawson and Powell. So while these Negro congressmen will not be constantly inflicting themselves upon the House of Representatives, they will lose no opportunity to inform the nation and the world of vital issues affecting the Negro people.

This is a serious and tremendously important obligation of these two congressmen; to be ready at the opportune moment to state the case of the Negro people to the world.

The matter is so significant no individual concept of either of the congressmen should be allowed to controvene, when there is an opportune moment to speak for the entire group of Negro people.

Dawson, Powell Welcomed Back to Congress Chores

Afro-American - Baltimore Md.

Both Located in More Spacious Offices; Powell Has New Secretary, Stenographer

Sat. 1-11-47

WASHINGTON

The offices of the nation's only colored Congressmen were bee hives of activity on Friday as friends and the press welcomed Reps. Adam Powell (Dem., N.Y.) and William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.) back to Congress for its 80th session.

Mr. Powell posed for photographers accompanied by his wife, the former Hazel Scott, and their infant son, Adam Powell 3rd, who journeyed from New York to see him sworn in.

Mr. Dawson sat for several poses in company with his secretary, Mrs. Christine Hughes, and his friend, Willard Townsend, international president of the United Transport Service Employees, CIO. Sat. 1-11-47

In New Offices

Both Congressmen had a busy opening day as they received delegates from their districts in the morning who were here to urge Bilbo's ouster, and in the afternoon went to the Capitol for the swearing-in ceremonies and the anticipated Bilbo fireworks.

Last year, both Congressmen had adjoining suites in the basement of the old House Office building, but this year they are located in new quarters in separate buildings.

Mr. Dawson, now serving his third term, is on the street floor of the new House Office building, while Mr. Powell, a second-termer, is on the fourth floor of the old building.

Reasons for Change

Mr. Dawson moved to the new building partly to satisfy his constituents, many of whom had inquired why he did not move to the more modern structure.

As a senior Representative, he had the preference over freshman Congressmen, which he exercised in selecting his new quarters. Mr. Powell is said to have moved to the fourth floor of the same building for reasons of convenience and more space.

Last year, Mr. Powell chose the suite next to Mr. Dawson because, as a freshman member, he would be in a position to learn about legislative practices and customs, from his more experienced colleague. Sat. 1-11-47

Personnel Staff

While Mrs. Hughes continues as Mr. Dawson's secretary, Mrs. Phoebe Nelson, who last year held a similar post with Mr. Powell, has resigned. Her place is being taken by Herman Lassiter, who styles himself as Congressional secretary to Mr. Powell.

Mrs. Hattie Dodson, the former Miss Hattie Freeman, continues as Mr. Powell's personal secretary, while another newcomer to the New Yorker's staff, Mrs. Louise M. McDowell, is stenographer.

37e(2)

Georgia

Ballot Box Color Line Attacked by Talmadge

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN

In two unusual political developments, Herman Talmadge, "white primary" advocate, attacked and a Negro newspaper supported an M. E. Thompson Democratic faction proposal to segregate the races at the polls in 1948.

Talmadge said it would be unconstitutional, under present laws, to segregate the races at the ballot box. Tues. 9-16-47

"If a Negro has the right to vote in a primary, I believe the courts would hold he has the right to use the same ballot boxes as the white man," Talmadge said. "The Ed Rivers group is using the segreation scheme to try to hide the Negro but at the same time count his vote."

Asked if the Negro would be permitted to vote in a primary supervised by the Talmadge faction, Talmadge replied: James Peters is Chairman of the State Department Executive Committee, and he would be the one to answer any questions as to who might participate in a primary.

"Under the present laws, I believe the Negro can vote in any primary and election on a Statewide basis. However, a County Democratic Committee can hold a white primary, since that primary is not part of the State's election machinery."

The Talmadge supporters in the 1947 Legislature killed a Thompson-sponsored bill to segregate the races at the polls, pinning its hopes on a "White Primary Bill" to ban Negroes from Democratic Primaries. Thompson vetoed the Talmadge-sponsored "White Primary Bill" on the grounds that it was a "No Primary" bill which would establish political machine rule in Georgia and jeopardize the franchise of all citizens, regardless of color. Recently, a South Carolina Federal judge held the South Carolina "White Primary Law." upon which the Georgia bill was based, was unconstitutional. This ruling is being appealed.

The Atlanta World, Negro daily newspaper, editorially supported the segregation proposal with the remark that "is it the lesser of two evils."

"As between the immediate evil of segregation at the polling precincts in the forthcoming gubernatorial election and the Negroes refusing to march to the polls to cast their ballots lest they should be insulted by some intemperate white person, we should greatery prefer segregation," the paper said. "For in that way we can be assured of a large and representative Negro turnout to the hundreds of polling places.

"We are in dire need of a quarter of a million Negro voters by 1948 in order to put down and smite race-baiters and charlatans from Georgia's political platforms. We need them to silence judges who desecrate their high office by resorting to rabid race prejudice and incitement. We need them to settle once and for all time further preachments of white supremacy," the World said.

Acting Gov. Thompson and Talmadge Monday disagreed over the matter of early primaries being held by a few counties, About a half-dozen counties, including Telfair, are holding primaries this year to nominate candidates for the general election of November, 1948.

Thompson said this was a bad practice since the issues will be much clearer later and the people could better choose their candidates next Spring. Talmadge said the time of holding a primary was a matter for the County Committee to determine, and he had no criticism to make of primaries being held a year prior to the general election.

Thompson suggested there might be some "political significance" in such early primaries, but Talmadge said it is customary with quite a few counties to hold primaries this early.

The early primaries are bringing scattered "recognition" for the State Democratic Committee headed by William Morris, of Augusta, Thompson observed. Requests for party primary rules are coming in to that committee. County primaries are held within the framework of the State rules. Morris' Rules Committee will meet here next Monday. Tues. 9-16-47

Meanwhile, the two unofficial candidates for Governor in 1948 will continue to fill many speaking engagements throughout the State.

Thompson's schedule for this week includes: Wednesday night, barbecue in Wilkes County; Thursday night, barbecue in Ware County; Friday night, visit in Hinesville; Saturday, fishing trip with Judge Mel Price, Solicitor Ralph Dawson and others near Hinesville.

Talmadge's schedule includes: Wednesday night, speech to joint civic clubs at Dalton; Friday, 1 p. m., talk to Georgia Accountants' Association at Dempsey Hotel in Macon; Saturday night, talk to Sigma Delta Kappa, law fraternity, of Woodrow Wilson Law School, at Robert Fulton Hotel. Tues. 9-16-47

Fighting Georgia Pastor Hits Draft Proposal in Sermon Here

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y. Mon. 9-1-47

The Rev. Joseph A. Rabun, former Navy chaplain who lost his Atlanta Ga., pulpit after opposing Eugene and Herman Talmadge, yesterday blasted President Truman's and the American Legion's stand on universal military training. Speaking before more than 3,000 members and friends of a Brooklyn Negro church, the Rev. Rabun declared "their attitude is in direct contravention to the principle of 'seek ye first the kingdom of heaven'."

The 43-year-old veteran of four years volunteer service with the Marine and the Navy in the Pacific and Near East delivered a sermon at the Parkway Theatre, 1768 St. Johns Place. He declared "it is wrong to assume that peace cannot be won."

The theme of his sermon was 'Yesterday was late, tomorrow may be too late," and he declared "The worst enemies of our democratic system are hiding behind its bulwarks waiting until it is destroyed."

"Far too many people are taking democracy for granted," he said. "We are not working for it in the right way and with the right tools." Mon. 9-1-47

TELLS EXPERIENCES

Pastor Rabun is here as the guest of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, 388 Chester St., and St. Phillips Parish Hall, 265 Decatur St., was honored Saturday night with a dinner at which he related some of his experiences in Georgia.

He was ousted as minister of the McRae Baptist Church after Herman Talmadge was kicked out of the Georgia Capitol by that state's high court. He has asserted "the same bunch that tried to vote Talmadge into the governor's chair last spring" were behind his ouster. The Talmadge family were communicants of his church. Mon. 9-1-47

The young minister, who was in two invasions with the Ninth Marine Regiment on Bougainville and Guam and served on a cruiser in the Mediterranean, revealed earlier that "the throw out Rabun crowd" wanted "to get rid of what n . . . r lover as they called me."

HITS JIMCROW

Yesterday he told the worshippers "as a Christian minister I declare that Jimcrowism, prejudice and intolerance among Christian people must cease . . . for we are destroying the Christian and democratic way of life." Mon. 9-1-47

At afternoon services his theme was "Practical Means Toward Christian Democracy." This meeting was also heavily attended and was sponsored by 10 Brownsville churches under the leadership of the Rev. Dent and the Rev. John M. Coleman of St. Phillips.

Tonight (Monday) he will speak at Harlem's Salem Methodist Church, 129 St. and Seventh Ave., 8:30 p.m.

Propose Georgia Voting Law To Weaken Negroes' Strength

Chicago, Ill. Defender Sat. 8-30-47

ATLANTA — (ANP) — U.S. Census Bureau figures reveal that should Georgia adopt voters' educational requirement laws based on schooling, fewer than 11 per cent of the state's potential Negro voting population would be barred from the polls. Sat. 8-30-47

Negroes over 25 who have had no schooling whatever number 69,679 out of a maximum voting potential of 654,000. Observers concede that at least this category would be certain to forfeit their voting rights under such legislation. Sat. 8-30-47

Approximately 2½ per cent of the state's possible white vote would be barred.

State lawmakers who favor more stringent educational standards for voting as means of eliminating the "Negro bloc" in Georgia elections could knock out at least 60.55 per cent of the Negro's poll strength by setting the minimum at a sixth grade education. That would mean that they would also lose a minimum of 26.19 per cent of all white eligible to vote. Sat. 8-30-47

According to the figures, there are 741,552 Georgians—black and white—over 25 who have had less than a seventh grade education. Numerically, this number is almost equally distributed between both races. with 345,573 whites and 395,979 Negroes.

Negroes Vote Solid Against Talmadge-ite

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

ATLANTA.—The 800 Negro voters of Albany, have recently caused considerable sharp comment in the statewide press.

It seems that in the recent Albany city primary, the Negro voters registered a solid vote against James W. Smith, a Talmadge man, who was running for mayor. Thereupon papers in many parts of the state raised a great cry that the Negro citizens of Albany had voted in a bloc—with the scarce hidden implication that Negro citizens always voted in a bloc and therefore should not be allowed to vote. Sun.

The **Atlanta Daily World**, leading Negro paper, hit back rather pointedly. Mr. Smith, it indicated, had managed the 1946 campaign of Eugene Talmadge in Mitchell County, presented him with a $500 campaign check, and "employed the same brand of race-baiting as did the senior Talmadge in several radio speeches he made in the course of his campaign." 12-14-47

When Mr. Smith ran for mayor, the **World** continued, "pride and self-respect forced Negroes to register their protest to such a campaign of hate and reaction. Negroes cast a preponderant vote for a candidate who had a record for good will and fair play.' Sun.

Later the Atlanta **Journal** put editorial support behind the **World** and the Albany voters. 12-14-47

"It will be very difficult for those who have been so severely critical of the solidarity of 800 Negro voters in the Albany mayoral election to dispute the contention of their spokesman," said the editorial.

Atlanta Constitution

McRae Church Votes Out

Atlanta, Ga.

Anti-Primary Bill Pastor

Mon. 8/4/47

Constitution State News Service

McRAE, Aug. 3—The Rev. Joseph A. Rabun Sunday lost a battle in the name of the brotherhood of man. Ga.

The former Marine chaplain was asked, by a vote of 67 to 35 of his congregation, to resign immediately as Pastor of the McRae First Baptist Church. 37e (2)

Rev. J. A. Rabun

Pastor Rabun once before had offered his resignation when members of his congregation expressed disapproval of his stand against a white primary bill. At that time, in February, the Board of Deacons decided against putting the issue to the congregation.

But the issue had not been settled by that decision.

Members of the congregation who revered the late Eugene Talmadge, a member of the church, showed their silent disapproval by attending other churches.

Mon. 8/4/47

Eugene Talmadge's son, Herman, whose white primary bill the Rev. Mr. Rabun had opposed in a public hearing at the State Capitol, transferred his membership to Hampton.

Eugene Talmadge's widow, "Miss Mitt," kept her membership in the church, but rarely attended services there. She was present Sunday, however, with her daughter, Mrs. Margaret Kimbrough.

Resentment against the Rev. Mr. Rabun grew as the breach in the congregation was kept open.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Over Him Write, 'Quo Vadis'?

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 1-31-47

Over the air waves those Georgians who sat up until 10:30 Wednesday night heard private citizen Ellis Gibbs Arnall dominate the top quiz program, "Information, Please."

They heard him do so graciously, with a quick sense of humor and an even faster parade of his prowess of memory. He was the only one to come up with a requested quotation from Byron. He alone recalled two of O. Henry's best-known short stories as answers to two queries. And he amazed those Georgians who knew him best by not only recalling, but singing, verses from two popular songs. The fact that his voice made eardrums say "ouch" was merely incidental.

Those listening heard, too, the generous eager response to him as a person and to his accomplishments. They heard professional quiz program veteran, Franklin P. Adams, when someone referred to Guest Star Arnall as "Gov. Arnall," speak up and say, "ex-Governor, damn it"—and then, remembering the regulations, say, "ex-Governor, alas"—and get the warm, friendly laughter of the audience.

Faces of those listening in Georgia registered many emotions.

Paradox What most Georgians don't know, and what many who do know resent fiercely, is that Ellis Gibbs Arnall is Georgia's best and most favorably-known citizen—outside the State lines—and that he is, for better or worse, one of America's best-known and respected personalities.

Atlanta, Ga.

In Georgia the partisan fires burn fiercely about him. To many his name invokes a red, congested face and epithets unpleasant to hear. To others his name brings up memories of hopes unfulfilled and the soreness of disappointment where once was the elasticity of courage and the faith to go on. To still others his name is a beacon, one of the few still burning brightly in the South.

He and his career offer a paradox worth discussing with surgical deliberateness and cold objectivity.

Fri. 1-31-47

Ellis Arnall is the nation's best-known political liberal. In Georgia his critics link him with Henry Wallace. Nothing could be more wrong. What they don't seem to realize is that Ellis Arnall commands a wider following among the nation's widely divergent liberal groups than Henry Wallace has ever commanded since the turbulent night he stood before the Democratic convention in 1944 and almost captured it. Ellis Arnall has managed, save in Georgia, to keep himself from being regarded as too far to the left. He carefully has condemned communism, and he means it. He is a political competitor of Henry Wallace, not a follower.

The facts are that he is a much more astute politician than Henry Wallace was, or is. He is today the most enthusiastically received political liberal in America, on far more solid political ground than either Wallace or Florida's Pepper.

The Constitution

"Nigger Lover" In Georgia, on the air waves and in the forums, Ellis Arnall is almost daily set up and knocked over, as a shouter in the Henry Wallace parade or as a "nigger lover."

As even those who differed with him, became disappointed in him and do not care for him will be the first to assure you, he is neither of these.

Fri. 1-31-47

Most of those who started with him in politics, and all of those major politicians who first helped him along, have left him, or have been left by him. They hate him with a hatred which they explain by the worst epithet a professional politician may apply—"double-crosses" . . . "a breaker of promises." . . .

Probably his only real political blunder—viewed in today's perspective—was in being persuaded to offer again as a candidate after having campaigned with the one-term issue as one of his chief platform planks.

The Constitution

His critics who say that he is liberal only for political expediency, will point out that he did not really espouse the Negro's right to vote until he, Arnall, had twice been defeated in efforts to run for a second term. They say, too, that he was for Ellis Arnall first and Georgia second. It is not possible, in Georgia, for many persons to discuss him objectively.

Atlanta, Ga

How badly he stumbled over the Negro issue remains to be seen.

Georgia is struggling with it at present in its Legislature, indicating the deep passions, the negation of Southern policy, the enormous frustration of those who know the course is wrong but go along with it. The right of the qualified Negro to vote is being used to seize great political power.

The line of argument being used is the "Would-you-want-your-sister-to-marry-a-Negro" type. The argument that all the decent taxpaying, law-abiding Negro citizens asks is not social equality but simple justice and economic opportunity, is brushed aside by the fanatic query, "Do you want to eat with niggers?" The fact relatively few would be qualified to vote is even more carefully ignored.

Georgia's Tom Watson, who had Negroes on the executive committee of his Populist Party, who had them on his speaking platforms and saw to it they voted, stumped his political toe on the corrupt voting of the Negro in Richmond County more than 40 years ago and became their chief verbal flogger.

Ellis Arnall stubbed his political toe on the same rock that is in every political road in Dixie.

Today he is hated, despised, loved, and regarded with hope and disappointment. He is, as a political figure, in a period of transition. That he is able and confident is admitted.

Over him and the future you may write only "Quo Vadis?"

Arnall's Record

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 2-2-47

Editor Constitution: We have been hearing a lot about Mr. Ellis Arnall lately and this writer would like to refresh the memory of some fellow Georgians as well as some people all over the nation as to the action taken by Ellis Arnall at the last National Democratic Convention. He put up quite a fight to have Henry Agard Wallace nominated on the ticket with Roosevelt. What a sad day this would be for the United States if Ellis had had his way. Yes, some of us still have more than a "convenient" memory as to the qualifications of certain leaders.

P. R. McDONALD.

Arnall, in Town Hall Talk, Urges End to Discrimination

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y. Thurs

Former Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia opened a national lecture tour at Town Hall yesterday with the warning that what is going on now in Georgia could happen anywhere.

1-30-47

"Herman Talmadge and his hoodlums," Arnall said, "are using methods that would put the Third Reich to shame."

He urged the elimination of racial discrimination, and called on Americans not to let "our system of economy be strangled by monopoly."

The ex-Governor said it was now up to the courts to see that the mandate of the people was upheld.

"I trust the courts," he declared. "I don't think interference from Washington is necessary."

"We must make this one common country, without distinctions between section and section, race and race, creed and creed," Arnall said. "Before we can expect the South to straighten itself out, it must be freed from colonial bondage, from the discrimination of the more industrialized sections of this country."

Daily Worker

The achievements of his administration were cited by Arnall. "We even moved ahead of the Federal Government, we abolished the poll-tax and lowered the voting age to 18. We increased educational opportunities, including teachers' salaries."

New York, N.Y.

"There are certain things necessary in order for this country to move ahead," Arnall declared. "We don't want to see anyone sick who can't afford a doctor. We have to provide economic opportunities for all our people, and see to it that our system of economy grows, that it is not strangled by monopoly, and especially that all sections, including the South, have an equal chance to develop."

Thurs. 1-30-47

"Now here we are, the greatest most prosperous country in the world, trying to talk ourselves into another depression, into another war. . . . Certainly, before we can offer leadership to the world, we must by all means make our own country a paragon of virtue."

Georgia Politics and Ellis Arnall

1-23-47

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

1-23-47

Despite the dramatic protests of the usual horde of vociferous New Deal-C.I.O.-P.A.C.-left wing adherents, the current political situation in Georgia has accomplished at least two goals, both of which will serve to stifle and suppress the Henry Wallace faction in the Democratic Party, or the remnants thereof. Primarily, Georgia is governed by the duly elected and qualified gubernatorial choice to succed Gene Talmadge—his own son, Herman—which is confirmed by the Legislature's two to one majority.

Perhaps of greater import to the nation in general, however, is the reappearance of Ellis Arnall as a Presidential aspirant in '48. Far more moderate than his fellow politicians of the South, Arnall is young, extraordinarily alert, possessing every prime requisite of a candidate. Moreover, Arnall represents the new South, which, unlike left-wing, liberal thought in the East and Far West, is not dedicated to the reduction of this republic to the status of a third-rate dependency of the Soviet Union. In his vigorous assaults upon Northern railroad and transportation barons, Arnall was untinged by the charges of sectionalism, but rather was employed busily in restoring the South to an economic position worthy of its stature. Inasmuch as there is such an abundance of criticism of any and all Southern politicians in the nation today, which has revived the ancient chant that no Southerner will ever be President again, Mr. Arnall is a striking figure of the young, progressive, and wholeheartedly pro-American citizen and statesman of no particular political affiliation either with right or left wings. While seriously attached to the progress of the Negro, Mr. Arnall is no advocate of miscegenation. By his removal of the poll-tax, Arnall aided the common, poverty-stricken white of Georgia far more than the Negro, as is witnessed by the record vote-total of both races in the July primaries there. An avowed foe of monopoly in business, Arnall is yet far removed from the views of the Wallace-Hopkins-Perkins clique and its associates, who strove so earnestly to devastate our economy in the 30's.

Thurs.

1-23-47

By and large, Ellis Arnall is the most potentially brilliant politician to emanate from the South in years. He should serve as a curb to the New Deal action. whatever remains of it, in the '48 convention.

Madison, Ind. BOB MACDYE.

Georgia's Arnall Begins 48-State Tour With 'No Personal Ambitions' for '48

PM New York, N.Y. Thurs. 1-30-47

Says Way to Deal with Hate Groups Is to Change Conditions

By JAMES A. PARLATORE

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia yesterday began a 48-State speaking tour that could very well become the spearhead of a nationwide campaign to make him a Presidential candidate in 1948.

The short, stocky ex-governor, who resigned from office on Jan. 18 after a bitter fight with Herman Talmadge over the governorship of his State, shook hands with newspapermen and well wishers and then autographed copies of his book, *The Shore Dimly Seen*, which were sold in the lobby of Town Hall where he made his first speech of the day. Later he attended a luncheon, a press conference in the Wendell Willkie Memorial Building and appeared on the radio program, *Information, Please.*

To newspapermen who asked him point-blank about his Presidential aspirations, Arnall replied he had "no personal ambitions" except to preach the tenets of democracy. He said that this year he will speak in every State in the Union "five or six times," will do some writing, practice law, take care of some small businesses "and keep active interest in politics."

He said he had not been approached by anyone to make himself available as a candidate in 1948, and added he was unapproachable "at this time." At another time he said he couldn't "imagine pushing his luck that far."

At the Willkie building, the affable, balding Southerner declared that the "only way to deal with hate organizations like the Klan and Columbians is not by passing laws, but by eradicating conditions which breed intolerance." He said a four-point program would do the trick:

¶ Increased educational opportunities. PM N.Y.

¶ More health facilities.

¶ Improved economic conditions.

¶ A constant re-evaluation of government.

Arnall told a packed house at Town Hall that he was "extremely confident" that the Georgia State Supreme Court will oust Talmadge by a unanimous vote. (In Atlanta yesterday, the Georgia House of Representatives, dominated by Talmadge, passed a white primary bill 133 to 62.) 1-30-47

Ex-Gov. Arnall (*left*) chats with Stetson Kennedy, author of *Southern Exposure*, who joined the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians in order to expose them. Photo by John DeBiase, PM

PM New York N.Y. 1-30-47

Arnall Is Voted Democracy's Top Advancer in '46

Mon. 2-17-47

NEW YORK, Feb. 16—(AP)—Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Co-chairman of the Council Against Intolerance in America, said Sunday that former Gov. Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, won a poll of 500 city editors and 1,500 civic organizations to select winners of the Thomas Jefferson prizes for the advancement of democracy during 1946.

Winner in the field of education was Dr. Homer Rainey, former President of the University of Texas and now President of Stephens College, Columbia, Mo. Arnall's award was voted in the field of public service.

Other winners in the poll, conducted under the auspices of the Council, were Dr. Harlow Shapely, chief of the Harvard Observatory, in the field of science; Margaret Halsey, author of "Color Blind," in journalism and literature, and Frank Sinatra, in the field of arts. 2-17-47

Each winner will receive a "miniature Jefferson" at a Jefferson birthday dinner on April 13, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel here.

37c(2) 1947

Georgia (Eugene Talmadge)

Talmadge Memorial

By HENRY McLEMORE

ATLANTA.—I can't afford to travel around as much as I have been traveling lately, but when I learned that there was a movement underway in Georgia to erect a memorial to the late Eugene Talmadge, I just had to come up here.

37c(1)

To raise the money for this trip, I sold my best marbles (including an agate taw that is a beauty), turned in my soap coupons for cash, mowed three lawns, and delivered groceries for the store across the street from where I live. Advertiser

After I had bought my ticket and packed a borrowed suitcase, acquaintances advised me not to make the trip. They said I wouldn't be safe, that feeling was running so high in Georgia that outlanders were liable to be met at the terminal station in Atlanta by men who demanded passports, a declaration of faith in the current government, and a conviction that polka dot supremacy was fair and just. 1-9-47-th.

Disguise Complete

Having been born here in Georgia I knew how to protect myself while in its confines. I arrived in Atlanta wearing a wool hat, a hickory shirt, a pair of "yaller" brogans, and accompanied by a pair of rib-showing hounds. I have been here a day and a half now and not once have I been molested. I have been accepted as part and parcel of the State. Montgomery, Ala.

Since I have been here I have been in touch with Georgia's leading artists, and have had many long and interesting talks as to just what type of memorial should be erected to the late Eugene Talmadge. I have walked all over the lovely capitol grounds, where the memorial is to be erected, looking for a suitable site.

I have even offered my services to the State, and have gone on record as willing to design a shaft, an equestrian statue, or anything else, for free.

What would be a fitting memorial for the Gene?

The first thing I thought of was a statue of George Washington Carver, with Gene riding him pick-a-back. But that would cost too much, as it would require two marble figures.

Then I considered a great slab of white marble, sunk in the grass of the capitol grounds, in the shape of a sheet. No man looking on that—especially if the stonecutters had drilled eyeholes in the marble—could fail to remember Mr. Talmadge.

Fitting Memorial

An artist friend said he didn't like either one of these designs. He thought that a granite spittoon—pure simple, cold, and aloof—would be a more fitting memorial. "A place," he said, "where all who chew tobacco could find solace and relief." 1-9-47-th.

Frankly, I didn't like that suggestion. There was more to the late Gene than a plug of tobacco. Granted, the massive spittoon would serve a purpose, but it wouldn't incorporate the spirit of the man who four times was accorded the governorship of Georgia. The spittoon shouldn't be cold and pure. It should have handles in the shape of red gallusses; it should rest on a base carved from the bones of the down-trodden and helpless, and atop it should be a torch which would beckon all those who care to share in seeing that the ignorant and the unenlightened weren't given a chance.

Yes, Georgia must see to it that Gene has a memorial. He did too much, too too much, ever to be forgotten.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

For a Memorial To Eugene Talmadge

1-31-47

A number of the many friends and admirers of the late Eugene Talmadge have gotten together in an effort to erect a monument to him on the Capitol grounds.

The Atlanta Constitution, although it quite frequently disagreed with his methods and ideas, quite approves and accords the memorial movement its wholehearted indorsement. The Constitution

Eugene Talmadge four times was accorded the governorship of Georgia by the people of this State. He bound to himself thousands upon thousands of Georgians who will cherish his memory so long as they live. As one of the outstanding Chief Executives of our recent history, it is most meet and proper that a memorial should be erected to him. The fact that for thousands of others his name is anathema and his philosophy despised as evil and wrong does not alter the other facts. The memorial should be erected.

Atlanta, Ga.

Fr.-1-31-47

37c(2) 1947 Georgia (Governor - Thompson)

Georgia Fuehrer Gets Slapped

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

GEORGIA'S Supreme Court ruling against Herman Talmadge slaps the would-be fuehrer right out of the State capitol which he and his ruffians had seized in a sort of imitation of Hitler's Beer Hall putsch.

There can be no doubt that the immense and active indignation which swept Georgia's population had a lot to do with the court's opinion.

Talmadge's insolence aroused many Georgians who had up to now failed to see where the "white supremacy" viciousness was leading to. Fri. 3-21-47

The Negro people of Georgia were letting it be known that they would no longer accept the infamous tyranny aimed against them by the professional Negro-baiters. Their growing trade union organizations, their determination to fight for electoral rights were factors that could not be brushed aside, even by the Talmadge storm troopers.

Thus the Negro people's struggle for democratic liberty was the occasion for an important advance toward democracy for all of Georgia, and for the nation as a whole.

The new Governor, Melvin E. Thompson, though he challenged the Talmadge gang, did not challenge the "white supremacy" philosophy.

It remains for public opinion both in Georgia and elsewhere to continue the struggle which achieved the victory over the Talmadge clique.

It is especially urgent that there be organized the widest public unity to compel Thompson to outlaw the illegally-passed "white primary" bill of the Talmadge forces.

Under this bill, and behind the smokescreen of "white supremacy," the Talmadge gang seized private control of the Democratic Party, and thus of the state's political machinery. The smashing of this conspiracy is now the next step.

The unity of Negro people, labor, and middle class groups which routed Talmadge is what can win this next fight. Fri. 3-21-47

M. L. ST. JOHN

It Was A Well-Kept Secret

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Members of the Georgia Supreme Court have qualified themselves as capable of serving on the Atomic Bomb Commission. The manner in which they kept secret their decision on the gubernatorial decision showed they could be trusted with any secret. Of course, there were guesses, ranging all the way from 4-to-3 decisions to unanimous decisions on both sides, but no outsider actually knew the Court's verdict until it was announced. Until the last minute, there were guesses that the decision would be 5 to 2 for Herman Talmadge as well as 5 to 2 for M. E. Thompson—among all the other guesses and odds—but we never heard anyone guess correctly the names of the two dissenting justices. Seven justices, seven law clerk-secretaries, and perhaps a few other court officials and maybe—or maybe not—wives of the justices knew how the decision was shaping up. It is a tribute to them that the secret was well preserved. Sun. 3-23-47

Aside from Thompson, some of the happiest people about the decision are the trio of Representatives from Richmond County who knocked former House Speaker Roy Harris and the Cracker Party from power in Augusta. Rep. Henry Eve quickly composed a song and he and Reps. John Bell Towill and Bill Morris serenaded Thompson. Sung to the tune of "That Old-Time Religion," it is entitled: "Give Me That 5-2 Decision." The song includes: "It was good for the State of Georgia, and it's good enough for me."

Nerves

Nerves were taut as interested parties, legislators and newsmen, kept a vigil for the decision. Suffering from the "Supreme Court jitters," solons couldn't sit still at their work—they kept pacing between the Senate and House halls and the outside of the courtroom to see if "The Word" had come.

It was the duty of Miss Katherine Bleckley, clerk, to distribute the decision. So every time she opened a door everyone popped to attention. Aides of Thompson and Talmadge said they were unable to sleep much during the few nights before the decision came. The night city editor of The Constitution got a tip that the Court was meeting at 11 o'clock one night and sped a police reporter—the reporter able to move the fastest late at night—to the Capitol . . . only to learn that the Justices, assenters and dissenters, had been working late most nights on the decision and this was just another night's work for them.

Gags

The night before the decision came down, the phone rang in the room of Rep. Howard Overby, of Hall County.

"This is Jimmy Allen, of The Constitution," said the voice. "I am taking a cross-section of legislative opinion on the Supreme Court decision just announced. What is your opinion?"

Before the question was hardly asked, Overby had excitedly called the boys in his room to gather around the phone . . . "Because this is it!"

"W-w-what was the decision?" stammered Overby.

"Well," said the voice, "it was a rather unusual verdict. It said Arnall could not succeed himself and Gene Talmadge was dead, so the Governors' chair goes to the next living Governor. Ed Rivers is on his way here from Lakeland."

Overby's amazement turned to laughter as he realized The Constitution has no "Jimmy Allen" on its staff, but that an acquaintance of his has a voice like "Allen's."

'The Word'

This one is told on Justice Tom Candler. When he headed to his home in Blairsville to spend the weekend, a couple of lawyers in his section stopped him. They were close friends of the Justice They were angling for a hint of the impending decision. The Constitution

"Tom," they said, "we know you can't tell us what the decision is going to be. But we have a chance to pick up a lot of money in a bet on this decision, and we would appreciate it if you would just give us a little hint." Atlanta, Ga.

In a furtive manner which politicians follow when they want to give you something confidentially, Candler whispered to them the number of a section and paragraph in the State Constitution "which will help you boys out." Sun. 3-23-47

The lawyers rushed to get a Constitution and thumbed through it until they reached the section.

It was a paragraph banning gambling.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Constitution

37c(2) State

Cook's Prestige Enhanced by Victory

Atlanta, Ga.

The man who is winning much editorial praise from the gubernatorial dispute before the Supreme Court is Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook. Editors over the State, in several spontaneous editorials, have pointed out that it is no small thing for a lawyer to win a case deciding the Governorship of Georgia. Some think it is the most important legal decision in Georgia history. They are more impressed, however, with an Attorney General staking his reputation and political career on this one case. Wed. 4-9-47

To the people who have heard Gene Cook speak at civic meetings, and to the people who have seen him appear before juries in courtrooms, it is difficult to understand why he doesn't become Governor some day. He is a fine speaker. He inspires confidence and gives the listeners a feeling that he has sincerity and knowledge. Several political leaders have freely predicted the genial little Gene Cook could win a stump campaign for Governor. But they also predicted Cook would not make a strong Governor because they believe him to be "wishy-washy" in tight spots.

Before he came to Atlanta, Cook won a reputation as a crusading prosecuting attorney in the Dublin circuit. When he became State Revenue Commissioner, he floundered around in setting policies for the State's tricky liquor laws. But he showed more knowledge and courage on the tax laws. Even while renting a home from Wiley Moore, Cook initiated a suit against a company in which Moore was deeply interested financially. He cracked down on some mighty big corporations for income taxes. He initiated several big law suits as Revenue Commissioner which it fell his lot to prosecute when he became Attorney General.

In Tight Places

Former Gov. Arnall had asked Cook to prosecute the Ku Klux Klan and Columbians. Cook had inherited Arnall's freight rate suit in the United States Supreme Court. Arnall was leaving the Governorship. Eugene Talmadge was the Democratic nominee. There were reports Talmadge would order Cook to drop the war on the Klan and the railroads. Just re-elected by the people himself, Cook quickly announced he would continue the fight until he won.

When the contest for Governor arose, Cook rendered an opinion that Arnall was eligible to hold over. Legislative leaders backing Herman Talmadge introduced bills to strip Cook of his salary and powers, but the reaction to this type legislation killed it. The Supreme Court upheld Cook's opinion.

Major decision to be lost by Cook was on the Helen Douglas Mankin case. He held the Soldier's Vote Law was still in effect, and therefore the State Democratic Convention could not change the ballot so as to strike Mrs. Mankin's name as Democratic nominee for Congress. The courts reversed him.

Friends say Cook would not be adverse to running for Governor some day. But it won't be next year. He is just starting a four-year term as Attorney General.

Constitution

Herman, M. E. and Dan

In the opinion of Dan Duke, former crusading Assistant Attorney General of Georgia who was named one of America's 10 outstanding young men last year by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, what Georgia needs next year is a good gubernatorial candidate. He has no use for Talmadgeism. On the other hand, he thinks Thompson is wobbly. Duke says he is not a candidate himself. But he predicts a good man—perhaps a Legislator or a Supreme Court Justice—could be drafted "to retrieve the government for the people."

What does Herman Talmadge think of Duke's talk?

A smile, and this comment: "Seems like Duke is flirting with the idea of running for Governor himself."

What does Thompson think of Duke's talk?

Just a smile; no comment.

Marvin Likes One Marvin Griffin was the first appointee of Herman Talmadge to quit when the Supreme Court decision was announced. The Adjutant General went back to Bainbridge to resume the editorship of his weekly newspaper. His first editorial was one praising an appointment made by Acting Gov. Thompson. While disagreeing with Thompson's politics, Griffin said he liked the appointment of J. L. Pilcher, of Meigs, as State Purchasing Agent, because Pilcher is the type man Georgia needs in government.

Erred A reader has called attention to an error made in a story published shortly after the court decision. In this story we said Thompson received more popular votes than any candidate for any office in the primary. Thompson led the ticket in the general election; not the primary.

37c(2)

Jim Crow Foe Hails Verdict

PM New York, N.Y.

"A great victory for the people," was the way Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, summed up the defeat dealt Herman Talmadge. Thurs

Rep. Eugene E. Cox (D., Ga.), said: 3-20-47

"From my close observation, I think the court has hung the law."

Talmadge Ousted By Georgia High Court

37c(2)

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y. Thurs. 3-20-47

ATLANTA, Ga., March 19 (UP).—The Georgia Supreme Court ruled today that M. E. Thompson is the rightful Governor of Georgia and Herman Talmadge was an usurper. The 5 to 2 decision holding that Lt. Gov. M. E. Thompson is the state's legal chief executive was handed down at 11:25 a. m.

Twenty minutes later, Talmadge put some papers in a bible, put on a gray hat, and walked from the executive office which he had forcibly seized two months ago from former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Thompson, elected Lieutenant-Governor in last November's election that returned Gene Talmadge as governor, waited in his hotel suite to take over.

SAYS HE'LL RUN

The 33-year old son of the late Eugene Talmadge said:

"We'll be back, The court of last resort is the people of Georgia."

That was his announcement of candidacy in next year's gubernatorial election. Thompson's term will expire Dec. 31, 1948. Thurs.

Attorney General Eugene Cook ruled at once that the white primary bill passed by the Talmadge-controlled legislature and signed by Herman was not law and could not become law until Thompson had signed it. 3-20-47

He likewise invalidated all legislative bills signed by Talmadge during the time he functioned as Governor. He suggested that the Secretary of State return all these bills to the legislative clerks for submission to Thompson for signature or veto.

The white primary bill to bar Negroes from Democratic Primaries was the most important of the score or so legislative acts Talmadge signed. Thompson favors the white primary but not necessarily the bill passed by the Talmadge forces.

APPOINTMENTS VOID

The long-awaited court decision was 44 pages long but watered down to the simple ruling that Eugene Talmadge had not qualified as Governor due to his death before he was inaugurated and Thompson therefore was Governor because he had been duly elected and qualified as Lieutenant Governor. 3-20-47

The decision voided all the appointments of Talmadge and validated the appointments made by Thompson during the turbulent 63 days that the state had two governors. Daily Worker

The legislature had only three days remaining before it must adjourn its current session. The most vital legislation such as the appropriation bill and a sales tax measure remained to be passed. New York, N.Y.

Thompson announced that he would report to the Governor's office for work bright and early tomorrow. He will address a joint session of the legislature at noon

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GEORGIA EDITORS SAY

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

On the Supreme Court Decision

Mon. 3-24-47

37c(2)

(CEDARTOWN STANDARD)

The court has spoken. It now remains for all factions to adjust themselves to the new order, forgetting past differences and uniting in a determination to work for the best interests of the State. A new Governor will be chosen next year. Who that man will be will be determined by the voters of the State in a special election to be held under the State—not the so-called white primary rules.

(MARIETTA JOURNAL)

Georgia started back on the long road toward decency when the Supreme Court ordered Herman Talmadge ousted from the Governor's office which he forcibly and illegally seized a little more than two months ago.

(SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS)

The fact that the elder Talmadge died before he was inaugurated, instead of later in his term, should not alter the fact that Thompson was the people's choice for Governor in the event of Talmadge's death. The Supreme Court in reaching the decision that Thompson was entitled to the position without a doubt took into consideration the intent of the voters in the State-wide election last year.

(ATHENS BANNER HERALD)

While the Supreme Court was concerned only with the legal angles of the dispute, we feel that a vast majority of Georgia laymen, perhaps not so well versed in jurisprudence, are of the opinion that, conceding the Legislature even had the right to elect, the highest office in the gift of the people should never have been given over to one whose only claim was 675 write-in votes cast by party bolters—this irrespective of the qualifications of the one thus elected.

(COLUMBUS LEDGER)

We do not conceive this to be a personal victory for Melvin E. Thompson. It is a victory for the people of Georgia whose cause he represented in fighting the case through to its ultimate conclusion.

(AUGUSTA CHRONICLE)

Now all of Georgia knows that Herman Talmadge was never Governor-in-fact. He was always the pretender, and his acts are all void. His two months of pretense in office were months of terrible waste, the total cost of which will be hard to appraise.

We do not believe it will be the mood of Georgians to forget this waste—or to forget the sinister plottings of Roy Harris, Bob Elliott, et al—when the 1948 elections roll around. Maybe they will elect Herman Talmadge; maybe they won't. That remains to be seen.

(CLAXTON ENTERPRISE)

Georgia now has only one Governor, instead of the two we were sporting until the Supreme Court rendered its decision. Most saddened by this state of affairs are the Talmadge supporters and the dio comedians.

(MACON NEWS)

Herman Talmadge has already served notice that he will carry his fight to the people, meaning that he will be a candidate for Governor in 1948. By that time the reactionary waves in Georgia's turbulent political waters will have receded; prejudice and hatred, demogoguery and chicanery will, we believe, have given way to fair play, reason and justice.

Let us rejoice that justice has triumphed again through the instrumentality of the State's highest tribunal, the Supreme Court. But, let us not forget that the fight has just begun and the present triumph is but another battle won in a war between two political ideologies. The Constitution

(BULLOCH TIMES)

It is a great day for Georgia when the Supreme Court comes to the rescue and declares that, whatever of vagueness there may be in the wording of laws concerning the recent situation, Georgia lawmakers did not intend to create a means by which a Governor could be elected by stealth. Mon. 3-24-47

(BARTOW HERALD)

We firmly believe that if the people of Georgia should ever want Talmadge to be Governor, they will do so at the polls in an orderly and sensible manner. We are happy that the Supreme Court decision will settle once and for all the question as to the Legislature's right to elect a Governor. We are happy that the Supreme Court has made it impossible for any man or group of men to steal the office, which is the highest the people can give, away from them. Atlanta, Ga.

Talmadge Out, Extradition O Seidman Seen

The Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Thurs. 3-20-47

37c(2)

Georgia's Supreme Court decision that M. E. Thompson is the legal governor of that state, now makes it possible for the Montgomery police to extradite Paul Seidman from Atlanta, where he is being held, to face charges of false pretense.

Simultaneous with Montgomery, Seidman is wanted by the police in Tallapoosa County. The accused has a police record in eleven states, under nine different alias', for charges varying from petty larceny to robbery committed since 1929, according to police.

Montgomery's charge against him was preferred by W. M. Fuller, of Alexander City, Ala., who claims that he completed a cash deal with Seidman for 75 dozen overalls at a cost of $1,100, and the goods were never delivered.

After arrest in Atlanta, Chief Detective Miller sent Detectives Louis King and S. E. Sellers to bring Seidman back, but the extradition papers had been sent to "Governor" Herman Talmadge, with whom, it appears, the Georgia Attorney General's office "was not doing business."

Montgomery's formal request for this man's extradition, therefore, was not pressed.

Now that Georgia has decided that Thompson is the real governor, new papers have been sent to Georgia, but to make certain this time, they have merely been addressed to "The Governor of Georgia," without naming names. Thurs. 3-20-47

37c(2) 1947 Georgia (Governor M. E. Thompson)

All Talmadge 'Laws' Declared Void

P.M. New York, N.Y.

P.M. New York, N.Y. Thurs. 3-20-47

In as Georgia's Governor, M. E. Thompson, here with mother, Mrs. E. I. Thompson (left) and wife, Anne, gets set to swap his hotel room for the Executive Mansion, said he hoped his administration would be remembered as one of "law and order."

Associated Press Wirephotos

Out as "Governor," Talmadge put papers in Bible and walked out.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY

The Constitution

Thompson Left Holding the Bag

Mon. Atlanta, Ga. 3-31-47

(QUITMAN FREE PRESS)

The Legislature adjourned leaving Gov. Thompson with a sizable bag to hold. Absorbed in the struggle for the governorship, the Legislature did not do much to advance the program adopted by the State Convention. With no appropriation bill, the Administration will have to worry along with much less than will be needed to finance expanded services. The court decision in the governorship is a triumph for law, but if the Governor restores order in the State's disrupted house it will be a triumph of good administration. We do indeed wish him well in the task ahead of him.

(FORT VALLEY LEADER TRIBUNE)

The Georgia Legislature has adjourned. Torn by strife from the first and rent by open dissension to the last, no semblance of order, accomplishment, or co-operation was possible. A house divided against itself must fall. Individuals must unite in a common cause; individual ideas and ambitions must be merged into one. No one person, no one group of persons has the right to seek to dominate the whole. The mantle of infallibility rests uneasily upon the human frame.

This disunity, all too evident in State affairs, has a way of cropping up unexpectedly in community affairs. It defeats its own ends. No person, no group intends that this should be so. All have a common aim—civic betterment. Yet each is sometimes determined to travel his own road. How much smoother the way and nearer the goal if unity prevails.

(AUGUSTA CHRONICLE)

In most respects, the legislative session which has just ended was futile and unproductive, but there was at least one piece of constructive legislation enacted which should not be overlooked.

During the closing hours of the session the General Assembly enacted into law a bill which will permit more than a hundred Georgia counties to enjoy home rule rather than having to bring their local problems to the Legislature for settlement.

The futility of the recent session of the General Assembly pointed up the wisdom of permitting home rule in Georgia. Practically the entire session was devoted to the discussion and passage of local bills which affected only single counties and had nothing to do with the operation of the State as a whole. Mon. 3-31-47

(NEWNAN HERALD)

In an effort to handicap the incoming Governor the Talmadge bloc in the Legislature left him without the necessary funds to carry out the party platform promises. When the time comes to run for the office of Governor again they hope to embarrass him by showing how he failed to meet the obligations of the party. They will be the most surprised group in Georgia when they wake up to discover that to put M. E. Thompson under a handicap is to put him where he knows how to do his best work.

(COLUMBUS LEDGER)

You would think that a tax which was considered good and necessary under Talmadge would also be equally good and necessary under Thompson, but that isn't the way Talmadge folks do business. The Constitution

Their killing of the sales tax was pure spite work, and, while the result happens to be something we like very much, we can't help observing that here you have an excellent measure of the true caliber of the men who compose the General Assembly. 3-31-47

Clearly, their enthusiasm for the sales tax was a fake, because it is inconceivable that men who sincerely believed in such a tax would change their belief simply because somebody else became Governor. Atlanta Ga.

(COBB COUNTY TIMES)

The Georgia General Assembly adjourned last weekend having made a few good laws, several sins of commission, and many of omission.

The Assembly adjourned without passing an appropriation bill and without providing means to raise additional revenues for expanded State services promised during the campaign last Summer.

Whatever chance the sales tax had died when Talmadgeites saw that Thompson would administer the funds thus raised and the Assembly went home saying in effect, "Let M. E. do it!"

If M. E. can do it, raise the money for added services, that is, then his political future is assured.

"A statesman thinks of the next generation; a politician, of the next election."

Judging by that standard, there were very few statesmen in the 1947 General Assembly.

The Real Point

37a(2)

4-17-47

Editor Constitution: We noted with interest the letter from Mr. Hart, of Macon, and your reply in The Constitution of April 12. It seems to us that you entirely missed the point in your reply. We all know that Mr. Thompson received more unit votes in the July primary than any other candidate. Not a majority but a plurality. The Constitution

In this primary Mr. Talmadge emerged the winner and as a result he and all other winners were declared the nominees by the Macon Convention, a creature of this primary set up by friends of Gov. Arnall. This convention proceeded to set up a State Committee for the next four years or until the convention arising from the primary to be held in 1950. Ga.

The contention of Mr. Hart was that neither Mr. Thompson nor any other man had any authority to dissolve this State Committee and set up a new body until the primary of 1950 set the stage for a new committee to be selected by the State Convention of 1950. If Mr. Talmadge had lived he would have been as powerless as anyone else to take such action as he and all other nominees were creatures of that convention and their authority in party matters was, and is, supreme. The fact that Mr. Thompson was winner in the race for Lieutenant Governor gave him no power to override the action of the convention any more than Mr. Fortson, Mr. Hamilton or any other nominee for a Statehouse office. Atlanta, Ga.

For some reason you ignored the crux of Mr. Hart's contention and introduced matter that had no bearing whatever on the question under consideration. Some of your readers like myself are rather ignorant and gullible, but we are not one hundred percent morons. Mon JAMES L. WARD.

Alpharetta, Ga. 4-17-47

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Statesmanship?

Editor Constitution: There is nothing so revealing of character, or lack of it as the actions of a man or group of men in the flush of victory or the depths of defeat, but of the two I think the actions (or lack of action) in defeat are somewhat more revealing than are those of victory.

In victory he and his leaders, with his body guard, at 2 a. m. insultingly demanded of the legal Governor his office and with the aid of his body guard he obtained it and later in the same manner took up illegal residence in the State mansion. The Constitution

However, from a man who would stoop to make political capital out of the fatal illness and impending death of his father, such things should have been expected. Atlanta, Ga.

Later, we heard much of statesmanship, but where was this statesmanship after the Supreme Court's decision? "I'll vote for anything to spend money and against anything to raise money," said one. "We'll knock the Supreme Court off like clay pigeons," said another. "I always knew there were two statesmen and five politicians on the Supreme Court." And what did "Humin'" say on this momentous occasion? "What judges, find out what judges," which, no doubt, will go down in history as a great statement by a great statesman. 3-31-47

Mon. WILL S. COX, JR.
Atlanta.

Looks Better

Editor Constitution: Though love is blind, surely even the fanatical Talmadgeites can see that "the little prince" looks better going than he does coming. Remember, he blew in with the ugliness of strong armed force and went out with a pleasant smile, or as near a facsimile as he could manage. NOLAN E. RAGSDALE.
Homer.

'Grave Injustice'

Editor Constitution: I have just read the article "Hot Spots on the Thermometer" and I regret to say that I cannot go all the way with you on it, because I think you are doing the voters of our State, as well as some of the gentlemen mentioned, a great injustice. Mon. 3-31-47

In the first place you give outsiders the wrong impression of the voters of Georgia. You reflect upon their intelligence by saying or intimating that they vote for demagogues or unscrupulous men to fill the offices of our State. I feel like the voters of Georgia rank with the tops in both intelligence and right thinking.

Now, as for Gene Talmadge, I desire to say as one of his friends that you leave your readers under the wrong impression of him. There are many things which his followers can remember him by besides the $3 tag. For instance, when he gave us the $3 tag he gave the people of Georgia millions of dollars in savings in their utility rates; he gave the taxpayers of Georgia 40 percent reduction in their ad valorem taxes. Again he paid the teachers of Georgia millions of dollars which represented past-due salaries, and by the way, Atty. Gen. Arnall gave an opinion that this item was not a legal charge against the State. However, being a friend of the schools and teachers, Talmadge found a way to pay them and did so. Another thing that stands to his credit is that every time he was Governor he left the State Treasury better off than when he found it. In fact, he never touched taxes in his whole career except to reduce them.

J. J. FORRESTER.
Leesburg.

'Let People Know'

Editor Constitution: All of us are in favor of aiding democracy everywhere in the world, but we will be disappointed if our efforts are used to crush democracy.

Let the people know the following facts: Mon. 3-31-47

Before the recent war Greece had one of the cruelest dictatorships in all the world. The King was placed back on his throne by British warships and guns. Bullets furnished Greece will be used, not to kill Russians, but to kill Greeks. Every Greek who speaks out for democracy is called a Communist by the present Greek Government. "Democrats" will be killed as "Communists."

We are going to aid Turkey and Christians are rallying to cry for aid to that country. Ga.

The fact is that Turkey is anti-democratic and is the most "anti-Christian" country in all the world today. JACKSON C. COOK.
Columbus.

It Reminded Him . . .

Editor Constitution: The pictures on your front page Wednesday reminded me of a little poem which I read in an old fertilizer catalogue when I was a small boy, to wit: Mon. 3-31-47

The devil sends the wicked winds
To blow the skirts knee high,
But Heaven is just and sends the dust
To close the bad man's eye.

Atlanta, Ga. Anon—
DLORAH NITROM.
Atlanta.

Down Herman's Alley

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Thompson's veto of white primary was right down Herman's alley. It puts him where Ole Gene stood last Summer. Yours for a great and bloody campaign in 1948.

REV. A. C. SHULER.
Baptist Minister,
Jacksonville, Fla.

GEORGIA GOVERNOR!

Constitution

Senate Guest Thompson Awes Pages

Atlanta, Ga.

By LORRAINE NELSON
Constitution Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, May 6—The "Governor of Georgia" was a popular figure around the U. S. Capitol Building Tuesday—even the floor of the Senate, thought by most to be reserved for Senators only, was opened to him.

M. E. Thompson, Georgia's Acting Governor, was escorted into the Senate chamber by Sen. George, Georgia's Senior Senator, who explained what was thought to be unprecedented action by quoting the rule that "only Senators, their aides and Governors in office" may be admitted to the floor of the Senate. He introduced Thompson to perhaps 20 Senators. Constitution

It was, however, the pages and Capitol attendants who appeared to be most agog in the presence of the man who helped make headlines and radio gags across the country for months.

One remarked later: "Gosh, I bet the two best known men in the country are the President of the United States and the Governors of Georgia." Wed. 5-7-47

Georgia's Pretender. Dethroned

Richmond Times Dispatch

BY its 5-to-2 decision declaring M. E. THOMPSON the rightful Governor of Georgia, the Supreme Court of that State acted in accordance with THE TIMES-DISPATCH prediction of last January that no tribunal could possibly sustain the coup d'etat of HERMAN TALMADGE, whose legislative election to the governorship was based on a brazen distortion of the constitutional language prescribing succession to the chief executive office. Thur 3-20-47

The high court's decision also served officially to exonerate former GOVERNOR ELLIS ARNALL of charges hurled at him by the TALMADGE faction, to the effect that he had used the demise of GOVERNOR-ELECT EUGENE TALMADGE to perpetuate himself in power. ARNALL'S resignation, tendered in order to allow LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR-ELECT THOMPSON to succeed him, was delayed merely to "hold the fort" against the TALMADGE insurgents while the procedure of legal succession was still in doubt. Richmond, Va.

The tribunal's dictum yesterday came as good news not only to the decent people of the State of Georgia, but to the entire South, which had watched the precarious situation with undisguised concern. It also confounded prejudiced critics in the Northern press who had pointed to "Hummon's" putsch as a typical example of the kind of "white supremacy" politics that is condoned in Dixie. Thur 3-20-47

Things did look pretty black for a while, when even some of Georgia's otherwise erudite editors expressed the belief that the rather obscure language of their State's new Constitution might have provided a legal loophole through which "Hummon's" political gangsters could breach with impunity the citadel of constitutional government. But the majority of Georgia's press, including many of the smaller newspapers, was prompt to denounce political opportunism wreaking its will by an ill-disguised threat of police power.

"Hummon" has darkly hinted that the question will be "carried to the court of last resort." Whether that hint involves sinister implications, or whether it is simply a bit of stupid defiance, remains to be seen. Perhaps "GENE'S" "crown prince" has desperate hopes that the followers who used him as a figurehead to capture illicit power will resist the authority of the judicially designated Governor. We doubt that even men of their stamp would dare to defy the courts as well as the popular will. They must realize that the jig's up. Thur. 3-20-47

Still Professor?

Constitution

Editor Constitution: Monday Act. Gov. Thompson stated in Washington that the Talmadge faction in Georgia no longer exists. Now, an absent-minded professor might could have put that idea across in "the little red schoolhouse" or at least he could erase his mistakes at the end of the class. However, since he is occupying the gray stone building, by accident, on Capitol Hill, such statements should be more carefully weighed before expecting the customer to take such a short order. If not, the "professor" may find his teachings rather questioned on next election day. Frankly, he can search through his library, or any other library, and still not be able to read on the line, or between the lines, any hint that the next Governor of Georgia will be picked by the Supreme Court or the Hon. E. D. Rivers. There will still be a teacher shortage in 1948 and some of us think that after that time "M. E." will be doing less talking and dictating but a lot more crayon pushing. Any mistakes made on the blackboard can be erased after class. We just hope he will not take his spite out on the "kids."

Fri 5-16-47 J. L. FOLSOM.
Atlanta.

This Morning

Times Union

By JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

•

"In ranks and squadrons and right forms of war
That drizzled blood upon the capitol. . . ."

Jacksonville, Fla

Today I am happy to have as my very enlightened guest Governor Thompson of Georgia. Since they have been so variously reported, I asked him for his views on the race question.

By M. E. THOMPSON
Governor of Georgia.

Any Southerner, if he is a native, is reared in awareness of the South's triple inheritance: Valor, poverty and outside advice. You might think that the valor would become attenuated, or that the poverty would be overcome, or that the advice would end. Somehow this has not happened. I would not like to substitute caution for valor, even though there might somewhere be a profit in the transaction; but gladly would I exchange the poverty for moderate affluence and dispense with the advice in favor of a trifle in the way of understanding and cooperation. Thurs. 5-16-47

When John Temple Graves asked me to do a guest-column he suggested that I say how I "really feel about the race question, especially as regards segregation voting and fair employment." I do not know why he selected that subject, since most of his readers are in the South and very likely to share my views (and my inability to express these views with such precision as to avoid misunderstanding). I would much rather discuss the question for an Eastern group of readers, because I might—though I doubt it—cause them to understand the feelings of the South.

What do we mean by "fair employment"? Of course I (and any other Southerner) want fair employment for the negroes of the South, and every other American anywhere. That means employment at the highest skill of the individual for which, currently, there is an employment market, and at fair wages. But if you mean the FEPC, then like most Southerners. "I'm agin' it." It would impair the friendly relations between the races, and it would establish a precedent that would be dangerous for the future. It is impossible to write "fair employment" legislation upon a basis that is fair. It is an invitation to racial prejudice, not an antidote. It is a presumptuous interference with management and with the habits of workers. The FEPC does not work and never will be acceptable. 5-15-47

And what does "segregation" mean? If you mean that the South should turn back from its present customs and endeavor to establish two cultures, two economies, and, in effect, two governments for its white and negro citizens, that is ridiculous. If you mean that negro citizens, like white citizens, feel more comfortable when they are mixing socially with members of their own race, than I am for segregation; that is what we have, and it seems to be what both races prefer. There is no law that says that there shall be ice cream parlors for each race while grocery stores and department stores serve both. It is a matter of custom and convenience and of the wishes of both negroes and whites.

Improvement in facilities for negro citizens is desirable. Oddly, or perhaps not oddly, in those communities where income levels are high for both races, the negroes have good theatres, good drug stores in their [illegible] and a variety of entertainment appealing to them; and good homes as well. From that it might reasonably be deduced that the Southern negro is underprivileged for the precise same reasons that the Southern white has a lower income than the people who live on the other side of that not-so-mythical line that divides the country into North and South, rich and poor, empire and colony.

Nor am I going to be fooled about the question of negro voting. The right of qualified citizens to vote is more than a constitutional right. The greatest practical objection to negro voting is the tendency to bloc voting, for which "race leaders," outside propagandists and anti-negro scalawags that work for carpetbag interests must bear the blame. 5-13-

37c(2) 1947

Georgia (Governor M.E. Thompson)

Talmadge Gives Up Office On Supreme Court's Edict

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs.

ATLANTA, GA., March 19.—(AP)—The State Supreme Court rejected claims of Herman Talmadge today as governor of Georgia, and the ousted champion of white supremacy yielded to Lieut.-Gov. M. E. Thompson with a vow to take his case to the people. 3-20-47

The high court, in an historic, 5-to-2 decision, voided the legislature's election of young Talmadge in place of his late father, Eugene Talmadge, who died 23 days before inauguration.

"Such attempted election," said the court, "was a void act, which did not confer upon him any right or title to the office of governor."

The court held that when Talmadge died, there was no legal successor to Gov. Ellis Arnall, and declared Arnall held over. When he resigned voluntarily Jan. 18, 1947, the court continued, executive authority passed to the lieutenant-governor.

Talmadge Pulls Out

The decision came nine weeks to the day after Talmadge seized physical control of the executive offices and governor's mansion with State Troopers and National Guard officers. It ended a period of unprecedented turmoil in which two rivals contended for control of Georgia's government.

Talmadge stomped out of the capitol, followed by his chief political lieutenant, tubby, talkative Roy V. Harris, who had helped engineer his abortive election by the legislature. Before leaving, Talmadge telephoned his pretty young wife at the mansion.

"Honey, it was five to two aginst us," he said. "Get our stuff together now and we'll move out this afternoon."

Will Appeal To People

Talmadge then told reporters: "In all political questions the court of last resort is the people of Georgia. This question will be carried to the court of last resort."

The Supreme Court's decision was made public at 11:25 a.m. by 12:15 p.m., Talmadge and his staff had cleaned out their desks, removed all private papers, and locked the doors. Advertiser

Jubilant Lieut-Gov. Thompson, pump-handling well-wishers in a suite of a downtown hotel, declared: "All along I have believed it was wrong for the general assembly to elect a governor." He asked "the continuous help and prayers of those who put the welfare of our state above personal and political partisanship." Thurs. 3-20-47.

Serves Until Elections

The 42-year-old doctor of philosophy, who remains lieutenant-governor, will exercise executive authority until a successor is chosen in the general election of 1948. The successor will serve the last two years of "Gene Talmadge's unexpired four-year term. Thurs.

Two justices dissented in the Supreme Court's decision. They are Chief Justice W. F. Jenkins and Associate Justice Tom S. Candler. Jenkins, in a separate opinion, held the legislature was within its constitutional rights when it decided there had been no valid election and when it elected an alternate governor. Candler said the controversy was political and could not be reviewed by the courts.

An opinion later in the day by Attorney General Eugene Cook, who last January upheld Thompson's right to the office, said that legislative measures signed by Talmadge were void. However, he suggested the legislature could recall all these and have them acted upon by Thompson.

No Time Limit Set

Cook said adoption of a resolution, instructing that the bills be directed to Thompson, would suffice. The Advertiser

Georgia's constitution sets no time limit for the legislature to deliver its measures to the governor but does limit him to five days if he wishes to sign or veto.

The legislature, which closes its 70-day biennial session Saturday, has passed 151 bills. One of these, a local measure, was submitted to Thompson by its author.

Among the Talmadge-signed bills is the "white primary" act, which seeks to bar Negroes from future Democratic primaries by making them "club affairs" of the party. Thurs. 3-20-47

Thompson Gets Chance to Veto 'White Primary'

By Stetson Kennedy

Author of *Southern Exposure*

All bills and resolutions passed by the Georgia Assembly and signed by the layman Herman Talmadge are voided by the Georgia Supreme Court decision which declared M. E. Thompson to be the legitimate Governor, the State's Attorney General Eugene Cook has ruled in an opinion requested by Thompson.

This means that Thompson must either sign or veto all such legislative acts, including the "white primary" bill. PM

Cook's opinion held that Herman Talmadge had "no right or title" to the govenorship, and since his signature on legislation was a "nullity." New York, N.Y.

It Was A

A Misunderstanding

Yesterday afternoon the Georgia Senate also rescinded its confirmations of all Talmadge appointees, declaring it had acted under a "misapprehension of the law." Thurs.

I asked Cook what he intends to do about the State's revocation proceedings against the corporate charters of the Klan and Columbians. The suits were initiated by former Gov. Ellis Arnall and were left in Cook's hands upon the recent resignation of Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke. 3-20-47

Cook told me that he intends to prosecute the quo warranto proceedings against both the Klan and Columbians, unless instructed to withdraw the suits by Gov. Thompson. Actually, Cook himself has the prerogative, as the duly elected Attorney General, to prosecute these suits on his own initiative, with or without Gov. Thompson's approval.

Thompson Starts Functioning Today

Thompson is due to go before a joint session of the Georgia Legislature at noon today to make his first address. It was the Legislature, dominated by the Talmadge machine, which voted young Herman into office on the grounds that he had received the most write in votes in the election won by his father, who died 23 days before inauguration. 3-20-47

By 5-2 vote, the State Supreme Court ruled that the Legislature's action was a "void act."

Herman called up his wife at the Executive Mansion, told her, "Get our stuff together now and we'll move out this afternoon."

But he swore he'd be back again in next year's election. "The court of last resort," he said, "is the people of Georgia. This case will be taken to the court of last resort."

Approves Policy

Editor Constitution: I want to thank you for your editorial of Thursday, March 20, 1947, "We Live by Law." The Constitution

If I know anything about what right means, I know that your policy has been right from beginning to end of this disgraceful controversy we have just seen come to a close. I want to thank you as I am sure many more thousands of Georgians will do for the stand you took of sparing our State through your paper. I am sure had it not been for your able management of The Atlanta Constitution and your editorial policy, with thousands of out-of-State readers, the ridicule already heaped upon us would have been greater. Atlanta, Ga.

May you continue in the good way as you have during this unhappy controversy. Sun. 3-23-47

May many more thousands of new readers as myself come to realize that we should support The Atlanta Constitution for the fair stand it took for Georgia.

Atlanta. J. E. FULLER.

They'll Be Back

Editor Constitution: The Supreme Court has finally come out with their decision on who is Georgia's legal Governor. The Constitution

Just because Herman Talmadge has vacated the Mansion for the time being is no sign he will not occupy it again in the next election. He will be the next Governor of Georgia.

I am a senior of Taylorsville High School and over two-thirds of our senior class will help put "Ole Herman" in the next time. Miss Mitt says they'll be back and they will. Atlanta, Ga.

Herman has proved he can lose a battle. He, like his father, has a real backbone and can stand more than these Arnall-lovers think. I hope Gene, II, and little Bobby will enter politics and will be great men like their father and grandfather. "Ole Gene" is still fresh in the minds of all Georgians and always will be.

Herman Talmadge followed the law and did not steal the office of Governor. Sun. 3-23-47

I'm sure everyone will remember all the judges of the Supreme Court and will remember who was for and against Talmadge. All my classmates are now of voting age or on the verge of it.

They are all interested in politics and intend to vote.

PAULINE BAILEY.

Taylorsville.

Jubilant

Editor Constitution: I have felt so jubilant since hearing the good news Wednesday that I have been singing these words to the old song "It's a Long Way to Tipperary." The Constitution

It's a great day for M. E. Thompson,
It's a great day for me—
And for all those who believe that justice
Will win triumphantly!
Atlanta, Ga.
Goodbye to Mr. Herman—
It's been nice knowin you—(oh, yeah?) Sun. 3-23-47
It's a great day for the State of Georgia,
And the U. S. A., too!

M. F. SMITH.

Atlanta.

Legal Now

Editor Constitution: Georgia has now a legal Governor, not one exercising a squatter's right. Georgia is making strenuous efforts to pay her teachers adequate salaries.

Would it not be fine if Georgia had teachers who would give to Georgia's young people the motto—See Big; Think Straight; Act Square? Teachers who would teach the young people to see that they owe a duty to community, State, country and world, as well as to themselves, their families, their friends. Who would teach them to think with their reason, not with their prejudices. Who would teach them to discern the difference between real facts and spurious facts wrapped in the flag. Above all, who would teach the young people to act honestly, fairly and justly toward everybody, regardless of race or religion.

Then Georgia might have a generation in which 70 percent, not less than 30 percent would think and act intelligently and honestly to make democracy work. There is no need to fear Communism where democracy works.

LILLIAN M. PIERCE.

Atlanta.

Any Twenty?

Editor Constitution: This statement is intended to be a reply to Rice Quattlebaum regarding his statement in today's Constitution concerning Talmadgeism in Georgia. The Constitution

Mr. Quattlebaum stated that Georgia will never return to Talmadgeism. Now, please Mr. Quattlebaum, you don't really mean that, do you? Atlanta, Ga.

Personally, I honestly believe that Hon. Herman Talmadge can "lick" any 20 men in an election right now, today. J. R. DEAN.

Charlotte, N. C. Sun. 3-23-47

'We'll Be Back'

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Georgia's new Constitution is a poorly written and childish piece of 'ritin—it comes as much within the comprehension of the analytical mind of any intelligent thinking Georgian as the minds of lawyers or judges. The opinion of the Supreme Court Judges does not alter the minds of our thinking citizenry. Atlanta, Ga.

The gubernatorial decision rendered bears no more moral significance to our citizens who do do their own thinking than if it had been settled by the "head or tail" flipping method.

Voters can be told that black is white, but in their eyes black continues to be black. 3-23-47

As "Miss Mitt" said, "We'll be back!" HUBERT WATKINS.

Ball Ground.

Had Enough

ditor Constitution: I guess the all and Thompson crowd is satisfied now. They never did stop until they beat Talmadge out of it. Now is the time the Talmadge forces had a few words to say. What did we elect our Legislature for? They elected Herman according to law and Judge Hendricks and Judge Almond seen it was done according to law. That Arnall crowd ain't been satisfied with nothing if it was not going their way. We had a Governor but we ain't got one now by law. We Talmadge folks pray to see the day their names will come out on a ballot. Listen, are we going to sit by and take this. It's time we had our say now. We have taken enough. Now it's time for action. Wake up and get some action at once.

E. E. BUFORD.

Cartersville.

Two-Headed Freak

Editor Constitution: Local government in the Atlanta area has now grown to be a two-headed freak. To get rid of it as quickly as possible and substitute modern government is an urgent necessity. To drag in the Buckhead and other areas, far from helping, will only spread the evil.

The time has come for this

community to quit playing with this problem and concentrate upon it its best ability and energy.

H. A. ALEXANDER.

Atlanta.

Georgia Redeemed

Editor Constitution: I was elated over the decision of the Georgia Supreme Court. It's good to know that the State's highest court is composed of honest, upright men, who respect the will of the people at the ballot box, instead of a handful of legislators. It was an insult to the intelligence of the people of Georgia to even assume that 695 people could elect a governor.

Georgia has partially redeemed itself in the eyes of the nation. She will have fully redeemed herself if Gov. M. E. Thompson will strike out every bill that Herman Talmadge and his Roy Harris-dominated Cracker Party have sponsored.

Georgia will never return to Talmadgeism. Georgians don't wish to live under a Roy Harris Cracker Party controlled State. Georgia will redeem itself in the eyes of the nation and world.

RICE QUATTLEBAUM

Atlanta. Sat. 3-22-47

All Wrong

Editor Constitution: The Supreme Court decision in the Governor's case of course pleased some, but displeased many more.

The set-up was all wrong. It is not best for any five men, whoever they may be, to have authority to speak for the whole population of the State of Georgia. That is a job for the people themselves to act upon through an election, not to be passed upon by partisan men.

At the start of this governorship controversy Herman Talmadge veritably begged to let the people speak, have an election at once. The opposition believed Herman Talmadge would be elected—so that would not do. Their best chance, they figured, was to put the matter before the court, judges. A number of these were Arnall appointees or close friends. We know the result. 3-22-47

CLARA ROBBINS.

Atlanta.

Poor Herman

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Yes, Homman had it bad, poor fellow. He was floating on air until five judges, and very honorable gentlemen I might add, broke the news to him gently that it was only a dream.

37c(2)

Now, I suppose you want to know what became of little Homman. Well, I'm not quite sure. Some say he has gone back to "Sugar Creek" to weep under the weeping willow tree; others say he has gone to Augusta, got a job as porter and bootblack to a man by the name of—let's see—seems like it was Roy Harris or something like that. Anyway, it doesn't really matter. I never heard of him before either. All I know is we have a real Governor now. His name is M. E. Thompson and we trust he will be like the one we used to have. Everyone has heard of him. His name? Ellis Arnall.

2-28-47

Fri. HARRY H. DEHNER.

Atlanta. Atlanta, Ga.

Right Prevailed

Editor Constitution: I am really glad the right has prevailed, and hope no one will ever again get in any office in Georgia by the hate and mud-slinging method. A man that is so little, or has such bad reputation, or no reputation, or has nothing to offer to the people worthwhile, and undertakes to get in office by such methods, is certainly not the kind we need. Let a man be a man, and stand or fall on his own. That is the kind we need. I am real proud that we have so many good newspapers that stand for the right without fear or favor, and don't sell out for anything. I give them credit for being the real backbone of good and decent government. Sometimes it seemed the backbone was about to break, but I am thankful that it hasn't.

W. M. COX.

Lebanon.

Saddened

37c(2)

Editor Constitution: We patriotic Georgians are saddened by the ruling of our Supreme Court, which gave Thompson the Governor's job till we elect a man who will represent the white people who elected "Uncle Gene" Governor of Georgia.

A very small plurality gave Lt. Gov. Thompson enough votes for the position of Lieutenant Governor of Georgia. He now is Acting Governor by law. But there are more than 300,000 white Democrats in Georgia who are waiting for the privilege of voting for his successor — any good Jefferson Democrat. 37c(2) 3-21-47

I am one of the 300,000.

3-21-47 AMOS Z. SLUPP.

Douglasville. Fri.

Castigates Thompson

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: The present Democratic Executive Committee was lawfully elected and appointed until 1950 from friends of the legally elected nominee. For a man who never even received a majority of unit votes for lieutenant governor, nor ever made a campaign speech for governor, to try to oust the legal Committee, seems both illegal and morally unfair. 4-12-47

No one can trust Thompson, whose principles change like a weathervane. Is The Atlanta Constitution, which advocates protection of the primary law, going to denounce this attempt of unlawful seizure of power or will it continue to put principle over personalities?

H. HART.

Macon. Atlanta, Ga.

Editor's Note: Thompson received more unit votes in the primary than any one of his five opponents. He polled more votes in the general election than any other candidate for any office, including the late Eugene Talmadge.

No Loopholes

Editor Constitution: A mother, going to the store, admonished her young child not to leave until she returned, never dreaming that while she was away the house would catch on fire!

Who can censure the mother for not foreseeing the future; yet who would expect the child to remain in the burning house because a few provisional words were not spoken? Sat. 4-12-47

Let us strive, Aroused Citizens, for a State Constitution that will leave no loopholes for several interpretations because of its obscure meaning, but rather, have it written down in black and white, so that never again can a person take advantage of a technicality to gain an office, when it is obviously, so morally wrong!

MARY F. SMITH.

Atlanta.

AN AMERICAN COURT STANDS FIRM

The Advertiser

The Georgia Supreme Court, in a 5-2 decision, has ruled that M. E. Thompson is the legal governor of the state, and that the election of Herman Talmadge by the Legislature was illegal.

Montgomery, Ala.

Thus after two months' occupancy of the post which he took by force, Herman Talmadge bows to the verdict of American law. But in doing so, Talmadge indicated that he accepts the mandate of the high court only for the time being.

Thurs. 3-20-47

"The court of last resort is the people of Georgia. This case will be taken to the the court of last resort," declared the young heir to the Talmadge dynasty.

Thus the issue is drawn for the next governor's race in Georgia. Talmadge will appeal his case to the "court of last resort," which, as he says, is the people.

The Advertiser

Whether they vindicate Talmadge or repudiate him is beside the point, and for the present immaterial. The all important considerations are that Talmadge has had to submit to the edict of the legally constituted guardian of democracy, and that he still has "the court of last resort" to which he can present his case. That is the democratic process.

Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 3-20-47

M. L. ST. JOHN

The Constitution

Thompson Talks for the Record

Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 4-20-47

Acting Gov. Thompson wants his administration to be an "open book." He does very little of his talking "off the record." He answers questions asked by newsmen, and tells them his answers are for publication. He doesn't believe in secret meetings by public boards. While former Gov. Arnall also favored open meetings by State boards, there were some boards which persisted in going into lengthy "executive" sessions.

One of the first things Thompson has done has been to walk with the State Capitol reporters into these board meetings which formerly were closed. Memberships of most of the boards have been changed. Reporters sat in on sessions of the State Highway Board, State Milk Control Board, and State Board of Corrections, which they had seldom visited before.

"I hope we never have any star chamber sessions," Thompson is telling the various boards. "What I say in these board meetings is on the record, and I see no reason why the actions of a board charged with carrying on the people's business should not be known to the people."

Acting Governor At a press conference in the Governor's office, we addressed the occupant of the Governor's chair. "Sir," we said, "some of our readers have protested our addressing you in print by the title of 'Acting Governor.' Will you tell us your proper title?"

"The proper title is Acting Governor," Thompson replied. "The Supreme Court ruled that I am Acting Governor. I sign all commissions I issue with the title of Acting Governor." Sun

Elected Lieutenant Governor last November, Thompson assumed the duties of Acting Governor when Gov. Arnall resigned the post to which the Supreme Court ruled he was entitled to hold until a successor could be elected. Thompson will be the Acting Governor until a special gubernatorial election is held in November, 1948. He and Herman Talmadge, former claimant to the Governorship, have been announced as candidates for the 1948 election. 4-20-47

Post Roads Members of the State Highway Board want to spend all the money they possibly can on farm-to-market roads. Told by Acting Gov. Thompson that the State could put up funds only to match Federal grants, Board members asked the department for information on how much Federal money is available for post roads.

Aid to Drivers When Reps. Jack Wells, of Clarke County, and Ben Cheek, of Franklin County, introduced legislation calling for a five-year driver's license, it was with no idea of helping build a veterinary school. They felt it would be convenient for motorists to obtain one driver's license each five years, instead of having to buy a license every year. They were so interested in eliminating this annual nuisance that they introduced a second bill after their first attempt was defeated. The first bill called for bargain prices for the five-year license—selling the long-time license for $3.50, where five one-year licenses would cost $5. This bill was defeated because the House believed that motorists would rush forward to buy the five-year licenses, anyway, and the State would lose much income. So Cheek and Wells introduced and passed a bill offering the five-year licenses for $5.

Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 4-20-47

While Cheek and Wells were looking out solely for the convenience of the motorists, the House passed an appropriations bill setting up $1,000,000 to construct a Veterinary School in the University System. The appropriations bill died in the Senate. It was only after seeing the proposed State appropriation for the Veterinary School fail that Wells brought forth the idea of giving the extra money from long-time driver's licenses to this proposed school. He and some Georgia students proposed giving to the school $4 of each $5 license. The Budget Commission indorsed the plan, and a sales campaign is under way to get Georgians to buy their licenses for a five-year period.

The Constitution

Rivers and Duke Former Gov. Rivers is getting ready to open law offices in the Volunteer Building. So is Dan Duke. Rumors are that Rivers, close friend of Acting Gov. Thompson, and Duke, a potential candidate for Governor against Thompson, will share law offices. Informed of the rumors, Duke said he would not deny them. Rivers could not be reached for comment. Duke has planned a series of speeches over the State. In his first address at Thomaston, he denounced both Herman Talmadge and Thompson and predicted some other candidate would be in the 1948 race. 4-20-47

37c(2) 1947 Georgia (Governor M. E. Thompson)

Georgia's Thompson Isn't Likely to Do Miracles

37c(2)

The Courier-Journal

By MARGARET SHANNON, Atlanta Journal Writer

ATLANTA, March 22.—One day, as he sat in the drab little office of the State Senate president at the Georgia State Capitol, while Herman Talmadge still was ensconced in the oak-paneled executive suite, M. E. Thompson peered up at the reporters standing around his desk and drawled:

The Courier-Journal

"I hope to be the best average Governor Georgia has ever had."

Sun.

He could not have summed up the general estimate of his abilities more aptly. People expect Thompson to be a pretty good Governor. They do not think he is a miracle man.

Louisville, Ky.

Thompson definitely does not think so, either, or else he is smart enough to conceal any delusions of grandeur. He certainly lacks the sometimes almost arrogant cockiness of his illegal predecessor.

3-23-47

Was Born On Farm

The man whom the State Supreme Court Wednesday declared to be Georgia's one and only Governor is an ex-schoolteacher who will be a Ph. D. if he ever gets around to writing his thesis.

He was born on a farm in Jenkins County (population 11,843), in East Central Georgia, almost 44 years ago (May 3, 1903). He worked his way through high school and college, and constantly got the bad breaks.

He never ran for public office until last year, when he was elected to the newly created office of lieutenant governor.

In the knockdown-dragout definition of a politician, he is not one. Yet he has just emerged victorious over the strongest political combination ever welded in Georgia—the Talmadge machine plus that uncanny picker of winners, Roy V. Harris, former Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives.

Sun. 3-23-47

Harris Was Repudiated

Harris is a pudgy little man from Augusta, stronghold of the notorious Cracker Party, which last year was defeated at the polls for the first time in years. Harris was among those repudiated.

Having opposed a constitutional amendment which would have allowed former Governor Ellis Arnall to succeed himself, Harris cast his lot with the late Eugene Talmadge and helped him win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination last summer. He directed the campaign leading to Herman Talmadge's election by the General Assembly after "Ol' Gene's" death.

That is the sort of stuff Thompson has been up against. It has not worn him out. On the contrary, he considers it all a strengthening experience.

Thompson reportedly came face to face with Harris one day when his chances looked darkest and the Talmadge prospects brightest, and said: "I'm going to devote the rest of my file to wiping you out of Georgia politics."

Such incidents, legendary or not, contribute to the hope of some of Thompson's supporters that behind the appearance of averageness lie more interesting qualities

Surely the ingredients are there.

It took ambition and resolution, for instance, for the youngest of seven children whose father died when he was 2 years old, to get an education.

When M. E. became of high school age, his grandfather, the Rev. H. G. Edenfield, a Baptist minister in Millen, county seat of Jenkins County, decided to invest his savings in an education for his grandson, rather than buy an automobile.

But the grandfather died a year later.

M. E. worked in a grocery store, and then a restaurant, and lived with an employer. Then the man he was living with died. The youth went back to the farm, and walked five miles to and from school every day during his senior year.

He Taught and Coached

To get his degree from Emory University, in Atlanta, he waited on tables in the dining room, peddled brushes, was night clerk in a small hotel.

The Courier-Journal

He didn't study law, because he didn't have the money to go on and do postgraduate work. That's how he got to be a teacher.

Louisville, Ky.

He taught government and chemistry and coached at a small county school a year. Then he went to Hawkinsville (population 3,000), first as principal and coach and then as superintendent.

Seven years after Thompson's graduation from college, Dr. M. D. Collins, State superintendent of schools, thought he was a good enough school man to offer a job as State school supervisor.

It was Thompson's first brush with politics. His career might have been stillborn, for in his preappointment interview, he did a rashly unorthodox thing: He was frank.

Got Job Anyway

"Mr. Collins, I want to tell you right now I didn't vote for you, and I didn't vote for Governor (Eugene) Talmadge," he told the amiable educator.

He got the job anyway.

One of the notable incidents of his Education Department days also was his first clash with a Talmadge.

Ol' Gene fired him in 1935 for lobbying for free textbooks and a seven-month school term—both of which the Governor vetoed.

Thompson freely admitted the lobbying charges, and went his way. A month later, he was back in the same position: Dr. Collins had told Governor Talmadge that Thompson was following orders.

He became assistant State superintendent of education in 1937, and wasn't fired any more.

Sun 3-23-47

Arnall Beat 'Ol' Gene'

Thompson moved over to the Capitol from the State Office Building in 1943, to be executive secretary to the new Governor, Ellis Arnall, who had done something nobody else ever had done—whipped Ol' Gene in an election.

The executive secretary developed into a sort of alter ego for the liberal, reformist Arnall. Thompson is a good speaker, though his voice is a little raspy, and when Arnall couldn't make it, he frequently sent Thompson to substitute.

Thompson always spoke his own piece, and not a mere carbon copy of the Arnall line; but still he drummed for the same progressive measures his boss did.

When a good vacancy popped up, Thompson got it. Arnall appointed Attorney General T. Grady Head to the State Supreme Court (he was one of the five justices who ruled for Thompson); named State Revenue Commissioner Eugene Cook to be attorney general, and gave Thompson Cook's job in August, 1945.

Increased Tax Revenue

He was a good revenue commissioner. Without benefit of new tax laws, he increased revenue collections $18,000,000 in one year. Some observers say he just carried out a few ideas Cook already had cooked up, but anyhow, the State got the money.

The Courier-Journal

Arnall and Thompson apparently came to the parting of the ways when Thompson decided to run for lieutenant governor instead of the prosaic job of controller general. (The revenue commissioner's job is an appointive post, and there was little chance of Thompson's holding onto it under a new Governor.)

Louisville, Ky.

What happened never has been told fully outside the smoke-filled rooms of the downtown Atlanta hotel that is Georgia's Capitol by night, but Thompson ran without Arnall's blessing. Arnall has been quoted as saying he was committed previously to support Frank Gross, then State Senate president, for lieutenant governor.

Thompson didn't make a campaign speech, but he shook hands with 100,000 people and asked them to vote for him.

In the Democratic primary last summer—it is the real election in Georgia—he carried the home counties of Gene Talmadge, James V. Carmichael and Ed Rivers, the three gubernatorial candidates, as well as his own and Arnall's.

Lots of Georgians know Thompson personally. As a school man and as Arnall's executive secretary, he made talks in 154 of the state's 159 counties.

People Got a Shock

The people who voted for Thompson with the idea that he was Arnall's baby got a rude shock when he announced his support of the Democratic platform, which included the promise of a white primary.

But Thompson explained that as a Democratic nominee, he could not be loyal and do anything else.

And the faces of former Arnall fans sagged to their chests when the Thompson tieup with former Governor Ed Rivers came to light—the Rivers of pardon-and-asphalt-racket fame.

In fact, the fruit-basket-turnover quality of political affiliations in Georgia has recently shattered all records. The amount of the Rivers influence on Thompson remains to be seen.

Sun. 3-23-47

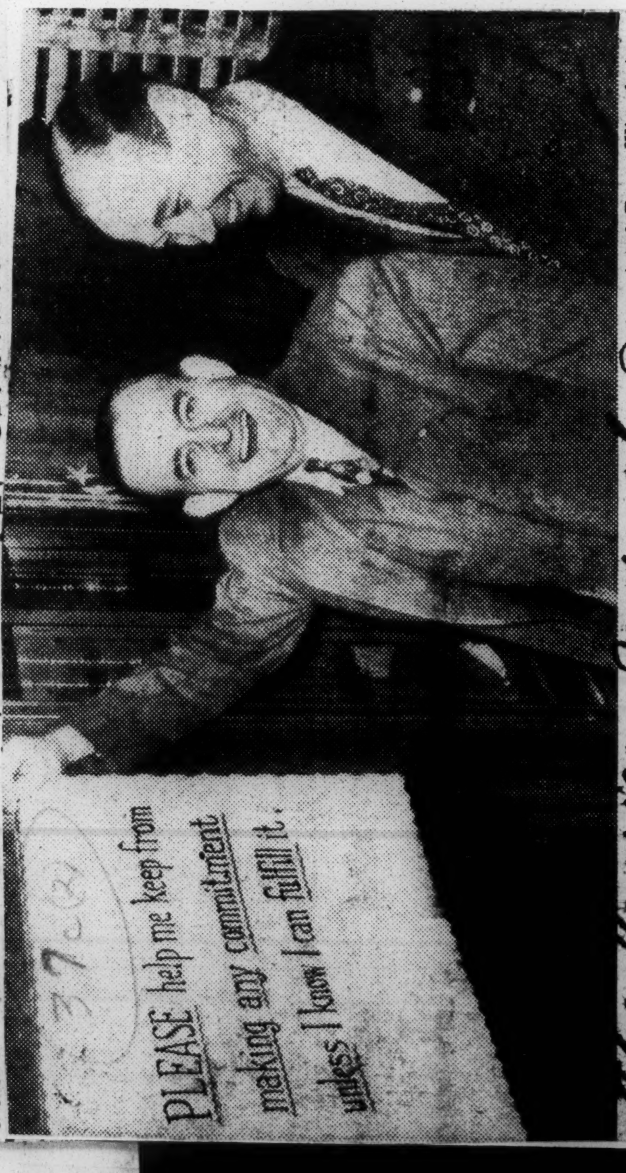
Thompson is married to Miss Ann Newton of Millen, also an ex-schoolteacher. They have one son, M. E., Jr., called "Sonny," who is a seaman first class in the Navy, stationed at Great Lakes, Ill.

Thompson's mother, Mrs. Henry J. (Eva Edenfield) Thompson, makes her home with her son and his wife.

Melvin Ernest Thompson will work—hard—at being Governor. He'll smoke those 10 cigars a day—his usual record when he's busy.

He can't help trying to suit the people. For he must go before them next year as a candidate in what probably will be the nastiest, bitterest campaign of the century in Georgia.

And that, boys and girls, will sho-nuff be something.


37c(2)
PLEASE help me keep from making any commitment unless I know I can fulfill it.

Associated Press Wirephoto.

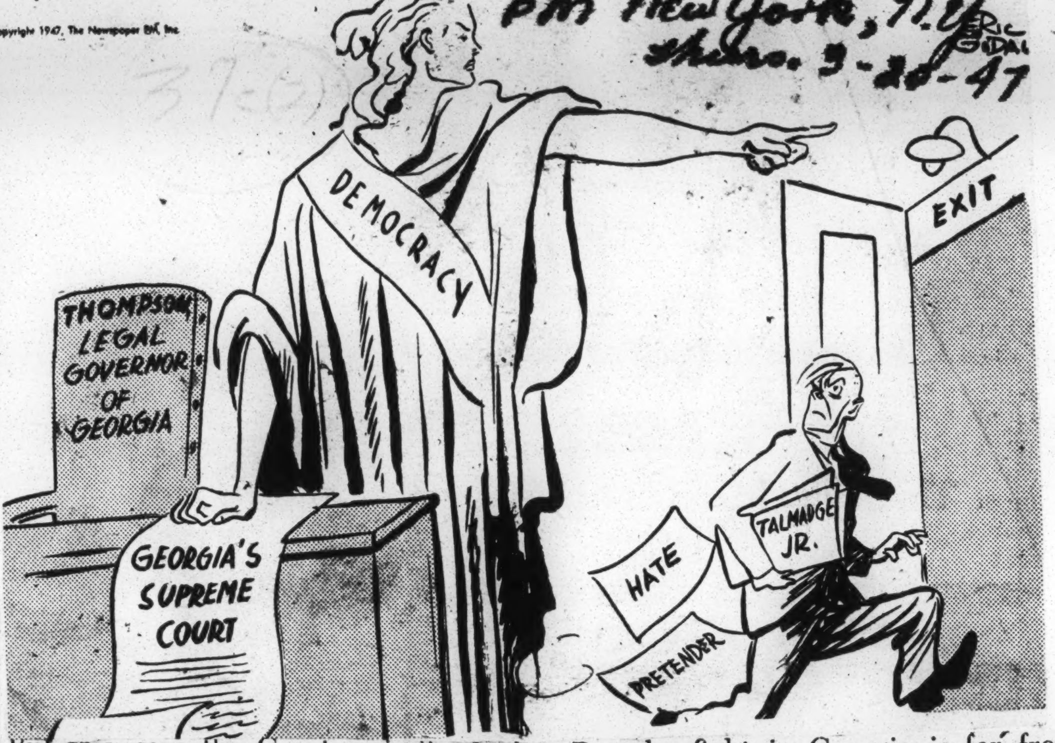
The Courier-Journal Sun. 3-23-47

Governor M. E. Thompson of Georgia, left, and Phil Landrum, his executive secretary, look over a motto under which Thompson will perform his tasks. It's typical of the man the Supreme Court supported over Herman Talmadge.

Where Do We Go From Talmadge?

OPINION

PM New York, N.Y.



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PM New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 3-20-47

37-(2)

In Georgia there is a young man called Herman Talmadge who has, for the moment, come to his political journey's end. Perhaps he is now reading *The Vanity of Human Wishes.* Three months ago he was only a young man back from the wars whose father was a Governor-elect. Two months ago he was himself Governor – universally called Pretender, but nonetheless occupying the office and the mansion, making appointments, signing laws, talking big, surrounded by the state storm-troopers and the strong-arm men with whose help he had captured power. Today he is again a young man out of a job, a young man whose brief moment has wound up not with a bang but a whimper. Thurs. 3-20-47

What was it that made Herman Talmadge's seizure of state power come to its dismal end? The obvious answer is, of course, the Georgia Supreme Court, and its firm insistence that the judicial process is still the ultimate authority in the state. Ellis Arnall put it best by saying, when he heard of the Court decision: "Stealing is still unlawful in Georgia."

First a Show of Legality, Then the Seizure of Power

Examine how the seizure of power worked in the Talmadge case. The whole coup had been planned during the election, when the men around Gene Talmadge sought to guard themselves against the chance that he might die before taking office, and organized a few hundred write-in votes for Herman Talmadge. A dictatorship always needs some slight show of legality. After Gene's death, and in the absence of an explicit constitutional provision for such a case, the Talmadge group set in motion its machinery for a coup. The Georgia Legislature voted on the question whether it had the power to elect a Governor from the other names on the ballot. By a very narrow vote (128-126) it said Yes, and then elected Herman Talmadge. With this show of legality, the Talmadge forces muscled their way into the Governor's office.

Now examine how the judicial process worked in Georgia to upset this. The State Supreme Court went to the core legal issue: whether the Legislature had the power to elect a Governor. The 5-to-2 decision was No. It is true that the Georgia Constitution says that the Legislature is to declare the election results.

But this, says the Court majority, is an automatic ("ministerial") function. The Legislature had no authority to exercise discretion. and make its own decision. It could only declare the fact that Gene Talmadge had been elected. After that, in view of his death and Gov. Arnall's resignation, the Lieutenant-Governor became Governor.

Justice Is Not Wholly Blind, Nor Democracy Fast Asleep

This is, of course, not only a vindication of legal authority in Georgia, but also a vindication of elementary social order. Twenty years ago it would have seemed curious to rejoice because an attempted seizure of state power had come a cropper: but that was before the Nazi seizure of power gave pattern, direction, and technique to the imitators. It is good to know that the judicial process still works in Georgia, that justice is not wholly blind, and that democracy is not simply a sleeping and ineffectual beauty. PM New York, N.Y.

But while the Supreme Court judges must be given credit for courage and good sense, the bigger credit goes to the people of Georgia. For the tide turned against Talmadge when citizens' protest meetings were held all over the state, when the university students strung him up in effigy, when decent Georgians outside the state had to blush to confess that they came from Georgia. For the next two years, at least, it will be possible to be a Georgian without a sense of shame. Thurs. 3-20-47

But the fight in Georgia is far from ended. The new Governor, M. E. Thompson, has yet to show himself either the kind of Southern Governor that Arnall of Georgia was, or that Folsom of Alabama is today. There is still the question of how strongly the state will act against the Klan and the Columbians (*see Stetson Kennedy's story on Page* 5). And there is the bigger question of what Gov. Thompson will do about the White Primary Law which the Talmadge-dominated Legislature passed. And these questions must be answered not by the courts but by the Governor and the people. Thurs. 3-20-47

The people of Georgia behaved well when they were confronted by the Talmadge seizure of power. But to rear up against an obvious try at dictatorship is one thing: to see the dismal emptiness and moral rottenness of a White Primary Law, especially when it fits in with the old and encrusted stereotypes of the South, is quite another thing.

Gov. Thompson now finds himself caught between two political dangers. If he shows the courage and clarity to come out against Talmadge's White Primary, he runs the risk of giving Talmadge the political fire he needs to inflame the rural counties which, under the county unit system, gave Gene Talmadge the election last year. On the other hand, if he lets the White Primary go through, he disfranchises the whole Negro citizenry of Georgia without whom he cannot hope to win in next year's election.

For a politician this may seem a difficult choice to make. The temptation will be great to escape from it by a law tightening the "educational requirements," as they are called, for voting in the primaries. The danger is that any law of this sort would give local election registrars or boards of education enormous discretion in rejecting voters on the ground that they cannot satisfactorily "explain the Constitution." This may seem to many a better short-run solution than the White Primary, but it is a Trojan horse which will betray the citadel of democratic suffrage. 3-20-47 Thurs.

It must be clear that what Georgia now needs is more than a Supreme Court decision. It needs nothing less than a democratic revolution in the basic attitudes and thinking of the people. Fortunately there are signs that this revolution is on its way. I saw it myself in Atlanta some weeks back, when I saw white Georgians stand up in the Senate Committee chamber and speak out against the shame of the White Primary. The Talmadge seizure of power arrested the revolution for a moment. It now has a chance to roll on with redoubled strength

—MAX LERNER

Who Said That Georgia Was the "Pair State"?

Florida Times

Serious comment on the Georgia Supreme Court's ruling yesterday that M. E. Thompson is Governor of Georgia seems almost impossible, in view of the fact that the squabble between the victor and Herman Talmadge had degenerated into a veritable fiasco. 37c(2)

Many and varied have been the jokes over Georgia's two Governors, with the jibes becoming a source of considerable embarrassment to the citizens of the "Empire State of the South." Thurs 3-20-47

There was the story of the woman, on trial in Atlanta on a charge of bigamy, who sought to defend herself on the grounds that a woman should be allowed to have two husbands in a State where there were two Governors. And a salesman of Columbus, Ga., returned from a regional convention recently chafing under the taunt from delegates that Georgia had surrendered her reputation as the "Peach State" in favor of the more applicable title of "Pair State." Jacksonville, Fla.

The Nation will miss these witticisms, but the citizens of Georgia will feel a sense of relief, now that they are able to lift their heads once again and proudly chant that favorite State slogan:

"It's great to be a Georgian."

37c(2) 1947

Georgia (Governor M. E. Thompson)

Thompson Hurls Rebuke At White Supremacy Bloc

Birmingham News

Talmadge-Sponsored Bill Labelled Way To Fraud, Stolen Ballots

Thur 3-20-47 Birmingham, Ala.

BY ROMNEY WHEELER

ATLANTA, Ga., March 20—(AP)—Gov. Melvin E. Thompson declared today Herman Talmadge and his political associates no longer had the right to speak for the Democratic Party, and branded the Talmadge-sponsored "white supremacy" legislation as an invitation to fraud and stolen elections.

In a speech prepared for a session of the Georgia Legislature, 24 hours after the state Supreme Court had rejected Talmadge's claim to the governorship, Thompson said:

"Those who sought to seize the state for their selfish ends, and who undertook to prostitute the Democratic platform to extend their own reign, now have no right to speak for the Democratic Party.

"Their program is not the people's program. It is not the Democratic program, it is not my program. No selfish group can exploit Georgia, and no selfish group will ever control Georia so long as elections are free." 3-20-47

* * *

THOMPSON, WHO MUST PASS on 151 bills apparently signed illegally by Talmadge, indicated he might veto Talmadge's No. 1 measure, the so-called "white primary" bill.

He declared, however, he favored restoration of the Democratic white primary, and asked enactment of legislation which would set rigid education requirements for voting and provide separate voting booths for white persons and Negroes.

Thompson turned stinging rebuke on Talmadge for his attempt to bar Negroes from the polls by removing primaries from state control and making them subject only to party rules which could exclude any voter, white or Negro.

Thompson continued: "I am for a white primary, but not for legislation that would strike out every primary election law from the statutes of our state and allow fraud and stolen elections to run rampant in Georgia." Thur 3-20-47

Endorsing bills introduced this week by Tompson leaders in the Senate, Thompson asserted: "If you earnestly want a white primary law, and just that, it is my hope you will speedily pass these bills before the end of this session."

Georgia's Emancipation

Birmingham News Thur 3-20-47 Birmingham, Ala.

By a vote of 5 to 2, the Supreme Court of Georgia held on Wednesday that the legislative choice of Herman Talmadge as governor was unconstitutional and that M. E. Thompson is by right the chief executive of the state. Thus, after longer than two months, Georgia is relieved of a political mess which made it unhappily conspicuous outside and dangerously confused within its own borders. The highest tribunal has stigmatized Talmadge as a trespasser, has approved the course taken by Ellis Arnall in holding over, and has given the nod to the man in whose behalf Arnall resigned. It has been announced that Talmadge will consider himself bound by the court's decision. He will not ask for a rehearing. The people of Georgia are entitled to a little peace and order. Thur 3-20-47

* * *

A visitor to Georgia last Monday concluded that the people had almost reconciled themselves to having Talmadge as governor, not because they felt he belonged in the state capitol, but because they had gotten the feeling that the Supreme Court might find refuge in a technicality. That has not happened, be it said to the credit of the court, which followed its conscience rather than the shouts of politicians. It took the risk of antagonizing a powerful machine because it construed the law shaped not by the dead hand of an irrelevant clause in the constitution, but by common sense and common decency urging that the welfare of the community and the people overrides the quiddities which lawyers sometimes dote on.

* * *

This is a triumph for justice as a social force, for if the court had ruled in Talmadge's favor it would have confirmed a stroke of political highhandedness without parallel in the history of Georgia or of any other state. It would have confirmed the fruits of violence and given the state's affairs a shove into nethermost depths wearing the seal of the law's approval. It would have made manipulation a weapon with which to deprive the people of elementary democratic rights. It would have made force and the threat of force the final test of government. But that descent into Avernus has been halted. Georgia has been emancipated by its Supreme Court from a vicious dictatorship.

Georgia Senate 'Sitting Out' On Funds Vote As End Nears

The Montgomery Advertiser 3-22-47 Montgomery, Ala.

ATLANTA, March 21.—(AP)—The Georgia Senate, split into Thompson and Talmadge factions, began sitting out the final 48 hours of its regular session today with no apparent effort to heal a breach that blocks passage of a $118,000,000 annual appropriations bill.

Senate President pro-tem William T. Dean told newsmen that "unless there is a change in opinion," adjournment probably would come tomorrow without a new money measure.

In this case, the state would continue to operate under the old $78,000,000 annual appropriations bill which does not provide a 50 per cent teacher pay increase and other expanded state services promised in the Democratic Party platform.

Dean made his statement shortly after the Senate refused by a 31 to 17 vote to reconsider its action of yesterday killing a 3 per cent sales tax bill, the only measure before the legislature to provide revenue for proposed additional expenditures.

Dean said that without the new revenue, the $78,000,000 in the old appropriations bill is "about all a new appropriations bill would amount to anyway."

The president pro-tem said, however, that state income had increased under present tax laws, and that Governor M. E. Thompson probably would be able to provide continuation of the teacher pay increase by executive order. 3-22-47

The teachers have been receiving the increase all this term under an executive order issued by former Governor Ellis Arnall.

Thompson, himself, has indicated he will continue the teacher pay increase even at the expense of other state services.

The House approved both the sales tax and the expanded appropriations measures, and the Senate approved all sections of the expenditures bill but postponed final action until it could consider the sales tax.

GEORGIA POST DISPUTED

Lieut. Gov.-Elect Thompson Says Most Legislators Want Him

The Times New York, N.Y.

ATLANTA, Jan. 2 (AP)—Lieut. Gov-Elect M. E. Thompson challenged Herman Talmadge tonight on claims to the Governorship of Georgia. He declared a legislative majority desired the Lieutenant-Governor to serve for the late Eugene Talmadge until a general election in 1948. Fri. 1-3-47

Herman Talmadge, son of the late Governor-elect, says he is assured of election to a full four-year term by pledges of 170 out of 257 members of the Georgia Legislature.

However, Mr. Thompson, who becomes Georgia's first Lieutenant Governor twelve days hence, declared:

"More than half the members of the House of Representatives and more than half the members of the State Senate have directly informed me that they are committed to vote so as to permit the Lieutenant Governor to succeed to the Governorship until the general election next year, as provided by our State Constitution."

Meanwhile, The Associated Press poll of the General Assembly showed a continued heavy margin of preference for Mr. Thompson over Herman Talmadge.

THOMPSON PUSHES GEORGIA KLAN CASE

The Times

37c(2)

He Assails White Primary Plan, Backs Teacher Pay Rise but Faces Delaying Assembly

New York, N.Y. Fri 3-21-47

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., March 20—Governor M. E. Thompson said today that the State of Georgia would prosecute its charter revocation suit against the Ku Klux Klan and in his inaugural address before the General Assembly indicated that he would veto the white primary bill sponsored and signed by Herman Talmadge.

In his first day as undisputed Governor, following yesterday's Supreme Court ruling voiding the Assembly's election of Mr. Talmadge, he found his predecessor's forces lined up to vote unanimously to kill measures he sought. The Senate voted to delay action indefinitely on a House-approved sales tax bill to deprive the Thompson administration of revenue to finance the maintenance of an increase of 50 per cent in teachers' salaries; delayed action on confirming Mr. Thompson's appointments, and rejected measures regarded as substitutes for the white primary bill.

At a press conference, Mr. Thompson emphasized that he would not interfere with the suit pending against the Klan. The question was raised in view of the Klan's reported support in last year's election of Mr. Talmadge's father, the late Eugene Talmadge, and because of the fact that young Herman Talmadge was said to have planned to drop the case.

Firm for Teachers' Pay Rise

In his address before a joint session of the Legislature, Mr. Thompson declared that he intended to continue the increase in teachers salaries "even if it has to be done at the expense of other departments." This was granted last fall by former Gov. Ellis Arnall, as director of the budget, out of surplus state funds. These funds will be exhausted by the end of the month. The Times

Mr. Thompson warned, however, that additional revenue was needed, and by implication supported the proposed sales tax of 3 per cent, the only pending tax measure. New York, N.Y.

He bitterly assailed the White Primary bill, branding it as "a plan of party organization which was designed to serve the purpose of a small group of self-seeking politicians, who, repudiated at the polls in their home counties, would seek to control future elections in the State of Georgia by manipulating party rules for their own selfish interests." Fri. 3-21-47

The white primary bill, repealing all State laws regulating primaries and vesting control of such elections exclusively in the hands of the Democratic party, was pushed through the Legislature by the Talmadge forces on the contention that it was the only means by which the party could bar Negroes from the polls without Federal intervention.

"I am not for any measure of legislation that would strike out every primary election law from the statutes of our State and allow fraud and stolen elections to run rampant in our State," the Governor told the Legislators.

Ruling on Talmadge Measures

The white primary bill and dozens of other measures signed by Mr. Talmadge must be submitted to Governor Thompson for his veto or approval, according to the State Attorney General.

Since the Governor has five days to act upon measures after they reach his desk, observers stressed that it was for Mr. Thompson to deny to the Assembly the opportunity to override any veto since the seventy-day session winds up Saturday. The Times

Among other proposals advocated in Mr. Thompson's message were steps to relieve overcrowding in institutions of the state's university system, especially in behalf of war veterans; construction, with Federal aid, of hospital facilities in rural areas; increased benefits for the aged, blind, the handicapped and crippled and dependent children, and expanded marketing facilities and farm-to-market roads.

Mr. Thompson was elected Lieutenant Governor last year at the same time the late Eugene Talmadge was elected Governor, and claimed the Governorship by right of succession. Neither had taken the oath of office when Mr. Talmadge died Dec. 21. Fri.

The new Governor referred to the controversy in his speech to the Assembly and asserted:

"Those who thought to seize the state of Georgia for their selfish ends and who undertook to prostitute the Democratic platform to extend their reign now have no right to speak for the Democratic party. New York, N.Y.

"Their program is not the people's program. It is not my program. No selfish group can exploit Georgia and no selfish group will ever control Georgia as long as elections are free." 3-21-47

WIDE DEMOCRATIC SPLIT CONTINUES IN GEORGIA

New York Times - Sun 3-23-47
New York, N.Y.

37c(2)

Thompson Is Governor but Ousted Talmadge Maps Drive for '48

State

By GEORGE HATCHER

Special to THE N

ATLANTA, Ga., March 22—The battle within Georgia's Democratic party continues unabated. It merely entered a new phase as the result of this week's State Supreme Court decision invalidating the General Assembly election of Herman Talmadge and installing Melvin E. Thompson as the legal acting Governor.

Leaders of the rival factions, by their statements and actions, have served notice that settlement of the legal aspects of the Governorship in no manner removed the political issues involved nor the bitterness and personal differences developed during the two-month dispute. The battle will be carried into the election next year.

One Talmadge follower summarized the situation in these words:

"The battle is over. The war is just begun."

Some observers agreed that the conflict might result in sending opposing delegations to the Democratic national convention.

New York Times

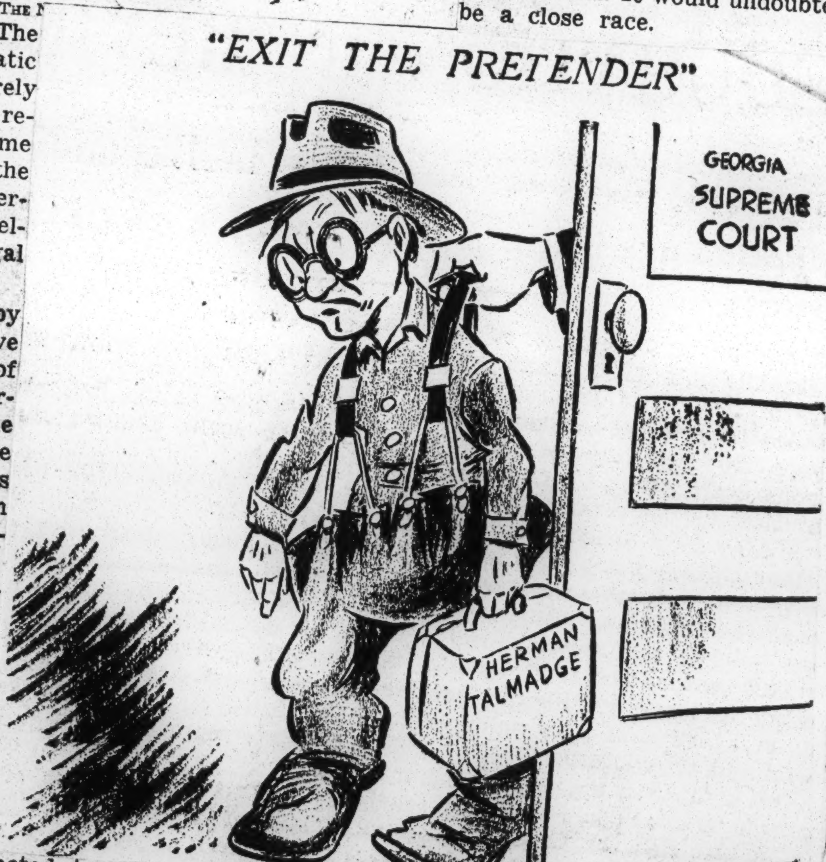
Talmadge Forces in Control

It was pointed out that supporters of Mr. Talmadge were in control of the Georgia Democratic convention [illegible] recess. These party leaders were chosen by followers of the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge after the general election last November and they simply transferred their loyalty to the son.

Sun 3-23-47
New York, N.Y.

On the other hand, Mr. Thompson has the backing of former Gov. E. D. Rivers, Democratic national committeeman, who changed camps following the death of Eugene Talmadge. Mr. Thompson also is supported by the "aroused citizens of Georgia," who recently organized as the "true Democrats" of the State and started a campaign to purge Mr. Talmadge and his supporters from the party.

Swift developments following the Supreme Court decision emphasize the seriousness of the breach within party ranks. For example, controlling legislative forces of Mr. Talmadge promptly acted to strip Mr. Thompson of money and authority necessary to fulfill commitments of the party, including increased pay for school teachers. 3-23-47


"EXIT THE PRETENDER"

Thompson Raps Talmadge

Governor Thompson, addressing the Assembly in joint session, denounced Mr. Talmadge for "attempted seizure of the government by force and fraud," criticized Talmadge-sponsored "white supremacy" legislation and asserted Mr. Talmadge could no longer speak for the Democratic party."

Resentful Talmadgeites were quick to reply that Governor Thompson was powerless to "read" them out of the party, that white supremacy, the principal plank in the late Eugene Talmadge's platform, remained the paramount issue and that the people would decide it in next year's election.

Thus the lines are tightly drawn for a continuing campaign. If the election were held tomorrow Mr. Talmadge probably would win under Georgia's county unit vote system which gives the balance of power to rural areas. The country people elected Mr. Talmadge's father last year on the white supremacy issue and the strength of the Talmadgeites in the Legislature seems to indicate that their attitude is unchanged. 3-23-47

New York Times
Sun 3-23-47

However, Mr. Thompson also has a strong following as the result of fifteen years' service in the state educational, executive and revenue departments. It would undoubtedly be a close race.

New York, N.Y.

Observers point out Mr. Thompson won election last year as Lieutenant Governor without making a campaign speech. Opposing five other candidates he received 190,332 popular votes, carried seventy-one counties with 192 county unit votes. Marvin Griffin, his nearest rival, got 159,382 popular votes, and carried sixty-seven counties having a total of 155 unit votes.

Election Results

In the same primary Eugene Talmadge polled fewer popular votes than James V. Carmichael, his principal rival, but won 242 unit votes by receiving majorities in 105 of the state's 159 counties.

Mr. Talmadge's popular vote total was 297,245. Mr. Carmichael received [illegible] popular votes, but had a total unit vote count of only [illegible] in forty-four counties.

New York Times
Sun 3-23-47

Endorsed by Arnall

Former Gov. Ellis Arnall endorsed Mr. Carmichael and also supported Mr. Thompson in the Governorship fight.

New York, N.Y.

Public reaction to the Supreme Court decision was largely one of relief. Georgians overwhelmingly accepted it, regardless of their views, as the solution to an intolerable situation.

However, the fierce personal loyalty which thousands of Georgians gave "Old Gene" and in turn to "Young Hummon" was reflected in letters and messages from all parts of the state, pledging their support to young Mr. Talmadge in next year's election.

Don't Be Harsh

Constitution

37c(2)

Editor Constitution: I have just read a letter in the Pulse of the Public written by one O. M. Thomas. He makes a mighty wide sweep when he charges that the Talmadge gang is of the ignorant and unlearned class who didn't know any better. As for myself, I am ready to admit that I am pretty ignorant, but he spreads way out and I think takes in some very fine men.

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

What about the Judges that stood for Talmadge? You know 10 judges have passed on the case and four stood for Talmadge. I wonder when these smart people will stop saying such hard things.

I don't know Mr. Talmadge or Mr. Thompson, but I would think they are both gentlemen. So let's give everyone the right to vote as he pleases. Talmadge walked out like a man. 4-4-47 Fri

J. W. W. WEBB.

Newnan.

THOMPSON PLANS TALMADGE 'PURGE'

New York Times

37c(2) Ga.

Georgia's Governor Is Set to Oust Bolters and Will Run Jefferson Day Dinner

Tues 4-1-47
New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, March 31—Gov. M. E. Thompson, fighting for control of Georgia's Democratic party machinery, today wrested the Jefferson Day Dinner campaign from the forces of Herman Talmadge. At the same time he announced a purge of "bolters and deserters" from the State's payrolls and party ranks.

Just as it began to appear that Georgia might have two Jefferson Day dinners under individual sponsorship of the principals in the recent governorship dispute, Edgar Dunlap of Gainsville, the Talmadge chairman, stated he had been ousted by the Democratic National Committee and that his headquarters would be disbanded.

Governor Thompson, in the meantime, had appointed George B. Hamilton, State Treasurer, as the Jefferson Day Dinner chairman after appealing to the National Committee to dismiss the Talmadge appointee.

Shake-Up for State Police

State highway patrolmen who barred former Governor Ellis Arnall from the Executive Mansion and took up guard duty in the State Capitol after Mr. Talmadge seized the executive offices on his election by the General Assembly, have either been demoted or discharged, Mr. Thompson disclosed.

"I am going to get rid of all the politicians on the State Highway Patrol and appoint World War veterans in their places," he declared. "There may be more than a 50 per cent turnover in personnel before the patrol is really efficient again."

Governor Thompson recalled that during the Governorship dispute he had warned the patrolmen "on duty in the capitol" that they were violating a department rule against participation in politics. Dozens of other Talmadge partisans have been notified they are to be dropped from the state payrolls, the Governor declared.

Mr. Thompson did not say how he plans to change the State Democratic organization to purge followers of Mr. Talmadge from executive party positions. Political observers pointed out he might call a convention and ask county party organizations to send delegates to choose a state executive committee, or he might make the appointments himself.

Talmadge Men in Key Positions

The present party convention, in recess, and the executive committee is completely dominated by Talmadge men chosen under traditional party rules following the election last year of the late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge. The convention is not due to meet again until 1950.

New York Times

Meanwhile, Herman Talmadge, the late Governor-elect's son and his leaders insisted today "there is nothing Mr. Thompson can do about the present party organization." And, in reply to Mr. Thompson's assertion that the party had been deserted by its leaders, Roy V. Harris, Mr. Talmadge's chief political adviser, said:

"Mr. Thompson will find out that the party has leadership—vigorous leadership and white leadership." Tues 4-1-47

Governor Thompson declared that the Talmadge chieftains deserted when they "acted with the knowledge and consent of Herman Talmadge and called n the General Assembly to elect a bolter as Governor."

New York, N.Y.

The Assembly election of Mr. Talmadge was invalidated in a recent Supreme Court decision. Mr. Thompson was elected Lieutenant Governor at the same time the late Eugene Talmadge was named Governor, and was upheld in his claim to the Governorship by right of succession.

Mr. Thompson and Mr. Talmadge are expected to oppose each other in next year's election.

In Governor Thompson's party purge campaign, observers foresee the likelihood of rival party factions conducting their own 1948 gubernatorial primaries with a final decision coming in the general election in November. Heretofore, nomination in this one-party State has been tantamount to election.

A Bit of History

Constitution

37c(2)

Editor Constitution: I don't remember what year it was, but I do remember that Gen. John B. Gordon was elected Governor of Georgia by the Legislature. If it was legal then, just why is it illegal for the Legislature to elect a Governor now?

Atlanta, Ga.

It looks a little strange that Ellis Arnall knew what the Supreme Court decision was going to be. Even if he knew what the decision was going to be, how did he know that it would be five to two? Also Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell knew what the decision was going to be. These vultures try to control everything.

Eugene Talmadge was persecuted to death, largely by the false propaganda put out by The Atlanta Constitution and Journal. He would have been superhuman to have lived and endured the false accusations heaped on him.

DELLA EDWARDS.

Atlanta. Sat 3-29-47

(Editor's Note: Gen. Gordon was elected Governor by the people and served from 1886 to 1890. At the expiration of this term he was elected by the Legislature to serve as U. S. Senator. Prior to the 17th Amendment, which became effective May 31, 1913, the Constitution provided that Senators be elected by the Legislatures of the various States.)

Constitution

37c(2) 1947

Federal (Alabama)

Ala.

FOR YO-YO YODELERS OF THE LEFT

As we were saying to that gentry of automaton "liberals"—those palpitating yo-yo boys whose argumentation is more likely to be a constable-reflex than an acceptance of the Gordian complexities of life on God's green footstool—the business of classifying liberals, conservatives and reactionaries is easy meat for Pravda and Izvestia, but difficult for The Advertiser and all sober philosophers.

8-22-47 Fri

37c(2) Fed. (Ala.)

We are thinking specifically of State Senator Bruce Henderson and the advancement of the Negro race in Alabama.

The Advertiser would agree unequivocably with the Yo-Yos that Senator Henderson is, in political and civil matters relevant to the Negro's status, an intransigent reactionary. As we understand Senator Henderson, he is a rich planter who farms a great portion of Wilcox County and does not believe that the Negro merits an advanced political status.

Living in a region where Negroes outnumber whites, the Senator would like to believe that Negroes can be pegged in their present status. When he fights for more school money, he does not stop to consider that millions of the money goes to prepare the Negroes of Alabama for enlarged responsibilities as citizens.

Advertiser

Without presuming to be an expert on Henderson's viewpoint, we would say that in general, his thinking fails to reckon with the major signs and implications of the times.

8-22-47 Fri.

But even if this were not so, it is unchallengeable that he is inextricably in the classification of conservative, and possibly reactionary.

Montgomery, Ala.

So much for Henderson with respect to the Negro and political change.

Is he, vis-a-vis the problem of the colored man in Alabama, to be thus dismissed?

Not quite, for there is another side of the coin. The Senator wants the Negro in status quo politically. But otherwise, he has performed a tremendous service to the advancement of the Negro.

As a planter who works some 500 Negroes, Henderson has been acutely aware of the toll in human suffering and inefficiency of syphilis and tuberculosis.

8-22-47. Fri.

Syphilis and tuberculosis are the peculiar scourges of the colored man. The Great Imitator and the White Plague exhaust and destroy the flesh of the colored man by the appalling thousands.

Henderson is the author of the bill that compels compulsory testing for syphilis. He is author of a bill to compel similar tests for tuberculosis. It would be difficult to conceive a greater boon to the Negro. It is life and death to the Negro.

It is progressiveness that has won national acclaim for the reactionary senator and "backward" Alabama.

It is spending great sums of public money in the New Deal's humanitarian pattern. It is a slum clearance with human bodies.

Senator Henderson doesn't want the Negro to vote or to serve on a jury, whatever his qualifications. That's Henderson the reactionary.

Senator Henderson labors mightily to preserve the life and health of the Negro, an obvious requisite of the Negro's uplift and advancement to actual citizen status.

And with his pragmatic program, Henderson has done more for the Negro than all the Walter Whites and Yo-Yo Yodelers of the Left put together. Like it or not, bread comes before the spirit.

None of which is to any extent an expression of sympathy for Henderson's political viewpoints; we rarely see it his way.

We just want to illustrate the difficulties, contradictions and perplexities that ambush the thoughtful in applying political tags and labels; for there's Henderson the reactionary, and there's Henderson the liberal.

37c(2) 1947

Federal (Illinois--Dawson)

Dawson Elected House Campaign Group Secretary

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Rep. William L. Dawson (D., Ill.), has been elected secretary of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, it was announced Friday. Patrick H. Drewry of Virginia, is chairman of the committee of 30.

Rep. Dawson is the first Negro to serve as a member of either the Democratic or Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. Sat. 5-3-47

This committee is charged with the responsibility of electing Democrats to the House of Representatives.

37c(2) 1947 Federal (Illinois--William L. Dawson)

DAWSON NAMED SECRETARY OF PARTY'S CAMPAIGN UNIT

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Rep. William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.) has been elected secretary of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, it was announced last Friday. Rep. Patrick H. Drewry (Dem., Va.) is committee chairman. Afro-American

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Citizens Remind Solons How They Were Elected

Afro-American 1-25-47 Sat.

Baltimore, Md.

Phone Calls, Conferences, Every-Day Work for Dawson, Says AFRO Correspondent

By OLLIE STEWART

WASHINGTON

Until I visited a congressman's office, talked to his secretary and listened to the phones ring, I thought that when you won an election your troubles were over, for two years at least.

It isn't so. Your troubles begin before you even answer the roll call—and as long as you remain in Washington the people back home make it a point never to let you forget who put you where you are.

Phones Ring Constantly

Take Congressman William Levi Dawson, 61, who represents the first district of Illinois, now beginning his third term in Washington. It's an event when one of the two phones on his desk isn't ringing, and the flow of people in and out of his office reminds you of "Old Man River."

When the House meets at noon, Mr. Dawson has already done a day's work. Government officials meet him at the door of his office when he arrives, usually at 10 in the morning. 1-25-47 Sat.

Government employees cry on his shoulders when they lose their jobs, seek a transfer or want a raise.

Sought by Reporters

Reporters lie in wait for him. Organizations want him to speak. Lobbying groups want his support. And his constituents—those ever-loving people who sent him to Washington—ask him for everything from passes to the House gallery, to lower taxes.

Day's Work Described

The following four days in the life of Mr. Dawson since the 80th Congress convened, will give you an idea.

FRIDAY, Jan. 3: Arrived at his office at 10. Raining. Dawson wears no overshoes. Opened and answered mail requiring immediate attention.

Received ministerial delegation led by New York preacher. Photographers next in line for pictures. Hurried to House chamber to answer noon roll call.

First duty was to drop four bills into hopper. Antilynching, anti-poll tax, FEPC, and civil rights for Washingtonians. Back to office to talk to reporters. Large delegation from Illinois called to formally protest lynching.

Never Eats Lunch

No lunch. Dawson never eats lunch.

Constant phone calls from friends, who extended best wishes. Left office at 5. Took two constituents to dinner.

SATURDAY: Arrived at 10. Took care of mail and some long distance calls. Corrected list of subscribers to Congressional Record (each Congressman allotted 68 subscribers).

Kept appointment with president of newspaper—one hour—during which time visitors poured in seeking passes to House gallery (good for entire session of Congress). Made appointment to meet an organization in Washington after office hours.

Gets 25 Letters per Day

MONDAY: Arrived usual time, with calls still coming in from friends. Average of 25 letters and five telegrams per day.

Twenty calls for the one ticket to House to hear President Truman address joint session of Congress. For special occasions, each Congressman alloted just one ducat. This one given to reporter from Chicago paper who put in bid early. 1-25-47 Sat.

Returned to office and found mob still sitting around listening to radio. Left very late.

TUESDAY: Before leaving home had four calls from daily papers in reference to H.R. 231 (bill giving civil rights to Washington people).

Confers with Federal Workers

Reached office, took care of mail, and found four government workers concerned with dismissal, transfers and salary increases. Interrupted by host of calls congratulating him on H.R. 231, from civic groups.

Two wires for speaking engagements. Turned down for uncertainty over House duties.

Mail from organizations pledging support for certain legislation. Mail from wives concerned over sugar shortage. Calls from alert business interests in Loop District of Chicago (which Dawson represents), with reference to proposed tax cuts.

Called to House for one hour. Adjourned early. Not fully organized. Left for Capital Press Club meeting. Guest speaker. Back to office for appointment with government official; also government employee seeking transfer.

Representative Dawson was born in Albany, Ga., April 28, 1886. During the First World War he was a first lieutenant with the 365th Infantry.

He is married, has two children and when in Washington lives with his wife's mother, Mrs. Thomas Brown, in Brookland. His wife is the former Miss Nellie Brown of Washington, who taught school in the District for a number of years.

Son Studies Aviation

Her father was at one time rector at St. Luke Episcopal Church in Washington. William L. Dawson Jr., the son, has an aviator's license and is intensely interested in aviation. Miss Barbara Dawson, daughter, is a senior at Fisk.

A Baptist, Mr. Dawson received his bachelor's degree from Fisk and his law degree at Northwestern. 1-25-47 Sat.

Although he has several group pictures in his office, Congressman Dawson has pictures of Mayor Kelly of Chicago, and former Vice President Wallace in featured spots. There are also three ferns and a host of law books along one side of the office.

Keeps World War I Souvenir

A saber hangs on another wall. It was given to Mr. Dawson by Captain James S. Timothy, white, 45th Division, who by "extraordinary heroism in action" at Strasbourg, found himself in command after all other officers were killed, and captured a German garrison.

Captain Timothy gave it to Mr. Dawson for kindness Mr. Dawson extended to the captain's brother.

The outer office of 1016, new House office building, is presided over by Mrs. Christine R. Hughes, Mr. Dawson's secretary for four years. Previously she was secretary to Congressman Mitchell for six years.

Says She Is Lucky

Mrs. Hughes, who says she is "lucky" to remain in Washington 10 years at the Capitol, attended both Fisk and Tennessee State, in Nashville.

She has two phones on her desk. The office receives about 50 magazines (free) monthly—but all colored papers have to be paid for. White dailies are likewise bought as the need arises.

Done in brown wood paneling, with a mail slot and a clock as part of the furnishings, Congressman Dawson has as attractive office as can be found in the new House office building.

37c(2) 1947

Federal (Mississippi)

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 11-29-47

37c(2)
Fed

BILBO'S SUCCESSOR TAKES OVER—An atmosphere completely different from that which pervaded when the late Theodore Bilbo attempted to take his seat in Congress was evident in Washington last week when Bilbo's elected successor, John C. Stennis, center, took the oath of office as a Senator from Mississippi. Sponsored by Senator James O. Eastland (D.), of Mississippi, right, Stennis takes the oath from Senate President Vandenberg (R.), of Mich., left.—INP.

Playing Out

Columbia, S.C. 37c(2) Fed.

Theodore G. Bilbo won his last campaign for the United States Senate, but he never took his seat. He won by the skin of his teeth, and he won because of outside criticism, which he knew how to stir up and then to translate to his own uses. Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson helped him. The National Negro Congress gave him an unintended fillip and the Communists finished it all off by parading in New York with banners saying, "Bilbo and Rankin Must Go." The Record

It is only one of the manifestations of Southern xenophobia, but it is one. Southern voters resent outside interference in their domestic politics and they react violently against it. Bilbo might have been beaten, if the North had been willing to deny him campaign issues. Sat. 11-8-47

Tuesday Mississippi voted to name a successor to Bilbo, who died without ever taking his seat. And for once the North, with a few exceptions, was willing to allow Mississippi to make its own choice, unassisted.

As a result Mississippi now sends to Washington as United States Senator John C. Stennis, a 46-year-old circuit judge, who didn't even mention the "white supremacy" issue in his campaign. A scholarly, quiet-spoken and conservative new-comer to Mississippi's rowdy politics, Stennis violated all the demogogic rules, confining himself to the real issues instead of manufacturing issues for himself to inflame the prejudices of Mississippi's voters. He steered away from personalities and didn't mention a single one of his opponents.

And Stennis was elected with a margin of 6,000 votes over his nearest competitor, Representative W. M. Colmer, who like him had soft-pedaled the race issue although he did take one cue from Bilbo and incorporated in his speeches a fierce appeal for support against "outside interference" in Mississippi's race relations.

Trailing Colmer was Forrest Jackson, Bilbo's attorney, who expected to get 65 per cent of the Bilbo vote and had waged a clamorous campaign for it. Paul Johnson, a 31-year-old Marine combat veteran, young enough to know better, undertook also to adopt the Bilbo vote-getting formula and ended up in fourth place.

Bringing up the rear among the Democratic candidates was Representative John E. Rankin of Tupelo, a demagogue in his own right, deserving to be ranked beside Bilbo, who had promised, if elected, to "out-Bilbo Bilbo" in the Senate and might even have done it. Rankin, in order to conduct his campaign, was forced to absent himself from the House un-American activities committee's investigation of the Communists of Hollywood and although the public may think that his fellows did pretty well, it is certain that had he been there the hearing would have been even more spectacular, the fire-crackers, rockets and pinwheels would have been bigger and better fire-crackers, rockets and pinwheels. Rankin is a member of the committee; in fact he is the man responsible for making it a permanent House committee and if the Democrats had won the last election he would have made it the Rankin committee. He is even more vehement than Chairman Thomas, his Republican counterpart.

Rankin campaigned as he always campaigns and as Bilbo campaigned. For 26 years he has been re-elected in Mississippi to the House and months ago he announced his expected victory in the Senate race. But this time his appeals to race prejudice and hatred of the Negroes, his condemnation of outside interference failed to catch fire. The voters were not interested. At the end, the report of the President's civil rights committee, with its recommendations that segregation be abolished now, gave his campaign a little more life. But it was too late. Judge Stennis led in five of the ten counties comprising Rankin's own Congressional district, four of these counties being also a part of Stennis' judicial circuit. Rankin was 26,000 votes in the rear and was saved from being last in the race only by the fact that a 77-year old Republican, L. R. Collins, who made no campaign, also ran.

Mississippi, judged by per capita income, is the poorest of the states. It spends less per pupil on public schools than any other state, has the lowest salary scale for school teachers. It has the highest percentage of Negroes in its population, the lowest percentage of urban population, the highest percentage of tenant-operated farms. Everything that is wrong with the South—and there is plenty—Mississippi has in abundance.

But even in Mississippi the result was nothing to surprise. Mississippi, before it fell upon the evil and dark days of Bilbo's supremacy, used to do very well for itself in United States Senators. There were for examples John Sharp Williams and Pat Harrison, both of them as far above Bilbo as Betelgeuse is from the earth. Mississippi is simply returning to normal after the years of blight.

And the simple truth is that this rankest of all types of demogoguery practiced by Bilbo and Rankin is playing out everywhere in the South. The voters want candidates now to talk about real issues and real problems. They want them to offer real solutions for them and to have a real platform. This, of course, presupposes some intelligence and thought and understandably the old-line politicians in the South and their younger imitators have shied away from it. They haven't any real solutions of real problems so they prate endlessly of their own artificial issues and set up straw men to be knocked down, for nobody's edification. Where the voters have no choice, except among such demogogues, they hold their nose and vote for the least of two evils, as they conceive it. But where there is a choice, as in Mississippi's special election, Judge Stennis wins.

The time is ripe for a new type politician everywhere in the South, for men who want to serve their state and country and not simply to get a job, for men know what the real issues are and are competent to discuss them. It is a slow process, but the world does move!

Good For Mississippi!

[illegible], Birmingham, Ala.

Mississippi Democrats have, it appears, chosen for the United States Senate a man of whom no one in the state or in the South need be ashamed. And they have repudiated the idea that political preferment in the state can be won through race hatred and sectional prejudices.

37c(2) Fed.

A plurality of the voters in Tuesday's election chose as successor to the late Sen. Bilbo a circuit judge who in many ways is the antithesis of "that man." John Stennis ended the campaign as he promised, without attack on any opponent or becoming involved in any narrow issue. He played down the race question that figured prominently in the campaigns of three of the other four Democratic candidates. He pitched his pleas for votes on a high plane. And there he found enough voters to elect him.

Jhu. 11-6-47 *

But the pleasure in the Mississippi result is to be found in who was defeated as well as in who won. Congr. John Rankin, who promised to "out-Bilbo Bilbo" if elected, ran last. Forrest Jackson, former attorney for Bilbo, who claimed to be Bilbo's successor, and who campaigned on a platform of white supremacy, ran third. Second in the race was Rep. William Colmer, who had talked much of "Yankee meddlers" and "Northern labor leaders." The remaining Democratic candidate was Paul B. Johnson, son of the late governor of Mississippi and Marine veteran, who ran a fair race despite his youth and inexperience. He is 31. 11-6-47

Birmingham, Ala. News

The rousing defeat administered Rankin is a bright gem in Mississippi's crown. Too long the state and the nation have suffered from his narrowness and demagogy. The voters have rejected him as, in other days, Alabamians rejected Tom Heflin, South Carolinians Ben Tillman, and as North Carolinians wearied of Bob Reynolds. You can't, as has been remarked before, fool all the people all the time.

37c(2) Fed (Miss)

The Worker New York N.Y.

Jan. 11-16-47

MISSISSIPPI's NEW SENATOR, who won the election for the seat formerly occupied by the late Theodore (The Man) Bilbo, shown with his family. He is John C. Stennis, of Jackson, a 46-year-old Circuit Court Judge who, in a field of candidates including Rep. John Rankin, was the only one not to campaign on a platform of white supremacy. Stennis stressed principally the encouraging of modern methods of mechanized and diversified farming to improve the state's economy. Left to right are Mrs. Stennis, John Hampton Stennis. the new senator, and daughter Margaret Jane Stennis.

Repudiation In Mississippi

37c(2) Fed

Say what you may, the election of Circuit Judge John C. Stennis to the U. S. Senate in Mississippi last week over a coterie of bawling, blasting "white supremacists," means but one thing: Mississippi has at long last repudiated "white supremacy. Lighthouse - Informer, Columbia, S.C.

The hitherto unknown country judge ignored appeals to races in his campaign, as did his closest opponent. His election meant the defeat of the machines of both the late Senator Bilbo and Rep. John E. Rankin, who had promised to "out-Bilbo Bilbo," if elected. Jan. 11-16-47

DON'T SHOUT TOO SOON

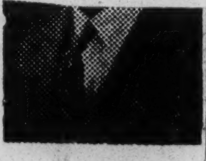
As Long as Whites Fear Negroes, Race Agitators Have a Chance to Win

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

37c(2) Fed (Miss)

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

NEGROES and some whites are elated over the defeat of Rankin in Mississippi. It is being hailed by some as evidence of the fact that great gains are being made in Mississippi because Rankin, an advocate of white supremacy, was defeated and Judge Stennis, who said nothing about race, was elected to succeed the late Senator Theodore (The Man) Bilbo.



Mr. Mays

I am happy indeed that Rankin was defeated. But I do not for one moment believe that Stennis was elected because he did not inject the race issue into the campaign. It is glorious that Mississippi had a Judge Stennis, who did not fan the flames of race hatred.

It shows that one does not have to resort to a race hating campaign in order to win. And this is about all one can honestly say about the Mississippi campaign. I say this at the risk of being called a cynic. Let me support my position.

* * *

BILBO SUCCEEDED in Mississippi despite his race baiting campaign. He just died a few weeks ago. Mississippi re-elected him last year. I do not believe that Mississippi has had a change of heart so soon. I fear it will take a much longer time to convert Mississippi.

Any demagogue who gets a hold on the people, as Bilbo had, can win again in Mississippi. Any honest appraisal of the Mississippi political race will probably reveal that personality was the main fact, plus an emphasis on the main issues. If that personality had been a Bilbo, he could have won.

* * *

I SAY AGAIN, we must not shout too soon. Mississippi cannot throw off its shackles in a year's time. The masses do not learn that fast. The people in Mississippi are not much more enlightened in 1947 than they were in 1946.

A few years ago, Eugene Talmadge was defeated by Ellis Arnall. The liberal forces of the Nation hailed the election of Ellis Arnall as conclusive proof that the time had passed when one could win a campaign on an anti-Negro platform. The people were mistaken. In the first place, Mr. Arnall's campaign in 1942 was not wholly free of race. He said a few things against the Negro that were equal to the things Talmadge said against him.

* * *

MR. TALMADGE was defeated in 1942 not because of his anti-Negro platform, but because he had gone too far in tampering with the University System of Georgia. The proof of what I am saying rests in the fact that Talmadge came back in 1946 with a bigger and more powerful race baiting campaign and won the election.

Carmichael said very little about race in his campaign and was defeated. I know he received more popular votes than Talmadge, but still he was defeated.

* * *

I BELIEVE several candidates have used race in their campaigns because they believed that that was one of the ways to get elected. And experience proves that in a few sections it is still one of the possible ways. The hopeful thing about the election of Circuit Judge John C. Stennis as Senator is that one can be elected, even in Mississippi, by running on a decent plank

Georgia should profit by the Mississippi race. But let us never forget that as long as the white race fears the Negro, victory on an anti-Negro platform is possible. Germany, the most enlightened nation on earth, produced Hitler and was led by him.

37c(2) 1947 Federal (Mississippi)

HOW COULD THEY?

Our perplexity is compounded by events in Mississippi. 37c(2) Fed.

We have lately thought hard upon the apparent favor that His Excellency the "Big Bad Booger" finds in South Alabama. He draws large crowds. He babbles and the crowd gurgles. For all their size and reaction the crowds might well be the same ones he left in the same place in the '46 campaign. Advertiser

We have our own rationale to explain that. But what we cannot explain is the fact that those people out in front are the same people who recognized and responded to the quality and authority of such men as Comer, Miller, Dixon, Sparks, Underwood and Bankhead.

Grappling with this mystery wrapped in a dilemma enshrouded in an enigma, we are diverted by a similar riddle in Missippi. Montgomery Ala.

As everybody recognizes and as we have seen in person, the vile Bilbo held 'em as with hoops of steel. Fri. 11-7-47

His specialty was tormenting and debasing the colored man. Mississippi was presumably indifferent to the resultant scorn of her sister states. It couldn't seem to get enough of Bilbo's Negro-baiting.

Comes the campaign to elect his successor. The nearest to Bilbo's image was John Rankin, who promised to "out-Bilbo Bilbo." Since, in Bilbo's time, Mississippi couldn't seem to get enough of the wonderful stuff, you would assume that his prototype would find favor. But Rankin ran last in a field of five and the victor was a man entirely different from Bilbo—that is, a decent white man, a grave Presbyterian deacon, a just judge who would have no part of the race issue.

We leave that puzzler, however, to the editor of The Jackson Daily News and resume our homework on this Folsom business.

Mississippi Picks A New Kind Of Senator

Journal & Guide

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN RANKIN boasted when he was campaigning for the Senate seat vacated through BILBO's death, that he would "out-BILBO BILBO" if the voters of Mississippi would elect him to the upper house of Congress. 37c(2) Fed. (Miss)

Other aspirants for the office, with one notable exception, were equally guilty of the old trick of demagogues—arousing racial hatred by campaigning on a platform of "race supremacy."

The noteworthy exception was Judge JOHN CORNELIUS STENNIS. He refused to make race an issue—but he won.

This does not mean that Utopia has been achieved in Mississippi. But it is significant and definitely a harbinger of a long-overdue trend in a southern state that has shown least progress in ridding itself of rabble-rousers who did it a grave disservice. Sat. 11-15-47

We regret that Mr. RANKIN will remain, at least for a time, on the national scene. He retained his seat in the House of Representatives, although he sought election to the Senate. But it is obvious that the voters of Mississippi are getting sick and tired of the way elected officials have been disgracing them—and the whole nation.

There was a time not so far back when BILBO- types represented the people in Congress from most of the southern states. Gradually they are disappearing from the halls of Congress. Norfolk, Va.

Senator-elect STENNIS, we understand, is a believer in the general theory of "white supremacy," but he campaigned without mentioning and flaunting his belief violently. There is every reason to believe that he will exhibit dignity and intelligence as a senator. Sat. 11-15-47

Even though he does not become an active advocate of Negro rights he will improve things mightily merely by declining to deal in rank and unthinking prejudice. On the record to date, Mr. STENNIS is quite an improvement on BILBO. For that the voters of Mississippi deserve the thanks of all Americans.

Pittsburgh Sat. 11-15-47

37c(2)

11-15-47

WINS COUNCIL SEAT — Esther M. Archer won a seat in the City Council of Canton, Ohio, in the recent election in the Buckeye State. Courier

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SENATOR-ELECT JOHN C. STENNIS WILL probably never vote for an anti-lynching bill or for a Fair Employment Practices Commission, but he will look good in the Senate when we think of what might have been. Mississippi voters had a choice of six candidates to replace the late Mr. Bilbo. That statesman's attorney and political heir, Forrest Jackson, offered himself to the electorate as "the outstanding champion of white supremacy." Another contender ran an anti-labor campaign with side excursions to denounce the President's Committee on Civil Rights. A third promised that if elected he would fearlessly "stand on the Senate floor and tell Joe Stalin to go to hell." Then there was John Rankin, who, promising to "out-Bilbo Bilbo," offered the world the "Rankin plan," which calls for Europeans to "go back to work" and opposes "an international WPA to feed every lazy lout from Tokyo to Timbuctoo." Stennis himself virtuously avoided all mention of race and concentrated on proposed farm improvements for the people of his rural state. Last, and certainly least, was the state Republican Party in the person of L. R. Collins. We hope the people of Mississippi, who are said to be extremely sensitive to outside pressures, will not consider it indelicate of us to express our gratitude for their choice, the Senate being, after all, a national body.

The Nation 11-15-47 New York, N.Y. 11-15-47

Stennis Takes Seat in Senate

Constitution

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17—(AP)—John C. Stennis, Democrat, Mississippi, Monday was given the Senate seat denied a year ago to the late Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo.

Stennis was elected successor to Bilbo last Nov. 4. He will serve the remaining five years of the unexpired term. Bilbo died last Aug. 21.

Accompanied to the dias by Mississippi's Senior Senator, James

Stennis was escorted to the dias by his fellow Mississippian, Senator Eastland. That too, marked a decided change since Eastland and Bilbo had not been on speaking terms for more than six years as a result of political differences. Advertiser

Both the House and Senate adopted resolutions expressing regret at Bilbo's death, last Aug. 21.

Representative Rankin (D), Mississippi, told the House that "one of the most shameful chapters of American history" will be the treatment of Bilbo.

Rankin said Bilbo stood for a "traditions of the South," but was "abused and maligned and denied the right to go on the floor of the Senate and defend himself."

In the Senate discussion of the resolution was confined to brief remarks by Senator Eastland.

With other members of the Senate, Stennis went to the House of Representatives to hear President Truman's message.

Before and after the session, he visited with fellow Mississippians and other friends in the office of Senator Eastland and in a temporary office assigned to him.

Permanent offices are to be assigned Stennis in the next few days.

Committee assignments for the new Senator have not yet been made.

Mrs. Stennis, the two Stennis children, John Hampton, 12, and Margaret Jane, 10, several other relatives and nearly 100 Mississippians watched from the Senate gallery as Stennis received the oath of office.

Mrs. Stennis and the children plan to return to DeKalb, Miss., soon, as the children are in school there. The Senator will live in hotel quarters here while he hunts a house or an apartment.

Tall, Quiet Mississippian Fills Senate Seat Of The Stormy Bilbo

advertiser Montgomery Al

By GORDON BROWN

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17.—(AP)—A tall, quiet Mississippian, who said he came to Washington "to listen—not to talk" took a seat in the Senate, Monday, as successor to the late Theodore G. Bilbo, one of the Senate's more stormy figures.

Senator John C. Stennis, who won a special Mississippi election Nov. 4 to select a successor for the remaining five years of Bilbo's term, was given the oath of office in a brief ceremony immediately after the Senate convened Monday. Tue. 11-18-47

The oath was administered by Senator Vandenberg (R), Michigan, Senate president pro tempore, who then extended congratulations to the new Senator.

Stennis was given a seat on the first row on the Democratic side.

It was the first time in nearly a year that Mississippi has had two Senators entitled to floor privileges. Last January, the Senate declined to seat Bilbo, an outgrowth of controversy over his views on "White Supremacy" and the right of Negroes to vote.

Eastland, Stennis was administered the oath of office by President Pro Tempore Vandenberg, Republican, Michigan. Tue. 11-18-47

It was last January that the Senate refused to seat Bilbo as an outgrowth of his views on "white supremacy" and the right of Negroes to vote. Atlanta, Ga.

Stennis was seated after the Senate adopted a resolution of regreat at the death of Bilbo.

Civilization Reaches Mississippi

The Black Dispatch

Well, who would have thought it? A man who never said a mumbling word about the Negro, or white supremacy, during his campaign, has been elected United States senator from Mississippi. Civilization and human decency is nearer Mound Bayou and Perry Howard's country than it ever was before.

37c(2) Fed. (Miss.)

We're used to liberalism among the younger generation of white people, but who would have thought that when a young white man approached his elderly father, inquiring: "What shall I say about the Negro?" that elderly white Mississippian would say, "Nothing"? Only the mailed fist of God could strike with such vengeance at Rankin and his evil ilk in last Tuesday's election. Oklahoma, Oklahoma

The Tuesday election is a positive repudiation of Bilbo and his would-be heir, Congressman Rankin. It is notice also to other political imbeciles and scoundrels such as Herman Talmadge, that working class white people down in Dixie are sick and tired of their vicious demagoguery and will have no more to do with it. Sat. 11-15-47

John Cornelius Stennis, 46-year-old circuit judge down in Mississippi could conceivably be the entering wedge of division in thinking about Negroes in the land of Bilbo and Rankin. Progress does not always arrive tailor-made and by approved rules. Sometimes men are forced to do certain things as a defense technique, and not because they are steeped in altruism. Stennis apparently did not have his moral chart and compass with him when he asked advice of his father, and when later difficult problems arise he may fall in error. "What shall I say about Negroes?" in actuality means, "I do not know what to say about Negroes." It means that on the race question the new Mississippi senator is not a proven quantity.

But we have Governor Thompson's case down in Georgia, who when he faced Herman Talmadge in the last election did not know what to say about Negroes, and apparently did not have a level-headed father to whom he could turn for council. In his extremity Thompson resorted to a half-baked anti-Negro thesis, similar to Talmadge. He was going to disfranchise Negroes, too, if elected. He decided this would appeal to the majority thinking of Georgians.

But Governor Thompson realizes now that the only way to beat Talmadgism in the next election is to enfranchise Negroes rather than disfranchise them. His hesitancy on many points respecting Negroes, in contrast to the wild and insane onslaught of Talmadge, has well nigh created two political parties down in Georgia. Thompson knows, as a defense technique, he must squelch the Klan and the Columbians and he must free the Negro to ballot privileges if he is to have political life in Georgia after the next election.

Just so it will be down in Mississippi in coming elections. The man who had nothing to say about Negroes is going to be the open target of the Bilbo-Rankin hierarchy. Judge Stennis will not be allowed to barge through another election without expressing himself about Mississippi's dark-hued population, representing one-half of the citizens of the state. He is going to have to answer fascists, who will openly inquire whether he honestly believes "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed," for that in actuality is the basic problem to be solved down in the Mississippi delta county.

Whether he is certain of the answer or not, Judge Stennis, when the next election arrives, is going to have observed Talmadgism in action in a neighboring state, and he is likely to turn to liberals like Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville Democrat, and other forthright liberals residing in Mississippi. It should be kept in mind that there are many fine white people to be found in the sand hills of northern Mississippi, and stretching south to the flatwoods country down around Biloxi. The most radical speech this writer ever listened to respecting the race question fell sometime ago from the lips of a Mississippi white man, as he spoke in a meeting in Chattanooga. By the time the next election arrives, Judge Stennis may not have to depend upon his father for the answers to many socio-political problems that will jut up and to the fore in the Senate of the United States.

For instance, in the next Congress efforts will be made to pass extremely liberal legislation. We are publishing an article this week which tells of private councils being held by the President with national leaders who ponder whether or not in the face of another looming world conflict, America's largest minority group should not be given long delayed citizenship equality. To abandon the South's thesis of "gradualism" and overnight wipe out racial distinctions and discriminations will force the new Mississippi senator to talk again to someone and to seriously consult his own conscience for political security. Dad had better be around handy in Washington when the next Congress opens, with chart and compass for the new Mississippi senator.

Hodding Carter said the other week in a speech delivered in St. Louis to a Negro audience:

> "The sure swift way to win the rights of all people to vote and be protected in their civil rights lies in the government of the United States."

37c(2) Fed. (Miss.)

Do you get that? In the above statement we have a Mississippian denouncing state rights and holding a brief for the idea Lincoln and Roosevelt held regarding centralization of authority. Here is a Mississippian who inferentially says that his advice would be for the government of the United States to incorporate into law the action program laid down by President Truman's Civil Right Committee. Remember the proponent of this concept of government is a prominent publisher in Greenville, Mississippi.

Sometimes just the presence—not necessarily the use—of power is sufficient to bring about great social and political changes. The breaking up of white solidarity in the international arena, which of itself is carving out different political world balances, has perhaps much to do with the rumored star chamber conference of national leaders respecting new approaches to human equality. There is deep feeling that something must be done along this line in control centers of America. Just as Governor Thompson in Georgia and Judge Stennis in Mississippi must form new political alliances as defense techniques, so also the President of the nation feels that greater loyalty and patriotism can be generated in this land by, perhaps executive order or other equally effective means banning second-class citizenship under the Stars and Stripes.

RANKIN LEARNS THE HARD WAY

37c(2) Fed. (Miss.)

Afro-American

Rabble-rouser John E. (Un-American) Rankin, who promised to "out-Bilbo Bilbo," ran a poor fifth last week as Mississippi elected Judge John C. Stennis to succeed the late unlamented Theodore G. (Runt) Bilbo in the U.S. Senate.

Sticking to his "white supremacy" platform while his four rivals either soft-pedaled or ignored the issue, Rankin learned to his sorrow that the more intelligent of Mississippi's limited voters are no longer interested in the rabble-rousing tactics which have so long characterized political campaigns in that State. Baltimore, Md.

Should Rankin, in next year's elections, seek to recapture his seat in the House of Representatives, we hope that the voters will repudiate him as they did in his bid for a Senate seat. We hope, too, that ere long, Mississippi's representation in Congress will be reduced, according to the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment, in keeping with the manner in which that State denies suffrage to ALL of its adult male citizens. Sat. 11-15-47

The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia will soon be called upon to determine whether Mississippi's present allocation of House seats is valid.

With these two threats to his perpetuation in office, Rankin's security is in the balance. We believe that the end is in sight.

37c(2) 1947

Federal (Mississippi)

Rankin Is Blasted For Slurring Race

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

By LEM GRAVES Jr., Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON—Republican leaders of the House of Representatives last Tuesday took Representative Joe Martin, Speaker of the House, to task for his failure to silence Representative John Rankin (Miss.) when the latter made derogatory references to Negroes in the course of a bitter exchange with Representative Adam C. Powell Jr. (N. Y.) Sat. 3-1-47

During the debate on the citation of Gerhart Eisler, alleged Communist agent, for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee, on the House floor, Representative Rankin repeatedly used the word "n——r" in referring to Negroes.

Congressman Powell took exception to these references and asked the speaker: "Is it within the rules of this Congress to refer to any group of our Nation in disparaging terms?"

Speaker Martin overruled Congressman Powell's point of order and allowed Representative Rankin to continue use of the objectionable reference throughout his lengthy tirade.

SEVERAL APOLOGIZE

Immediately after the session, several Republican Congressmen apologized to Representative Powell and promised the New York Congressman that they would take the matter up with the House Speaker and insist that he rule differently hereafter.

Representaive Clarence J. Brown, one of the key figures in the Republican House majority, personally pledged to Congressman Powell that neither Rankin nor any other deep-Dixie legislators would be permitted to use disparaging terms in reference to the Negro hereafter. It is reported that Representative Brown immediately went into a huddle with Speaker Martin to discuss the ruling on Representative Powell's point of order.

Representative Brown expressed the opinion that Martin had made an "unfortunate mistake." Sat. 3-1-47

EXTENSIVE TIRADE

Rankin had launched an extensive tirade against communism and, in referring to the testimony of William O. Nowell before the Un-American Activities Committee regarding Negro communistic activity, used the word "n——" several times. Representative Powell asked him to yield to a parliamentary inquiry and Rankin refused. Powell then got the floor on a point of order and stated his question on the use of disparaging terms.

Speaker Martin declared that he was not aware that a disparaging term had been used, whereupon Rankin declared: "I said what I always say and what I am always going to say when referring to these people." Representative Martin instructed Rankin to proceed and when Representative Powell demanded a point of order, the speaker declared: "The chair overrules the point of order."

OPPOSES METHODS

In a later extension of his remarks, Representative Powell told the assembled legislators that he was opposed to the methods used by the House Un-American Activities Committee in its investigations because the committee was not impartial in its investigations and used the "un-American pattern of prejudgment." Sat. 3-1-47

Said Representative Powell: "The committee creates a terror of communism while it ignores deeds of strife and violence. If the committee on Un-American Activities would go into such things as the Columbians, Inc., the lynchings in Georgia and elsewhere, the anti-Negro and anti-Jewish groups and the Ku Klux Klan, then I would support it."

The New York Congressman placed it in the record his own disapproval of communistic connections by saying: "I am not a Communist and I am not in favor of communism." He challenged the Congress to declare communism illegal and said that until such a view has been declared illegal by an act of Congress, "it is not illegal to be a Communist."

37c(2) Fed. (Miss.)

THE DEEP SOUTH

Successor to Bilbo Pledges 'New Day' in Mississippi

Times New York, N.Y.

By KENNETH TOLER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 8—Mississippi's election of scholarly, conservative John Cornelius Stennis, 46-year-old, farm-born Circuit Judge, as successor to the late United States Senator Theodore Gilmore Bilbo, means, in the words of the victor, a "new day, new viewpoints and new faces" from this stronghold of Southern customs and traditions. Sun.

Mr. Stennis, a Presbyterian deacon, won out last Tuesday in a field of six candidates, five Democrats and one Republican. All four of the defeated Democrats (the Republican was inactive), asserted from the stump that the racial question was paramount.

Two of the defeated champions of "white supremacy" were Forrest Jackson, who sought to become Senate-heir to the Bilbo crown, and Representative John E. Rankin, who finished fifth in the race. 11-9-47

Not once during his campaign did Judge Stennis discuss the so-called Negro question. He dismissed it with a story about how his father, who lived in the period following the Civil War, said it should be treated in a political campaign. Sun 11-9-47

"I asked my father what I should say about the race problem," he said. "He told me 'nothing'—and that is what I am doing in this campaign."

Because of his agricultural background, he received the backing of farmers, along with the state's liberals and alumni of the state's agricultural college from which he was graduated before going to Virginia to study law.

Two of the state's most liberal daily newspaper editors, Hodding Carter, Pulitzer-Prize winning publisher of The Greenville Democrat-Times, and George McLean of The Journal at Tupelo, home of Mr. Rankin, supported Judge Stennis.

Since his political philosophy and background are as different from the late Senator Bilbo's as day is from night, and his chief support came from the rural areas where "The Man" always mustered his so-called "red-neck" support, Judge Stennis' victory would seem to indicate that the Bilbo faction had disintegrated following his death. Sun. 11-9-47

News Note: Business activity in Mississippi in September was 11 per cent greater than during the corresponding month of 1946, according to the latest issue of The Mississippi Business Review.

A New Mississippi Rejects John Rankin

Courier-Journal

THERE is a busy searching among the embers of Tuesday's elections all over the country. The idea is to find auguries for 1948, and Democratic soothsayers are quick to proclaim happiness at the revelations.

They point to heavy inroads made in old Republican majorities in Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, to Democratic candidates who overthrew many a Republican incumbent in local elections. They think they see a tide rising from the ebb of November, 1946. They certainly are not mistaken as to Kentucky. Louisville, Ky.

But when it comes to the fortunes of individuals involved, more eyes were turned to the attenuated, theatrical figure of JOHN RANKIN of Mississippi than to any other. Since the death of THEODORE BILBO, whom he sought to succeed in the United States Senate, no other has stood in sharper identification with the lewdness and demagoguery of prejudice.

It was an identification which he seemed to seek deliberately. By the very eagerness with which he hastened to pick up where BILBO left off, as if the latter had proved that there was no other medium of appeal to Mississippi voters, RANKIN left no doubt of where he would be placed. In light of the result, there is no doubt that this sort of thing is all but finished as political tactics. Among the five Democratic candidates he ran last. 11-6-47

JOHN RANKIN must be a startled man today. The proposition on which he ran had never failed him before. He had been in Congress for more than a quarter of a century, becoming the dean of the Mississippi delegation, apparently all but invulnerable since he took his seat as the First District's Representative in 1921. Every two years he was more querulous and strident in championing White Supremacy in a hill district where few Negroes lived, more and more given to anti-Semitic indecencies in exhorting constituents of whom many had never seen a Jew. Courier-Journal

What then was more natural than that he should play out his role and think to win another of his unbroken chain of successes? It must have been a shock to find that this time Mississippians were bored. Neither the Red Menace nor the Black Menace moved them, or else RANKIN, aging, wearying, could give them only a thin echo of himself or of BILBO. Louisville, Ky.

He lacked the advantages which BILBO had in 1946, the issue of "furrin" interference with Mississippi's affairs, which most observers agree had more to do with BILBO's final election than did BILBO's obscenities. He was burdened by the public's resentful memory of BILBO's private record as aired after his election, of BILBO's self-revealing correspondence with his critics, of the public disgrace that shadowed BILBO at the end, his seat withheld by his peers, his State itself inescapably smeared.

It had become increasingly obvious that Mississippi was determined never to have another BILBO or anybody like him. Many of the young people of Mississippi had seen the world and encountered everywhere derisive allusions to Mississippi because of BILBO and RANKIN. They were among the most resentful of the likes of the two. RANKIN went down from Washington to campaign, and found a Mississippi he had never seen before. Thur. [illegible] 6-47

This time, Mississippi seems to have chosen a dignified and scholarly judge, JOHN C. STENNIS. It was the Mississippi that had chosen L. Q. C. LAMAR, JEFFERSON DAVIS, JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, LEROY PERCY and others worthy of the Senate. And it is not too much to say that this result is a happier augury for the Democratic Party than any other. "The party of BILBO and RANKIN" had become an epithet at which to cringe in other regions.

An Example for Georgi a

37c(2) Fed. (Miss.)

Mississippi presented the South and the nation with a pleasant surprise by burying the notorious John E. Rankin beneath an avalanche of votes in that State's election to fill the senatorial post lately disgraced by Theodore Bilbo. Constitution

John E. Rankin, who went up and down shouting about Negro Communists and Yankee meddlers, ran fifth in a field of six.

The apparent victor is a circuit court judge, conservative John Cornelius Stennis. As a jurist he has never had a case reversed in the appellate courts. He is a Presbyterian deacon, a Mason and member of the Lions Club. Atlanta, Ga.

He won without hillbilly bands, without shouting about white supremacy, without mentioning the race issue at all and without any sensational sideshows. He ignored all the rantings of those who did drag in the Negro issue and talked to the people about agriculture, labor relations and world affairs.

We especially liked this quote from him, as reported by the Associated Press:

"The best possible insurance against 'isms' is to educate and illuminate the minds of our boys and girls. I want to build for Mississippi. I'm for a fair deal for labor and management. I'm interested in world peace and favor the United Nations plan. It is not functioning as it should because of lack of able, active, courageous leadership in the part of our Government. Thu. 11-6-47

"I'm a State's rights man. The Southern way of life is best for me.

"I asked my father what I should say about the race problem. He said 'Nothing,'—and that is what I am doing."

His opponents boiled over on the recent reports of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which demanded an immediate end to segregation. They shouted the State had been insulted, invaded and that Communists were seeking to impose social equality. Daily [illegible]

Candidate Stennis simply said, mildly, "Our customs and our traditions may be assailed, but we can stand firm in our rights to make our own decisions about such matters." The Constitution

We like that, too.

We hope the people of Georgia and those of our people who aspire to political office will study this campaign. The percentage of Negro population in Mississippi is greater than that in any other State. It is not necessary to drag the Negro issue into politics, as the winner in Mississippi has so admirably shown.

Georgia is equally able, with Mississippi, to make her decisions without all the false shouting about outsiders and Yankee meddlers. Atlanta, Ga.

Dragging in the race issue means that those who do it have a low opinion of their people and believe they can be reached only by racial prejudice and sensation. Thu. 11-6-47

May not Georgia look forward to candidates who can rise to the level of campaign statesmanship set in Mississippi, sparing us violence, hate and shame?

We see no reason why we may not.

NO RANTINGS, NO BANDS

A Quiet Campaigner Wins in Mississippi

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 5—(AP)—A self-styled "conservative," who was called a most colorless candidate even by his friends, Wednesday became Mississippi's junior United States Senator for the unexpired term of the late Theodore Bilbo.

Tall, erect, bespectacled, Circuit Judge John Cornelius Stennis, of DeKalb, won plurality in Tuesday's General Election, defeating four Democrats and one Republican. He did so without hill-billy bands, without showmanship, without the usual "white supremacy" rantings which marked campaigns of "The Man" Bilbo. Thu. 11-6-47

Lean, square-jawed and with dark hair just beginning to turn iron-gray, Stennis looks younger than his 46 years. He speaks mildly, in a restrained manner, with a deep voice that frequently suggests the pulpit. Of farm stock, he was raised in rural Northeast Mississippi and served there as District Attorney and later as Circuit Judge before offering for the Senate.

As a jurist, he achieved a record of never having a case reversed in the Appellate Courts of Mississippi. He ignored the challenges of opponents—especially Rep. John Rankin, Democrat, Mississippi, who shouted defiance to "Negro Communists" and "Yankee meddlers"—and those who would have capitalized on Mississippi's resentment against Northern scrutiny of its race-relations. Instead he talked about agriculture, labor relations, and world affairs. Said Stennis: Thu. 11-6-47

"The best possible insurance against 'isms is to educate and illuminate the minds of our boys and girls. I want to build for Mississippi. I'm for a square deal for labor and management. I'm interested in world peace and favor the United Nations plan. It is not functioning as it should because of lack of able, active, courageous leadership on the part of our Government.

"I'm a State's Rights man. The Southern way of life is best for me.

"I asked my father what I should say about the race problem. He said 'nothing,'— and that is what I am doing."

When President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights recommended immediate elimination of race-segregation—a part of the Constitution of most Southern States—Stennis declined to hammer the issue.

His opponents called the report "an insulting demand on the people of Mississippi" and "another effort to try to tell the South and Mississippi how to run its own affairs." Stennis observed mildly:

"Our customs and traditions may be assailed, but we can stand firm in our rights to make our own decisions about such matters."

Born on a farm in Kemper County, near DeKalb, Miss. in 1901, the son of Hampton and Cornelia Stennis, he was graduated from Kemper County's Agricultural High School and then attended Mississippi State College where he received his diploma in 1923. Later he went to the University of Virginia Law School, graduating with honors in 1928.

He returned to DeKalb in 1928 and ran for the Mississippi House of Representatives. He was elected, and served until 1931. Then he ran for District Attorney of the Sixteenth Judicial District. Elected, he served for five years, being reelected without opposition in 1935.

Upon the death of Circuit Judge W. W. Magrudder in February, 1937, Gov. Hugh White named him to the bench. He was elected without opposition again in 1938, 1942 and 1946. He is Secretary of the Conference of Mississippi Judges, and a contributor to the Mississippi Law Journal.

As Past President of the Mississippi State Alumni Association, he was active in Agricultural matters. He served as member of the Mississippi 4-H Advisory Council for many years, and is now its President.

A lifelong Presbyterian, he is chairman of the Board of Deacons of the DeKalb Presbyterian Church. He is a Mason, and a Past President of the DeKalb Lions Club. Constitution,

In 1928 he married Miss Coy Hines, of New Albany, Miss. They have two children, John Hampton, 12, and Margaret Jane, 10.

BILBO'S SUCCESSOR LIKED BY NEGROES

Times

Judge Stennis Is Regarded as Tolerant—Is Expected to Back Southern Views in Senate

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 5—Mississippi, the heart of the deep south, and Kentucky, a border state with deep-rooted southern traditions, came though yesterday's elections with results that tallied uniformly with last-minute predictions.

While Kentucky, a two-party "weathervane" state, returned to its normal democratic fold with veteran observers unable to find any indications there of party trends in the 1948 Presidential race, Mississippi came up with an intra-state answer to the white supremacy issue that was in keeping with the Magnolia state's predilection for political paradoxes, seldom understood beyond its borders. 11-6-47. Thu.

Five Democratic candidates campaigned across the rich delta lands for the right to succeed to the Senatorial seat of the late Theodore G. Bilbo, ardent advocate of white supremacy and for years the most successful campaigner in the state.

Four of the candidates took a stand in support of white supremacy and two of them emulated from the stump Mr. Bilbo's strong and intemperate language on the subject of race relations.

The winner was the candidate who virtually ignored the racial issue, remarking that he was following his elderly father's advice to "say nothing about it, son."

Modern Farming Stressed

He was Circuit Court Judge John Cornelius Stennis, 46 years old, of DeKalb, in the central part of the state, a graduate of Mississippi State College and the University of Virginia Law School. He campaigned principally on a platform that called for encouraging modern methods of mechanized and diversified farming to improve Mississippi's economy.

A tall, spare man, with slightly Lincolnesque features, Judge Stennis is known as a scholarly jurist, slow and deliberate of speech. He has a host of friends in all walks of life. Thu. 11-6-47

It is generally believed that he will follow the traditional Southern line on certain controversial national issues and oppose anti-poll tax and anti-lynching and FEPC measures, but that he will employ none of the tactics that made Mr. Bilbo a center of dispute.

Judge Stennis had strong support from Mississippi liberals of all stripes and the consensus of opinion was that he would give the State representation that was "decent and dignified."

Although only a handful of Negroes voted in yesterday's elections, Negro leaders of the State were wholeheartedly in support of Judge Stennis, whom they labeled "the best gentleman in the campaign."

Appeal Seen in Sound Platform

Negro leaders regard Judge Stennis as "an old-fashioned Southern gentleman" who brings patience and understanding to racial problems and on occasions they have gone to him for help and support. Times.

Two of the candidates, Forrest B. Jackson, political legatee of Mr. Bilbo, and Representative John E. Rankin, a strong advocate of white supremacy, copied Mr. Bilbo in employing anti-Negro remarks.

In this campaign there was none of the feeling that "outside groups" were "dictating" Mississippians' choice, such as had marked Mr. Bilbo's race last year.

There was a wide feeling the day after the election that Judge Stennis had garnered many votes by a sound and appealing campaign on the agricultural platfrom and that a fairly sizable liberal sentiment that follows Southern patterns supported him when they no longer had to defend what they considered Mississippians' right to elect Mr. Bilbo if they saw fit.

37c(2) 1947 Federal (New York--A. Clayton Powell)

Asks Jim Crow Probe Of U. S. Restaurants

[illegible] 1-13-47

A probe of "why and by what authority" Negroes are excluded from "public portions" of Government restaurants in Washington has been asked by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.), in a resolution submitted to the House Education and Labor Committee.

Powell on House Labor, Education Committee

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15.—Two New Yorkers, representatives Adam Clayton Powell and Arthur G. Klein, were among the 10 Democrats assigned by the party caucus to the House committee on education and labor today. This committee, which includes 15 Republicans, is due to act on a large number of repressive labor bills. [illegible] 1-16-47

Remaining New York Democrats were assigned as follows:

James J. Heffernan to Armed Services; Donald L. O'Toole to banking and currency; John J. Delaney to expenditures in executive departments; Sol Bloom and Joseph L. Pfeifer to Foreign Affairs; Benjamin J. Rabin to Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Emanuel Celler and William T. Byrne to Judiciary; Eugene J. Keogh and Leon F. Rayfiel to Merchant Marine and Fisheries; Andrew L. Somers to Public Lands; Charles A. Buckley to Public Works.

The Democratic caucus refused to assign Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY) to any committee, contending that as an independent he must look to the majority party for an assignment. The Republicans passed the buck because Marcantonio was elected with the Democratic party nomination as well as that of ALP.

Rep. Powell Suffers Heart Attack

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Democratic-ALP representative of the 22nd Congressional District, New York City, sufered a sudden and severe heart attack en route to his ofifce Monday morning.

According to his physician, Dr. W. Adrian Freeman, Powell's heart attack was "an exacerbation of an old condition." Dr. Freeman said Dr. Powell will be confined to his New York residence indefinitely.

[illegible]

Congressman Powell's Real Statesmanship

Black Dispatch

Week before last we surrendered our entire editorial page to the publication of Congressman Adam Powell's discussion of the proposed Hartley Bill, now before congress, which would drastically change the working conditions of American laborers. Since that time several of our readers have asked us why we did this, and expressed desire to have read something dealing with local problems from our own ink well of knowledge. Oklahoma City, Okla.

The Black Dispatch desires to say that we published the Powell statement because we believe it is the finest presentation that has been made in Congress by a Negro representative since the return of Negroes to that body. Someone has said that the Negro will achieve emancipation in this country in the day and hour when he ceases to think solely in terms of his own disadvantages and acquires a cosmopolitan outlook.

This writer longs for the day when the Negro may think and act as an American and not as a submerged second-class citizen. In the Powell statement we feel the Harlem representative has scored, for if one reads that statement from stem to stern he will discover that Congressman Powell is concerned with the welfare of all workers irrespective of their color or class. Congressman Powell, says openly that he is speaking for the 15,000,000 organized workers of America and the 60,000,000 members of these workers' families. A sinking man does not gaze above the waves to determine whether the man who throws him a life-line is black or white, and when Negro representatives in congress speak for all of the people all of the people will cherish them.

It is this sort of policy the Black Dispatch has sought to follow across the years. When we cried out about the persecution of Jehovah Witnesses several years ago, we knew in a large measure it was almost a 99 per cent white problem, so far as the membership of the church is concerned, but we knew that basicly the whole question was grounded in religious freedom in which every American citizen should find vital interest. We acquired many white subscribers during that period, not because we were selfishly seeking them but as a natural consequence, resulting from our broad outlook at a threat to constitutional liberty. Sat. 5-10-47

Likewise, when we defended Streeter Stuart, a white college professor who opposed the enactment of the selective service act, we knew that fundamentally the right of petition, guaranteed by the constitution, was involved. Why should Negroes allow the constitutional right to pray, supplicate and entreat to be threatened, simply because the individual attacked happened to be white?

At the present time it takes courage to defend the right of Communists to exist as a political party in this country. How can one who knows history, forget the Alien and Sedition laws and their disastrous effect upon the nation, and how can one fail to realize if congress can outlaw the Communist party it can also outlaw the Democratic and Republican organizations? These are fundamental questions that transcend race, because they are steeped in the basic liberties of a free people. Frederick Douglass, prior to the Civil War, made his name immortal with white women because in that day when white women were disfranchised along with Douglass, this former slave realized the importance of fighting for woman's suffrage along with the struggle for black emancipation. The immortality of Booker T. Washington rests in his ability to see the total good rather than black good.

The U. S. health unit, industrial education, and the extension service of the government represent the wide reach of vision and understanding of the immortal Washington, who still lives in the esteem of all Americans. Unquestionably the Negro must begin in a larger measure to see America as an American, if he is to achieve treasured goals in national life.

If you have not done so, go back and carefully read the address of Congressman Powell, as published on the editorial page of the Black Dispatch. Nowhere in the text are the words, "Negro, black or colored" used. He talks about the Norris-LaGuardia, Clayton, Sherman acts as they apply to all labor. When he refers to the National Labor Relations act he shows clearly how its abandonment by Congress leaves all American working men devoid of their right to collectively bargain. The address in pamphlet form could be scattered among Jews, Poles, Italians, Mexicans or among any white or non-white group, without running into American propaganda refusing to listen to the logic and wisdom of blacks.

Negro politicians should take lessons from Negro physicians. Whenever the news spreads in a community that a black physician can cure the physical ills of his neighbors superior to white practitioners, prejudice immediately goes in hiding. A Negro dentist over at Idabel, Oklahoma, has proved this conclusively. Dr. H. W. Williamston, a Negro dentist down in the southeastern section of Oklahoma where Arkansas and Texas kiss the Land of the Fair Gods, has right at this minute while we write these lines ten times more whites than blacks seated in his office requesting service. This is fairly representative of what happens when Negroes step out of the garb of resignation and narrowness serving the needs of the total community. Sat. 5-10-47

Congressman Powell in his address in Congress seeks to serve the total needs of the working class. Of course he is interested in anti-lynching legislation, in FEPC, in the rights of Negro veterans, in the equalization of educational opportunities in the South; but in this newest of his addresses he has announced to all of the working men of America that in Congress he is a world clarion for collective bargaining; that he is a defender of every white girl walking in front of telephone offices today all over America; that he believes unions should have the right to establish welfare agencies for their members and that he is opposed to the company union. There is not a white working man in the United States who reads Congressman Powell's address who will not be impressed with the thought that there should be closer relationship between the white worker and the black worker, and that is the real value that will stem from Congressman Powell's cosmopolitan view. More Negroes must learn that cooperation is a two-way track, and that when we start fighting for justice we must launch such struggles for everybody. We must sponsor the sane philosophy under the Stars and Stripes that no one is safe unless everybody is protected.

When a Manhattan reporter called on **Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr.**, he discovered that the statesman had a new pet name for his songstress wife, Hazel Scott. He calls her "Teddy Bear"; she calls him "Bunny." "I used to call her 'Squirt,'" explained the Congressman. "But that was before our marriage. . . She was so small and lonely, a mass of frustration till I came along." Mon. 2-17-47

Chicago, Ill.

Yes . . . WE ALL TALK

By MARCUS H. BOULWARE

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Courier

CONGRESSMAN POWELL
(Social Reform Orator, Preacher and Writer)

If one were to compile a list of the most conspicous and outstanding colored orators in this country on the basis of ability and elquence, he would have to include Congressman Powell of New York City among the first six; and if one were to be absolutely impartial, young Powell would be among the first three—one of which would be Modecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University in the Nation's Capital.

Of the twenty-three Negroes who have served in Congress since the Civil War, Powell, the younger, is without peer as an orator. He stands head and shoulder above them all with the exception of Robert Elliott. Commenting upon this same point before Powell's day, Carter G. Woodson says that with the exception of Robert Elliott the great orators of the Negro race did not sit in Congres. Without doubt Mr. Powell is moving into an epoch in which his public utterances will be calls in the wild urging "marching blacks up freedom's road." Sat. 5-3-47

POWELL'S ORATORY flamed into notice with the opening of the New Deal Epoch, 1933-1945. His speech-making has led Roi Ottley to call him "Harlem's Crusading Preacher." Partial listeners call him a "radical, soap-box orator." Powell is proud to be termed a radical, because he says that every progressive change in America has been the results of radicalism.

When Harlem elected young Powell as the first Negro councilman in New York City in 1941, he became a marked man politically. According to a national newspaper, when Powell was elected to the United States Congress, he said: "I don't expect to do much in Congress the first year. A freshman congressman doesn't have much influence. However, I will not be a silent congressman; I shall be vocal."

* * *

AT THAT SAME TIME, Joseph Bibb, Pittsburgh Courier Columnist, said (referring to Powell) that "the battle against poll tax, lynching, segregation will be continued with new vigor." Gordon B. Hancock in "Between the Lines" declared, "The more I hear of Powell and his congressional utterances the more I am convinced that the man is evincing qualities of statemanship of high order for which this race and Nation may well be thankful."

In March, 1946, Powell delivered a series of lectures in Texas cities under the sponsorship of Samuel Huston College at Austin, Texas. The tour carried him to Austin, San Antonio, Waco, Dallas and Houston. At Houston on the fifth night, Mr. Powell made a forceful address on the subject, "Let My People Go."

The orator described the race question as a cancerous growth that must be aired. He advocated that the Negro could advance himself through (1) sustaining his indignation, (2) disciplining his resentment, (3) developing militant leadership, and (4) using collective social action.

In closing his speech, amid the cheers of his listeners and with outstreched arms in a last gesture of strong appeal, he shouted in the words of the Negro spiritual: "Walk Together Children, Don't Get Weary, There's a Great Day Coming After While!" Cries of "more!" rang from the rafters for several minutes after the speaker had taken his seat.

Sat. 5-3-47

ACCORDING TO Ludlow Werner, editor of The New York Age, "Congresman Powell is master of mob psychology. He draws upon years of training under his father's tutelage in church to be an effective showman and speaker. Powell is inclined to be 'demagogic' because he has found it to be his success pattern." Roy Ottley says that Powell is perhaps the outstanding orator of his race and a spellbinder of no small proportion.

In 1941 when Powell told his church that he was running for city council of New York, the congregation voiced its approval with a "bedlam of hallelujahs and vociferous hand clapping, lasting twenty minutes, leaving no doubt that the pastor would have the full backing of his membership," according to a New York newspaper.

Truman Blasted For Powell's White House Reception Snub

The Informer Sat. 3-15-47

Houston, Texas

NEW YORK —(ANP) —President Truman was blasted here last week for inviting every member of the 80th congress to a White House reception except Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who recently called Mrs. Truman the "Last Lady of the land" when she and the President attended a DAR reception.

37c(2) Fed (N.Y.)

Benjamin J. Davis, Communist member of New York's City council, called Truman's snub of Powell "an insult not only to Powell himself, but also to the Negro people of Harlem who elected him to represent them. Truman's action shows further how he, the President of the United States, serves as a lackey for the GOP reactionaries and the Democratic poll-taxers who have done everything possible to scuttle all measures affecting the welfare of the Negro people, such as FEPC, anti-lynching bills and anti-poll tax bills," Davis said.

"Congressman Powell has consistently refused to kow-tow to the Rankin-Bilbo poll tax wing of the Democratic party, Davis explained. "Truman's vindicative action in snubbing Powell from the White House calls for increased public support to the Harlem congressman's fight in congress for Negro rights, anti-poll tax measures, and FEPC bill. Sat. 3-15-47

"Perhaps some Negro elected officials can be bought off by social invitations from the President, but Truman should know that all of them cannot be so easily compromised," Davis concluded.

Powell Suffers Second Heart Attack Monday

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World Tues. 4-22-47

37c(2) Fed (N.Y.)

NEW YORK—(ANP)— Returning from an automobile trip, Rep Adam Clayton Powell suffered a second heart attack last Monday. He was with his wife Hazel Scott at the time, who drove him to the Dr. Killer hospital where the congressman was immediately admitted.

'Edging to Right' Rumor Branded 'Lie' by Powell

Afro-American Baltimore, Md

2-15-47

37c(2) Fed (N.Y.)

WASHINGTON

Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (Dem., N.Y.) this week branded as "absolutely a lie" a story in the New York Sun which stated that he was "edging to the right."

The shift, according to the article, was due to the political winds which blew across New York in the November elections.

In an exclusive AFRO interview, the New York Congressman, representing the 22nd District asserted that the reason given for his resignation from the People's Voice also was reported erroneously in the white paper by its Washington correspondent.

Away Too Frequently

"Being away from the paper so much," Mr. Powell said, "it is natural that many things—wholly unintentional—will get in that I know nothing about, but for which I would be held responsible if I remained as editor-in-chief. So I resigned." 2-15-47 Sat.

Herman C. Laster, the Congressman's secretary, likewise denied that he had made statements attributed to him by the Sun's reporer.

Laster was said to have referred to the "Voice" as being Communist-infested — and Powell was called a fellow-traveler.

Dr. Powell Alright At Abyssinia

Sat. 9-13-47

37c(2)

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK—(ANP)—Newspaper reports that the Rev. A. Clayton Powell Jr., pastor of this city's largest church and representative of the Twenty-second Congressional District, had been given an ultimatum to retire as a politician or give up his pastorate were denied 100 per cent last week end.

Harrison S. Jackson, lawyer for Congressman Powell, issued the following statement and emphasized that the story referred to had been printed by a Baltimore paper:

NO MEETING HELD Sat. 9-13-47

"I have been authorized to say that George E. Voting, chairman of the board of Abyssinian Baptist Church, announces that the church has never and will not deliver any ultimatum to its pastor, A. Clayton Powell Jr. Sat. 9-13-47

"There has not been any meeting of the church body or its official board since Dr. Powell was taken ill on July 13. The church feels that Dr Powell has rendered both Congress and the church invaluable and priceless services. Congressman Powell is his own free and independent agent, forever keeping in mind his loyal and fairful services to his church and his constituents."

Seen From a Window

37c(2) Fed (N.Y.)

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By DOUGLASS HALL

Rep. Adam Powell returned to his flock at Abyssinia Baptist Church in New York last Sunday after several months of rest and recuperation from a recent illness. The church was jammed and as he walked into the pulpit there was a sigh of relief because some feared that he would be unable to make it.

However, the famous minister did not hold the limelight very long. His equally famous wife (Hazel Scott) and dad (Rev. Powell Sr.), and Adam Jr. riding the shoulder of a smiling usher entered. 10-18-47

The congregation focused their comments upon the child— "Gosh, he has blond hair!" "Gee, he is awfully light," "I wonder if they are going to take him out if he starts yelling."

Occasionally attention was shifted to Mrs. Powell. Once when she left the church to carry the baby out someone was heard to say: "Wonder where she's going, I bet she can't even change a diaper!" "That is some hat she has on, I don't think I like it."

10-18-47

Powell Quits Congress For Indefinite Period

Defender

WASHINGTON—Rep. Adam C. Powell (D., N.Y.), has been granted a period of indefinite leave from the United States House of Representatives because of illness.

One of two Negro members of Congress, Powell is serving his second term as representative from New York's 22nd Congressional district. Chicago, Ill.

Powell Named on Two House Subcommittees

Afro-American

37c(2)

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Rep. Adam C. Powell (Dem., N.Y.) last Thursday was named on two subcommittees of the House Committee on Education and Labor. One will have jurisdiction over bills concerning federal aid, vocational rehibilitation, and the school lunch program, and the other will be concerned with measures relating to institutions in the District of Columbia.

Baltimore, Md.

37c(2) 1947 Federal (Pres. Truman)

MR. TRUMAN

37c(2)

The President Transcends Many Former Chief Executives In Both Word and Deed

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

Sat. 7-19-47

PRESIDENT Harry S. Truman may not be an intellectual giant. He may not even be an efficient administrator. He may be entangled in foreign alliances and involved in suspicious politics, but he has said more and done for colored Americans than any other President since Theodore Roosevelt.

Mr. Bibb

The fact that the Chief Exevutive is the offspring of "an unreconstructed Southern rebel" and is also a product of the corrupt Pendergast political machine, has not prevented him from conferring honors and responsibilities, never before granted, to the dark minority.

Likewise, his affiliation with the reactionary leaders of the South has not prevented him from taking an honorable and forthright position upon the burning and vital issues of lynching, fair employment, discrimination and segregation.

* * *

NOT MANY YEARS ago, a certain highly educated Northern Republican President studiously avoided having his picture made with our people. We still remember when a skillful colored speaker felt compelled to plead with a Republican President.

The irrepressible orator, surrounded by an "imposing array of race leaders," eloquently petitioned this GOP standard bearer to "speak out and tell us that Lincoln is not dead."

It is recorded in well preserved files that a lamented and revered Republican President dodged every invitation to meet with any colored organization, but would either send a telegram, "with regrets" or dispatch some underling to represent him. Not so with the little man from Missouri. He has dodged no issues. He has spoken with clarity and with seeming conviction.

President William H. Taft frankly admitted that he "would appoint no 'Negroes' to office in the South to offend the Southerners," and he appointed none, thus depriving colored Americans of such traditional positions as Collectors of Internal Revenue, Postmasters, Port Officers and Registrars of the Treasury. President Wilson, the enlightened educator, set up jim crow in the Government, remained silent, and subjected colored soldiers to humiliation and insult. Harding said nothing and did nothing. Both Hoover and Coolidge were cold, indifferent and unconcerned.

* * *

FRANKLIN Delano Roosevelt never addressed himself to the disfranchisement, the lynching and exploitation of colored Americans. He made no such appointments as President Truman, but did permit his wife to announce comforting and soothing innuendoes. His creation of the "Fair Employment Practice Committee" was the crowning achievement of his administration.

But Truman has appointed a Federal Judge in continental USA, he has installed a colored Governor in the Virgin Islands and he has given signal recognition to our people upon important and influential committees. He may not be elected to succeed himself as President.

Because of the trend of world affairs and because of his tie-up with the Southern supporters of fascism, lynching, peonage and poll tax, he may not even gain the support of the colored electorate, but he has made history. He has set a new pattern of leadership and he has put the pinch upon the Republicans to equal him in word and deed.

Mr. Truman is not the only contemporary Democrat who has won favor with colored Americans. Justice Hugo Black, having admitted and repudiated his former connections with the Ku Klux Klan, has proved to be the most liberal member of the Supreme Court. Out in the middlewest, where the grass root Republicans hold sway, former Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago and National Committeeman from Illinois, was recently banqueted and hailed by a cheering body of colored people as one of their greatest friends.

Sat. 7-19-47

THERE ARE MANY Democrats in America, who stand out in glittering brilliance against the sordid background of many Republicans who inveigle and deceive them. It was no star in the crown of colored Republican leadership for the National Committeeman from Mississippi to raise his voice in court in behalf of former chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, Congressman Andrew May, now convicted and a notorious enemy of colored people. This Republican leader, a colored man, is, even now lining up delegates for a reactionary candidate who has never acted or spoken as bravely or boldly as Harry S. Truman.

37c(2) 1947

Illinois

Jourdain Defeat Blamed on White Political Bosses

Black Dispatch

37c(2)

Sat. 4-19-47

EVANSTON, Ill. — (ANP) — White political bosses of this township were blamed for the defeat Tuesday of Edwin B. Jourdain, fifth ward GOP alderman for the past 16 years, and a recount of the close election is being demanded. Oklahoma City, Okla.

Jourdain last his alderman post to a fellow Negro Republican, Eugene Beck, by a vote of 1,336 to 1,251. Jourdain carried the Negro precincts but lost in the white precincts, while Beck carried the white precincts and lost the Negro precincts. Reports indicate that Jourdain was denied the support of the Regular Republican organization because of his racial restrictive covenant fight.

Chicago Alderman Wounded by Wife

Pittsburgh, Pa.

37c(2) Ill. Courier

(From Chicago Bureau)

CHICAGO—Trial of Mrs. Margaret Harvey, estranged wife of Alderman William H. Harvey, who fired a bullet into her husband less than six days after his election to the Windy City aldermanic board, will begin next Tuesday morning in Felony Court. Her wounded husband is recovering from effects of the shot. Mrs. Harvey's suit for divorce against her husband, filed this month, is still pending. Sat. 4-[illegible]-47

Domestic difficulties are held responsible for setting off the spark which grew into gunplay on Monday morning, April 14, while the alderman was dressing at his home. A .38 calibre bullet took a course through a muscle and came out near the arm-pit without striking any vital organs. Mrs. Harvey surrendered later, and was arraigned on a charge of assault with intent to kill.

The couple has an adopted son, William H. Jr.

Negroes Salvage 2 Seats In Chicago City Council

Atlanta, Ga. Daily World Tues. Mar. 4-47

37c(2) Ill.

CHICAGO — (A N P) — Negroes here neither lost nor gained in Tuesday's aldermanic election.

Seventeen Negro candidates from four of the city's 50 wards vied for council seats, but election returns indicate only the predominantly all-Negro second and third wards will have Negro aldermen in the new city council.

Tues. 3-4-47

By virtue of a runoff next April, either Mack Atkins, a local undertaker backed by the Republican party, or incumbent William H. Harvey, a Democrat, will represent the second ward. A third race runoff will send either Roy L. Washington, former Democratic city prosecutor, or the Rev. Archibald J. Carey, pastor of Woodlawn AME Church, to the city council. Oscar DePriest ,incumbent was defeated.

Tabulation of second ward votes showed Atkins, 9,471; P. B. Brown, an independent backed by the Packinghouse workers and CIO unions, 1,653; Willa B. Brown, aviatrix, 882; Harvey, 10,873; and Hoobs, 310. In the third, C. A. Brown, 258; Edgar G. Brown, 2,331; Carey, 4,427; DePriest 3,609; January, 513; Lewis, 113; Murphy, 149; C. Udell Turpin, 1,066; Washington, 4,313.

Stadeker and Stampley were eliminated in the fitfh ward by Merriam, regular Democratic candidate. Stadeker polled 469 and Stampley, 227 votes. Both were considered as newcomers to the political scene. William Janney was the only Negro aldermanic candidate in a west side ward. He was eliminated by the regular Democratic candidate.

Tuesday's election probably ended the long political career of Oscar DePriest, who was dethroned as alderman of the third ward. Tue. 3-4-47

Blame Bosses For Defeat Of Jourdain

Chicago, Ill.

37c(2) Ill.

Chicago Defender

EVANSTON, Ill.—White political bosses of this township were blamed for the defeat Tuesday of Edwin B. Jourdain, 5th Ward GOP alderman for the past 16 years, and a recount of the close election is being demanded. Sat. 3-29-47

Jourdain lost his aldermanic post to a fellow Negro Republican, Eugene Beck, by a vote of 1,336 to 1,251. Jourdain carried the Negro precincts but lost in the white precincts, while Beck carried the white precincts and lost the Negro precincts. 3-29-47

Reports indicate that Jourdain was denied the support of the Regular Republican organization because of his racial restrictive covenant fight.

37c(2) 1947

Illinois (Oscar DePriest)

DePriest Fights For Political Life

37c(2)(Ill.)

Daily World - Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 2-16-47

CHICAGO — (A N P) — Oscar DePriest, former congressman from Chicago and now serving again as alderman in this city, is facing a fight for his seat in the council as bitter as any he ever engaged in.

The 75-year-old veteran, who after becoming a national political figure when he was the first Negro to win a seat in congress since reconstruction days, was not content to rest on his laurels when he was defeated for congress by Arthur W. Mitchell in 1932 and was elected alderman of the third ward, in 1943.

DePriest has held that post ever since. He was elected in a non-partisan election as no party label figures in aldermanic elections but was also elected Republican ward committeeman in the third ward.

The Republican leadership accused DePriest of playing politics with the Democrats. They said he had accepted a score of jobs from the Kelly machine and accused him of playing both sides of the fence. This past winter they read him out of the party, took his committeemanship away from him, appointing a committee to handle patronage in his ward and refused to endorse him for alderman.

37c(2) (Ill.) State

FREE FOR ALL

The result was a free-for-all. The Republican organization is backing the Rev. Archibald J. Carey, Jr., also a lawyer and the son of one of DePriest's former political allies, the late Bishop Carey. The Democrats have endorsed Roy L. Washington, an assistant corporation counsel who used to serve in the [illegible] 48th Street Police court. Democratic committeeman Edward "Mike" Sneed, boss of that ward who formerly was suspected of arranging deals with DePriest, has said there will be no quarter shown and no deals made this election.

Other candidates, all of whom are working feverishly, include Edgar G. Brown who has returned from Washington and California where he had led lobbying fights in the name of the National Negro Council which he heads. Brown is an especially effective campaigner. [illegible] Udell Turpin, wealthy public relations counsellor who headed the bond drives in Chicago during the war; the Rev. Benjamin H. [illegible], a Baptist minister; George [illegible], an unknown; Clinton A. Brown, an independent Republican and Homer Lewis of the Socialist Worker's party. With a lineup like that observers say anything can happen.

37c(2)(Ill.) 2-16-47

DePriest is out to prove that the political value of the name DePriest has more power than all the campaigning his foes can do. He says the Republicans disown him. The election is February 25.

37c(2) 1947 Indiana

Two Elected To Gary Council

37c(2) [illegible]

GARY, Ind., Nov. 10 (ANP)—A study of the election returns of November 4, shows that Eugene Swartz, Democrat, was elected mayor of the city over his Republican opponent, Clarence H. Smith, by the colored vote.

The new mayor was elected by a majority of about 3,000 votes. Returns from the thirty-one precincts in the fourth and fifth districts gave Swartz 8,018 votes and Smith 5,064. Sd. 11-14-47

Two colored Democrats won places in the city council for the next four years. They are Benjamin Wilson from the fifth district and Terry C. Gray

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Mrs. Hightower Senator's Bride

37c(2) Ind.

Afro American

Senator Robert Lee Brokenburr and Mrs. Nettie Walker Hightower were married here Thanksgiving night. Baltimore, Md.

The ceremony was conducted by the Rev. Dr. John A. Alexander, pastor of Bethel AME Church at that church in the presence of members of the families of the bride and bridegroom. Immediately after the ceremony, Senator and Mrs. Brokenburr went to Detroit, Michigan. Sd. 12-20-47

The bride wore a mink fur-trimmed costumed suit, an amethyst lavalier, a gift of the bridegroom and an orchid corsage.

Only Senator

Senator Brokenburr is the only colored senator ever to be elected in Indiana, a prominent attorney and general manager of the Madam C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company. Mrs. Brokenburr was formerly Mrs. Nettie W. Hightower, widow of Oscar Vernon Hightower, who was owner of the Cottage Dye House, an outstanding business establishment of Indianapolis public school teacher. She is now co-owner of the Cottage Dye House.

37c(2) 1947

Kentucky

GOP Attorney

Daily World

Anderson's

(37c(2)) Ky.

Successor

Atlanta, Ga.

Negro Retains

Sat. 11-15-47

Post In Kentucky Lower House

11-15-47

LOUISVILLE, Ky.— (NNPA)— Dennis Henderson, Republican, local colored attorney, was elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives from the forty-second legislative district in the November 4 election to succeed Charles W. Anderson, Jr.

He beat his Democratic opponent, William Childress, also colored, by 90 votes. Childress has geen granted a recount. Daily World.

Louisville replaced its Republican Board of Aldermen with an entirely Democratic one. The lone colored member, Eugene Clayton, Republican, was swept off the board.

Earle C. Clements, Democrat candidate for Governor, led Eldon S. Summit, Republican, by more than 99,000 votes. Democrats will continue their control of the Legislature with twenty-nine of thethirty-eight seats in the Senate and seventy-two of those in the House.

The Democratic victory was decisive, the Democrats winning eight of the nine districts in the State

High prices and the activity of organized labor against the Taft-Hartly law espoused during the campaign by the Republican party are the main reasons given by most of the politicians for the sweeping Democratic victory.

Colored voters, is reported gave the Democrats strong support.

37c(2) 1947

Massachusetts

Massachusetts Representative On Bay State House Committee

37c (2) Mass. Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

BOSTON — (ANP) — Rep. Lawrence P. Banks of Roxbury, among [illegible] Massachusetts state legislators and the only colored, sworn in by retiring Gov. Maurice J. Tobin here New Year's day, was immediately included on the 1947 slate of house committeemen.

Sat. 1-11-47

Rep. Banks, a well known attorney as well as a veteran of World War I, was appointed to constitutional law, department of rules and regulations.

Republican Governor Robert E. Bradford, a young progressive from a famous old New England family and an advocate of FEPC, took office formally a day later with an overwhelming GOP majority of law makers. Among the GOP slate were some reactionaries, not all are liberals.

Rep. Banks goes into office with greater ease than did Isaac B. Allen, Bay State attorney, in January, 1887. Allen made front page headlines then in a hot controversy before he was seated. Among Allen's supporters was ex-Bay State Rep. Robert "Bob" T. Teamoh, quite a newspaperman in his day here. Teamoh was from Boston's ninth ward and a member of the important mercantile committee.

Retiring Gov. Tobin is credited with the FEPC legislation which finally was adotped after a stormy session in his administration.

37c(2) 1947

Michigan

Senator Brown Sworn In Office New Year's Day

Michigan Chronicle

Detroit, Michigan

37c(2) Mich.

State Sen. Joseph A. Brown of the Second Senatorial District was sworn in as a member of the Michigan State Senate New Year's day, along with other new members elected in the November elections.

Senator Brown, a Democrat, is one of the few Democrats in Wayne County to survive the Republican landslide of last November, and is the first Negro to be seated in Lansing in either house of the legislature since former Sen. Charles C. Diggs was defeated in 1944.

The new senator will be one of a very small minority in an overwhelmingly Republican Legislature, which as early as this week had begun a program of watchful waiting with Gov. Kim Sigler.

Prior to leaving for Lansing to take the oath of office, Senator Brown told The Chronicle, "I intend to support all legislation which stands for fairness and Democracy. I am in favor of a Michigan FEPC law and the equitable integration of Negroes in the National Guard." Sat. 1-11-47

The new senator was appointed to three committees in the legislature last Wednesday. He will serve on the Education, Municipalities and Public Utilities and Transportation Committees.

37c(2) 1947

Mississippi (Rankin)

Rankin Called 'Usurper'; Seat in House Questioned

The Afro-American
Baltimore MD.

Brief Submitted in Communist's Appeal

Calls for Fewer Congressmen from State

By **DOXEY A. WILKERSON**

NEW YORK — Because "the people of Mississippi were uniformly denied the right to vote" at the time of John E. Rankin's "election" to the 80th Congress, this race-hating member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is held to be an "usurper," not legally a member of Congress, in arguments set forth in the defense brief of Eugene Dennis, white, published here this week.

Sat. 8-16-47

Dennis, who is general secretary of the Communist Party, will argue in the U.S. Court of Appeals this fall for reversal of his recent conviction in the District Court for alleged "contempt" of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The brief, which levels a fundamental attack upon the whole system of oppression in the South, was prepared by the defender of the Scottsboro boys, Joseph R. Brodsky, white, who died here last week.

Based on 14th Amendment

A major part of the brief is predicated upon the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which requires Congress to reduce the number of representatives from any State "when the right to vote is in any way abridged." It argues, in substance:

1. Because the right to vote of nearly one-half the citizens of Mississippi has been abridged, that State "is not entitled to more than four seats" in the House of Representatives.

2. "Given a total of 435 seats in the House of Representatives, Congress could not Constitutionally award seven of them to the State of Mississippi."

Not Legally Elected

3. "None of the purported representatives from the State of Mississippi can be considered to have been Constitutionally elected to serve in the House."

4. "Thus John E. Rankin, one of the individuals purporting to act as a representative from the State of Mississippi, cannot be considered by this Court to be entitled so to act under terms of the Constitution."

5. "And since Mr. Rankin purported to serve as one of the members of the so-called House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Committee did not consist exclusively of duly elected members of the House and was not authorized to exercise the prerogatives of a Congressional Committee at the time defendant was allegedly summoned to appear before it."

Held Good Argument for Liberalism

The presiding judge in the District Court, where Dennis was convicted, refused to allow defense counsel to present its Constitutional arguments, ruling time after time that the only issue was whether the Communist leader did, in fact, refuse to appear before the Un-American Committee when summoned.

In the Court of Appeeals, however, the Constitutional arguments will have to be heard—and if they are upheld, a blow will have been struck for the liberation of the Southern masses from oppression.

Dixie Race Hater Implies He'll Run For Senate

Chicago Defender

37c(2)

Chicago, Ill.

White Supremists Shape Up Fight For Dead Solon's Post

Sat. 8-30-47

JACKSON, Miss. — This state Friday awaited final rites for the late Theodore Bilbo with certain expectations that Rep. John E. Rankin will immediately announce his candidacy to succeed to the champion race hater's seat in the United States Senate.

Political speculation was rampant and a bitter contest is hourly shaping up, but a temporary lull resulted when Rankin, said to be the only man able to "out-Bilbo Senator Bilbo," announced at Columbus that he would make a statement immediately after the funeral of his friend and legislative contemporary.

Rankin admitted that "terrific pressure is being brought to bear on me to run for the position left vacant by the death of Senator Bilbo.

Sat. 8-30-47

"But I have declined to make any statement whatsoever until after the funeral tomorrow. I will make known my plans at that time."

With many candidates indicating a willingness to throw their hat in the ring as successor to the long-term demagogue, it was remembered that Rankin and Bilbo spoke the same language of intolerance and that in last year's elections Bilbo vote plurality broke all his own previous records.

Sat. 8-30-47

Rap Yank 'Interference'

While the state's white supremacy advocates denied that this issue would again raise its head unless "injected by Northern self-styled champions of civil liberties," it was widely felt that the November elections will see one of the bitterest fights in Dixie history over the enfranchisement of Negro citizens.

With members of Bilbo's immediate family entrenched behind the pomp and splendor of funeral finery cortege and an escort of the National Guard, the late senator's son, Lt. Col. Theodore Bilbo, made no answer to speculation about his being a possible "dark horse" candidate to succeed his father.

Consider Governor

37c(2)

Chicago Defender
Chicago Ill.

Gov. Fielding Wright, who had indicated that should the Senate make final its refusal to permit the seating of Bilbo he would reappoint "The Man" should he recover from the illness which proved fatal, is seen as another possible candidate. However, it was generally felt that Wright would prefer to serve out his four years in state office.

Sat. 8-30-47

At least a dozen other prominent party leaders' names were mentioned as possible successors to the man whose death at New Orleans Thursday was hailed with joy the nation over by minority groups and political progressives.

Others Considered

Former Gov. Hugh White would make a strong candidate, his friends speculated, but in recent months his health has not been robust and it was doubted if he would forsake a profitable lumber business to go to Washington. Rep. William Colmer and State Circuit Judge John Stenis were also names being bandied about wherever politicians gathered, but before Bilbo's rites opened at 2 p.m. Saturday, every candidate who had ever stood for election had entered popular conjecture.

Tom Q. Ellis, staunch white supremist, who ran second to Bilbo in last year's primary run-off, was thought sure to be a candidate. Ellis was quoted as saying he wanted the issue of disenfranchisement of the Negro handled "in a dignified manner."

Atty. Forrest Johnson, who defended the late senator when he was accused by the Senate of accepting personal gifts in return for war contracts, and Paul Johnson, who ran second to Wright for governor, were also mentioned. Walter Siller, speaker of the State Legislature, would have a good chance at the post, it was felt, were it not that he comes from the Delta area which already is represented by Senator Eastland. Dennis Murphree, former lieutenant-governor; Ross Barnett, Jackson attorney, and J. Oliver Emerich, McCombs publisher, were also seen as serious contenders for the seat.

Sat. 8-30-47

Body Lies In State

Meanwhile the body of the man, whose death from cancer of the mouth caused all this speculation, lay in state Saturday at Juniper Grove Baptist Church, and the Rev. D. W. Nix of Bogalusa, La., prepared his funeral eulogy based on the fourth chapter of Timothy:

"I have fought the good fight. I have finished my course; I have kept the faith."

The faith that Bilbo kept and the fight that Bilbo fought was highlighted by his proposal that Negroes be banished to Africa and, when that failed, that they forever be kept from their democratic rights under the U.S. Constitution in Mississippi.

Since his banishment from office, as he underwent operation after operation to remove malignancy from his mouth, the champion of human indignity, whose ouster from the Senate was delayed only because of his illness is said to have cost the American taxpayers $4,115 monthly.

37c(2) 1947

Missouri

37c(2) State

St. Louis Unit Of Congress In Statewide Meet

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 1-16-47

BY R. C. FISHER

ST. LOUIS—(ANP)—For the first time in the history of Missouri, four Negro legislators, three from St. Louis and one from Kansas City, Mo., have been elected to the state legislature. They took their seats in tne General assembly at its opening session, Wed., Jan. 8, at Jefferson City.

This advance of democracy, long needed by our State and people was greeted by more than 70 delegates from throughout the state, particularly from St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Charles and St. Joseph and participated i nthe historic seating of the Negro representatives on the opening day of the state legislature.

Simultaneously, with the meeting of the legislature, the St. Louis council of the National Negro congress, under the leadership of H. D. Robinson Sr., as president, called a statewide conference of the council which was held in the Page auditorium of Lincoln university last Wednesday morning. Resolutions were adopted, urging the legislature on restrictive covenants; minimum wage law, civil rights, GI bill of rights; public housing, fair employment practice and education.

SPECIAL RESOLUTION

A special resolution requesting the legislature to grant adequate financial appropriations to cover all needs of Lincoln university was approved by the council, following a message from Dr. Sherman D. Scruggs, president of the university, setting forth the needs of the school for buildings and improvements. Thurs. 1-16-47

Pauline Murphy, secrtary, St. Louis National Negro Congress, in a call for the statewide assembly at Jefferson City last Wednesday, said "For many years, our state has lagged behind in progressive legislation. We know Missouri became a slave state in 1820 and it has taken 126 years of struggle to make this first political advance. The election of four Negro representatives is the result of an awakening of the Negro people; it is the growing support by the progressive white citizens to secure full citizenship rights for all the people in this community."

Mo. 37c(2)

A METAL TEST

It is understood that because of the outnumbered Republican representatives, the two Negro Republican lawmakers Joshua (Gum-Shoe) Thomas, and Representative J. C. Bush, will be placed on important committtees, which will handle legislation with a distinctive mark, unusual to former legislative transactions. Thurs. 1-16-47

Daily World

37c(2) 1947

New York

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 2-22-47

In contradicting a recent statement here, a Brooklyn correspondent writes that instead of one probation officer in Kings County, New York, there are three Negroes in this position, and that in New York County there are five—all appointed on the basis of merit with nothing to do with politics. No wonder New York is the Empire State.

37c(2) 1947

New York (Ben Davis)

Honor Ben Davis

Daily Worker

"My birthday began when I joined the Communist Party 15 years ago," said Councilman Ben Davis at a dinner at Irving Plaza Friday night in honor of his natal day.

Ben Davis said he joined the Party after the first round of the battle to free Angelo Herndon in Atlanta in 1932.

37c(2)

Davis was Herndon's lawyer in that fight. 10-20-47

"Boldness" was the keynote of Ben Davis' brief speech. The crowded ballroom—the tables were crowded closely together rang with cheers again as the fighting Negro Councilman called for **"more and more boldness"** in the big fight against the monopolists.

Party groups and trade unionists gave Davis a number of presents in token of their affection and admiration.

A car from the New York County organization to speed his appearance at meetings around the city was especially appreciated, Davis said.

Monday

Paul Robeson, the singer and anti-fascist leader, got so much applause that he had to stop speaking several times as he told of his lifelong friendship with Ben Davis

"Ben's early struggle in the deep South, when he literally risked his life, had a profound effect on me," Robeson declared.

William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party; Henry Winston, organization secretary; Peter V. Caccione, Brooklyn Councilman and other speakers spoke of Ben's leadership in the common fight.

Cacchione emphasized Davis' great role in the fight to save Proportional Representation.

Foster hailed Davis as "one of the fine Marxists that have developed among the Negro people."

37c(2) 1947 New York (Dewey)

Housing and Discrimination Haunt Dewey at State Capital

37c(2) N.Y. The Worker New York, N.Y.

Sun. 2-16-47

By Max Gordon

ALBANY.—Viewed from the angle of national politics, the two issues on which Gov. Dewey will tangle with the public next week—housing and discrimination—are by all odds the most ticklish for him.

Dewey hopes to skip any real action on both. He can't do anything serious to solve the critical housing problem without coming down heavily on the corns of the banking and realty interests, some of whom are his key backers for the Presidential nomination.

He can't give on discrimination without making tougher his job of corralling at least some of the Southern delegations to the GOP convention in '48 to say nothing of the tories who pack the heaviest wallop in his party's top circles.

But the people of the state are pretty hot on both these issues. Pressure for action on them goes into high gear within the next couple of weeks.

★

DURING THE PAST WEEK, popular attention was turned to matters connected with state finances—more pay for teachers and civil service workers, more state help to the municipalities, less tax cuts for the rich and less taxes for the poor.

The battle for these things will continue, and will be joined by the housing and discrimination measures to make this the toughest session the Governor has yet faced since he took office in 1943.

Dewey realizes this and is doing his worst to hurry it along. GOP legislative leaders make no secret of the fact they want to get out by the middle of March, making it just about the shortest session within the memory of correspondents here, and some have been here a long, long time. Worker

A delegation of about a thousand will be up on Tuesday to insist on state housing fund of $500,000,000, strict state rent controls, a moratorium on evictions from public projects and an increase on the stay of evictions from six months to a year. Sun.

★

A LARGE PART of the delegation will consiste of veterans. Organized by the Emergency Committee on Housing and Rents, the participating groups include the CIO, the American Jewish Congress, Progressive Citizens of America, several dozen tenant and consumer groups, a number of individual posts from the various veterans' organizations. 2-16-47

PCA is undertaking to get representation from the upstate areas.

The Democratic minority expects to ask for a motion to bring its measure for a $300,000,000 fund out of the GOP-controlled Assembly Ways and Means Committee, which has it bottled up, on the day the delegation appears. This will precipitate the debate on the issue at a moment when the pressure is hottest.

The American Labor Party also has a bill in for a $500,000,000 fund, sponsored by its two legislators, Sen. Kenneth Sherbell and Assemblyman Samuel Kaplan.

●

DEWEY has been criticized more widely for his failure to provide a new fund, following exhaustion of the original $300,000,000 fund set up in 1938 by the Constitution, than on any other issue. His own housing commissioner had recommended a new fund.

In the discrimination field, the biggest battle is centered on the Austin-Mahoney bill to bar bias in educational institutions. The bill would set up a Commission Against Discrimination in the Department of Education, and would bar tax exemption to schools and colleges cited for discriminating who do not mend their ways.

Forty top Jewish, Negro, civic, labor and inter-racial groups have combined to fight for the measure. Here, again, Dewey has been getting it in the neck for trying to bypass the problem.

The 40 organizations have designated next week Austin-Mahoney week, and are preparing a delega-

37c(2) 1947

North Carolina

Norfolk, Va. Pilot May 9, 1947

Winston-Salem's Negro Councilman-elect

37c(2)

Winston-Salem, North Carolina's second city (1940 population 75,274) has an eight-member city council elected from four wards on a partisan basis—that is, from among candidates previously nominated by the Democratic, Republican or other parties, or running as independents. In Tuesday's election, all the Democratic candidates won. They included the Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, Negro Baptist minister. He was elected from the Third Ward along with a white running mate. He is the first Negro to be elected to a municipal legislature in North Carolina in the present century. As far as the *Virginian-Pilot's* reference resources disclose, he is the first Negro to be elected to a city council, during this period, anywhere in the South.

Only those will be surprised by this development who have paid no attention to the statistical story of the progress of the Negro people in the South since the turn of the century—especially between the two world wars. The progress has been on both the educational and economic levels, and it has been accompanied by a growing movement toward the ballot box as the agency through which the economic handicaps of the Southern Negro could be most surely redressed. Voting barriers of various types, aided by the South's prevailing one-party control of decisive elections, have up to the present prevented this growing Negro movement toward the ballot box from putting any Negro candidate into important elective office anywhere in the South. But that soon or late such a candidate would be elected was inevitable. It was inevitable because of the inherent imperatives of an honestly representative election system, and because there was no way short of circumvention of the State and federally guaranteed voting rights, permanently to deny a third of the South's population any voice whatever in the policy-making functions of government.

It may reasonably be surmised that the case of Alderman-elect Williams was exceptional—that it is explained by Winston-Salem's ward system and by the concentration in the Third Ward of a large portion of Winston-Salem's Negro population. The city is highly industrialized and its great tobacco manufacturing industry employs thousands of Negro workers. Only by the election-at-large system—as Victor J. Ashe learned in Norfolk's municipal election last June—can the emergence of successful Negro candidates for elective office be delayed. Not even this system, it may safely be predicted, will prove a permanent estoppal. Given properly qualified Negro candidates, it shouldn't.

When all this is said, it remains to be recognized that the Negro in legislative office is something new in the post-Reconstruction South, and that he confronts a situation which will demand of him and his white colleagues wisdom, understanding and tact in a measure not demanded where the legislative bodies are not racially mixed. An experiment is about to be begun in Winston-Salem which will be watched from the Potomac to the Gulf. Perhaps it is just as well that the South's first Twentieth-century Negro councilman is, by profession, a man of the cloth. A man ordained to the service of God ought to know how to go about serving man—even in a situation in which man is not always master of his atavistic fears. The Salem in Winston-Salem's name means peace. Salem to its new experiment.

THE LABOR VOTE was credited with having elected the Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, a Negro, to a seat as the first race Alderman in the City of Winston-Salem, N. C. Meanwhile, Negro workers at the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company hold a powerful weapon in the municipal life of the town because of their voting strength. Incidentally, there are more Negroes in Winston-Salem than in any other North Carolina city. 37c(2)

Minister Winner In City Election

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 5-3-47

37c(2)

By A. M. RIVERA Jr., Staff Correspondent

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—For the first time since the turn of the century a Negro will sit on the Board of Aldermen here.

The nomination of the Rev. Kenneth R. Williams by a three-to-one margin in the Democratic primary held here last week is considered tantamount to election.

The nominee told The Courier that the Republicans viewed his success in the primary as an opportunity for them to out-distance him at the poll, but seasoned political observers expressed doubt when the question of a Republican candidate winning the election May 6 was circulated.

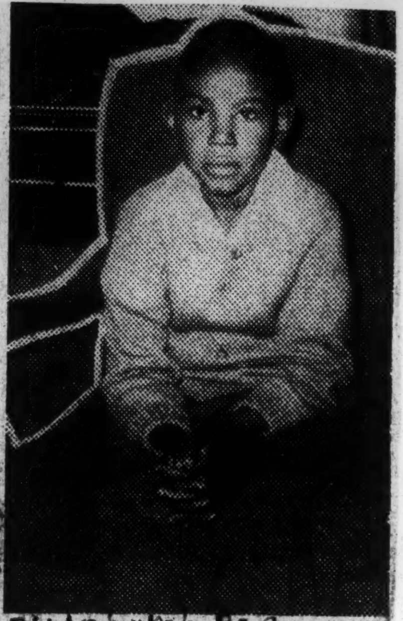
The balloting showed the political influence of the city's labor organization. The United Labor Committee, composed of representatives of the CIO, the AFL and

independent unions here endorsed the Rev. Mr. Williams.

The Rev. Mr. Williams, the fifth contemporary to try for public office here, is a graduate of Morehouse College and holds a Master of Arts degree from Boston University. He is the pastor of the Institutional Baptist Church, having begun his pastorate in 1937. He joined the Armed Forces in 1942 where he served as a chaplain with the rank of captain. He was discharged with the rank of major. Sat. 5-3-47

Interviewed by The Courier, the Rev. Mr. Williams said, "I am not a politician, but I view politics as the only medium through which I can obtain certain social and economic needs of my people." The young pastor said, "I am interested in the economic and social welfare of the race because I feel that religion without good social and economic conditions does not satisfy the people.

The young pastor is married and the father of two sons, Kenneth Jr., 8, and Ronald, 4. Before her marriage, Mrs. Williams was Miss Edith Williams, a native of Winston-Salem.



Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier Sat. 5-3-47

Alderman—Winning the Democratic nomination for alderman in the primaries in Winston-Salem, N. C., the Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, will become the first Negro alderman there since 1900. He is shown here with his wife, and two sons, Ronald, age 4, and Kenneth Jr., age 9.—Rivera Photo.

What He Started Won't Be Stopped

The Worker New york, N.Y.

3/c(2)

By JOHN JAMISON

Sun. 6-22-47

ON May 6 something happened in Winston-Salem, N.C., that old Southern state hadn't heard of in 50 years. A Negro, Rev. Kenneth R. Williams, 34, was elected to the Board of Aldermen for two years—and on the Democratic ticket, too!

Brownskinned, wiry and with an energetic charm that seemed to spread out in the room the alderman talked to New York reporters on June 9. The occasion was a reception in the spacious offices of New York's Negro Councilman, Benjamin J. Davis.

Present were a dozen or so Harlem community leaders. Democrats, Republicans, American Labor Partyites, Communists, veterans, women—they had all come to welcome and see the man that had accomplished such a terrific feat.

A veteran of four years' service, in New York for the United Negro and Allied Veterans' convention, the alderman, heads the First Institutional Baptist Church with a congregation of over 500.

Hubbub in Davis' Office

There was a hubbub in Councilman Davis' office, while everyone crowded around the alderman and asked him countless questions. As each guest came in Councilman Davis made the introductions. The alderman's flashing smile, hearty handshake and quick wit made it a gay gathering. It was plain to see everyone was proud of him.

During the interview he sat at Councilman Davis' big glass-top desk.

And how did he do it, we all wanted to know. Sun. 6-22-47

"I didn't do it. We did," he smiled. "It was a hard-fought battle. Most of my support came from labor, liberal whites and all the Negro voters. My campaign manager was C. C. Kellem, the local NAACP president."

He was also supported by the city's two papers, the **Journal** and the **Twin City Sentinel.**

There were seven Democrats in the primaries and in the finals. Five were eliminated, leaving himself and a white man, who ran against two white Republicans, in the Third Ward.

Of the 6,000 registered voters 60 percent were Negroes. He received 2,363 votes, 60 percent of the vote cast and more than any other alderman ever got.

Welcomed by Other Aldermen

And how was he received by the other aldermen?

"They gave me a fine reception and assigned me to six committees."

It developed that he is chairman of the committee on lights and ordinance, and serves on the school board, health, library and recreation committees. Each alderman is on the Board of Education.

THE REV. KENNETH R. WILLIAMS
Winston-Salem Councilman

Asked to comment on the significance of his election, he readily answered.

"Well, naturally, it means a lot to the Negroes of the town and state. For me personally I will try to serve all the people courageously and efficiently. Winston-Salem is a good town, and I think we can make it a better one for everybody."

The alderman was an Army chaplain, and, excluding his service time, has pastored the same church for 10 years. He finished Atlanta's Morehouse College in 1933 and did graduate work at Boston University.

Was he married? "Oh, yes, a fine and gentle woman. Her name is Edythe. And you should see my fine boys, Kenneth, 8, and Ronald, 4!"

Last Negro Served in 1898

Sun. 6-22-47

The last Negro to hold such office in Winston-Salem was appointed to it in 1898. Between 1895-99 there were more than 40 Negro magistrates in New Hanover County. And in Greenville four of the six Councilmen were Negroes.

Other North Carolina towns having Negro Councilmen in that period were Wilmington, New Bun, Goldsboro, Elizabeth City and Edenton. But this was not peculiar. It was merely indicative of the Negro majorities that still exist throughout the South.

Sun. 6-22-47

Alderman Williams has an honored responsibility to his community and his people. And just like one fellow said, **"He's started something again that should never be stopped again."**

37c(2) 1947 Ohio

4 MINORITY SOLONS IN OHIO LEGISLATURE

Afro-American - Baltimore 37c(2)

COLUMBUS, Ohio — The Ohio State Assembly opened Jan. 6 with the largest number of minority legislators in more than 50 years — Harry E. Davis, Cleveland attorney, first Senator in 54 years; the Rev. David Turpeau, Cincinnati, re-elected; William B. Saunders and Francis E. Young, Cleveland attorneys, new Assemblymen. 1-18-47- Sat.

NOTED SENATOR IS VOTED ONE OF OHIO'S BEST

9-13-47 SAT.

37c(2)

CLEVELAND—Harry E. Davis Cleveland lawyer and freshman member of the State Senate, is included in the "all-star team" of Ohio State legislators selected by correspondents for the State's news services and metropolitan papers who daily cover the Ohio assembly sessions. The distinction, made strictly on the basis of merit and ability, is highly regarded among Ohio legislators.

AFRO American Baltimore Md.

Mr. Davis

Mr. Davis, who also served in the House in 1921-2 and in 1927-8, was described by the correspondents as "A good man—most able in Cuyahoga county group." "Sound judgment, excellent speaker" and "Outstanding credit to his race" were among the other comments made about him. 9-13-47

workers dopped.

Ohio Senator Ranked With Assembly's Best

37c(2)

Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Ohio's only Negro State Senator, Cleveland's Atty. Harry E. Davis, has been signally honored. He has been chosen as a member of the "All-Star Team," consisting of the ten top legislators in the Ohio Senate chosen by hardboiled legislative correspondents each year. In June he also became the first Negro to ever preside over the Senate. Sat. 9-13-47

There are thirty-six members in the Ohio Senate and selection on the all-star team is an honor eagerly sought by the legislators. It is made strictly on the basis of merit and ability.

The correspondents who choose the team are representatives of the wire news services and metropolitan newspapers who are thoroughly acquainted with the talents of the senators.

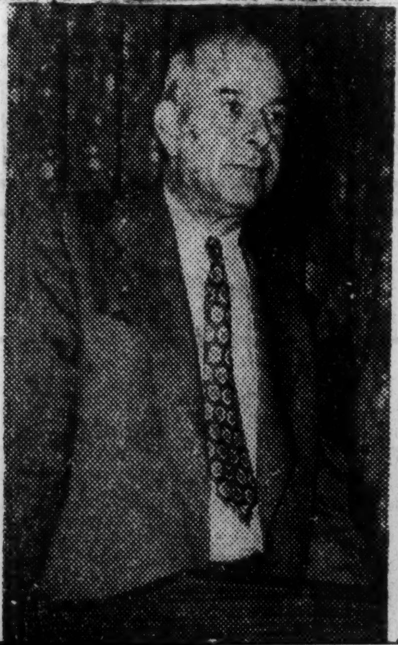
"MOST ABLE"

One correspondent commented on Senator Davis as "a good man—most able in Cuyahoga County group." Another called the Clevelander the "ablest member of his race in the General Assembly in a quarter-century." Still another termed him an "outstanding credit to his race."

Two of six bills introduced by Senator Davis have become laws, two failed to get to first base, and two others lost out in the closing days of the Assembly. He is a freshman in the Senate, but served two terms in the House over twenty years ago. Sat. 9-13-47

PRESIDED OVER SENATE

Several months ago, during the temporary absence of Lieut. Gov. Paul Herbert, Senator Davis took over the Senate president's chair and presided over the sessions.



Sat. 9-13-47

ALL-STAR—State Senator Harry E. Davis has been chosen on the All-Star team of outstanding Ohio legislators by "Here in Ohio," political publication. Senator Davis was called "ablest member of his race."

37c(2) 1947

Texas

A Negro Tribute to Jester

37c(2) Tex

One of the finest and most significant tributes paid to Beauford Jester, the new Texas Governor, on the occasion of his inauguration was a letter to The Dallas Morning News from J. Nathaniel Nelum, Professor of Education at Texas College, a negro institution at Tyler. Writing as a negro fellow townsman of Governor Jester's, Professor Nelum said: The Southern Weekly—Dallas Texas

"My home town, Corsicana, Texas, is all merry and happy that it becomes the home town of the Governor of our mighty State. It is obvious that the Governor is well thought of among his own race and people; yet we as negroes of Corsicana can and do lay claim to part of his knowing how to live and get along with all mankind. The contacts that were his among the negro citizens of Corsicana have enhanced his broad views and philosophy of life."

Source: The Southern Weekly Jan. 25, 1947

37c(2) 1947

Vermont

Coronet Salutes Rep. William Anderson, The Pride Of Vermont

Atlanta Ga Daily World

Sat. 7-26-4

William John Anderson, both as a legislator and as a man, has lived up to the expectations of the people who voted for him, declares the August CORNET article, THE PRIDE OF VERMONT.

Now past 70, Representative Anderson is a leading figure in his White Mountain Community of Shoreham, Vermont. The son of a former slave, he is head of the only Negro family in the village, a leading apple grower of the Lake Champlain country, and a friend of presidents, senators and governors. Eeryone in the town knows him, and almost everyone, both Republican and democrat, voted to send Bill Anderson to the legislature.

Bill attended the Shoreham public school, then went to Mt. Hermon School at Northfiled, Massachusetts, where the students do all the work. He was assigned to the laundry department and it soon became the first school department to show a profit. After finishing his schooling, Anderson got a job at the Hotel Champlain, across the lake from Shoreham. While President McKinley was at the hotel, relates CORONET, Bill was made doorkeeper. One morning the President asked him if Annette Anderson, the first Negro girl ever to be valedictorian in an Eastern college was any relation to him. When the boy proudly confessed that she was his sister, the President demanded, "Then What are you doing here?"

Bill was startled and soon went back to Mt. Hermon. As time passed he spent more and more time at Shoreham and planted apple trees on his father's farm. He drifted into politics, became secretary-treasurer of the local republican party and Convention that nominated atiam was the delegate to the Massachusetts Convention that nominated Calvin Cooldrige as governor.

Sat. 7-26-47

Not only has Anderson made a brilliant record in the legislature, points out August CORONET, but has also worked into personal leadership among his fellow citizens. They havenamed him to town offices--the school board, town auditor, town agent, chairman of Selective Service and leader in War Bond rallies. Today the State of Vermont, watching the public service of this, her native son, THE PRIDE OF VERMONT, is inclined to think it amounts to quite a lot.

'Pride of Vermont' Title Given to Revered Citizen

The Afro-American. Baltimore, MD.

Anderson Paid High Tribute in Magazine Article, Both as Legislator and as Man

NEW YORK—William John Anderson, both as a legislator and as a man, has lived up to the expectations of the people who voted for him, declares the August Coronet article, "Pride of Vermont."

Now past 70, Representative Anderson is a leading figure in his White Mountain community of Shoreham, Vt. He is head of the only colored famliy in the village, a leading apple grower of the Lake Champlain apple country, and a friend of Presidents, Senators and Governors.

Everyone in the town knows him, and almost everyone, both Republican and Democrat, voted to send Bill Anderson to the legislature.

Sat. 8-2-47

Chatted with McKinley

Mr. Anderson attended the Shoreham public school, then went to Mt. Hermon School at Northfield, Mass., where the pupils do all the work. He was assigned to the laundry and it soon became the first school department to show a profit.

After finishing his schooling, Anderson got a job at the Hotel Champlain, across the lake from Shoreham. While President McKinley was at the hotel, relates Coronet, the youth was made doorkeeper.

One morning the President asked him if Miss Annette Anderson, the first colored girl ever to be valedictorian in an Eastern college, was any relation to him.

When the boy proudly confessed that she was his sister, the President demanded, "Then what are you doing here?"

Quit Hotel Job

Mr. Anderson was startled and soon went back to Mt. Herman. As time passed he spent more and more time at Shoreham and planted apple trees on his father's farm.

He drifted into politics, became secretary-treasurer of the local Republican party and was the delegate to the Massachusetts convention that nominated Calvin Coolidge as Governor.

Sat. 8-2-47

Honored by Citizens

Not only has Mr. Anderson made a brilliant record in the legislature, points out the August Coronet, but he has also worked into personal leadership among his fellow citizens.

Sat. 8-2-47

They have named him to town offices — the school board, town auditor, town agent, chairman of Selective Service and leader in War Bond rallies.

Today the State of Vermont, watching the public service of this, her native son, "The Pride of Vermont," is inclined to think it amounts to quite a lot.

37a(2) 1947

irginia

Rights And Duties

37a(2)

In A Democracy

Journal + Guide

By LUTHER P. JACKSON

William Lawrence First Member Of Race To Win An Election In Virginia In 40 Years

GRATIFYING indeed was the news recently released by the press that on election day, Nov. 4, William A. Lawrence, a Negro, was elected by the voters of the Cypress district of Nansemond county, Va. to the board of supervisors of five members from each of the five districts of this county. He is the first of his race in Virginia to hold this legislative office since T. C. Walker held the same office in Gloucester county about 1896. He is indeed the first to hold any sort of elective office in the Old Dominion in the past forty years. During the past ten years a number of atempts have been made by Negroes to be elected to city ber of attempts have been made by Negroes to be elected is the first to win.

Norfolk Va

He is the first and his winning raises several questions in the minds of many people. Was his victory a product of his own efforts? Were his supporters already sufficiently vote-minded as to turn out in force on election day and put him in office? Were they of the poll tax paying kind who pay in order to vote? Had they been registered for years in order to take advantage of such an opportunity as that offered by Lawrence? Many people call for an answer to these questions because they too are thinking how they might do a similar thing in their counties and cities. Nansemond county, with the city of Suffolk in its center, has a heavy Negro population, just like a hundred or more other counties in the states of the Solid South. Can it be done elsewhere? Sat. 11-22-47

I know from my own observation that only two years ago the Negroes of Nansemond were about as dead politically as any other of the numerous dead counties of Virginia and all the other southern states. At this time about 1500 were paying the poll tax, but this is all there was to it. This number had been paying the tax for years like any other tax, but without any thought of voting. In a similar manner they had not registered because voting and the exercise of control over lawmakers were activities far removed from their minds as they are of most Negroes in our country.

* * * *

Mr. Lawrence was not elected suddenly by his own efforts but solely because of the untiring labor of the members of a certain organization — the Independent Voters League of Suffolk and Nansemond county under the enlightened leadership of Moses A. Riddick. It has been just two years since this organization was formed and in this time they have created more stir than any similar group in the whole state. Spearheaded every step of the way by Riddick, they have staged numerous public meetings and invited speakers from everywhere to address them on the subject of the franchise. They have made contacts with the city and county treasurers about the poll tax and with the ten or fifteen registrars about the time to get hundreds of persons registered for voting.

Having paved the way in this manner the civic-minded leaders of this body have, night after night, carried car loads to the places of registration and on election days have carried car loads to the polls. On Nov. 4, Riddick arose at four o'clock in the morning and he and his associates carried each of the 290 or more voters of the Cypress district to the polls. Nobody walked that day.

* * * *

The wholesome feature of the I.V.L. is that its activities have been primarily civic rather than political. They have raised own way, and insisted that all their own money, paid their citizens in a democracy must vote in order to survive. They have taken seriously the thought that the ballot is the backbone of first class citizenship. More important than the election of Lawrence, then, is the fact that here in one county in the South are people who have awakened to a sense of their own strength simply by exercising the right of suffrage.

It is my thought that how different the status of the Negro in this country would be if every community in our land behaved as the community of Suffolk and Nansemond county in Virginia. Already the Negro citizens of this community are experiencing more wholesome race relations. Armed with the ballot they will always be a force to be reckoned with in the adoption of any policy in local government. Can this happy state of affairs be achieved elsewhere in Virginia and in the South? I know it can if the citizens involved will only bestir themselves as have the courageous Negro citizens of this fine county in Virginia. My hat is off to them.

Rights And Duties

37a(2)

Journal & Guide

In A Democracy

Norfolk Va

By LUTHER P. JACKSON

The Failure Of Dr. C. S. Franklin To Win Office In Charles City County, Va.

Sat. 11-29-47

THE SUCCESSFUL election of William A. Lawrence to the board of supervisors from the Cypress district of Nansemond county, Virginia, on election day, November 4, has overshadowed the fact that Dr. C. S. Franklin of the Tyler district of Charles City county, Virginia, also ran for this same office on election day but was defeated. Mr. Lawrence won by a vote of 292 to 290; Dr. Franklin lost by a vote of 149 to 132. Thus the one was 2 votes ahead while the other was 17 votes behind. I refrain from making any comparison between the two counties in order to account for the difference, but I do wish to make some comparisons and observations within Charles City county itself and draw some conclusions. Saturday after Saturday during the present football season some spectators are always saying that the losing team should have won. In the same manner we may say that the losing Dr. Franklin should have won this election over his opponent. He should have won in the first place because he had more Negroes eligible to vote than did his opponent among the white people. Actually, Charles City is a county where the blacks outnumber the whites three to one. His failure to win by a vote of three to one lies of course in the fact that the much smaller percentage of whites have qualified to vote in much larger numbers than have the Negroes. Apparently, the one group has been awake while the other has been asleep. Only 16 percent of the Negroes of Charles City have paid the poll tax, while fifty percent or more of the whites have paid this fee to the ballot box.

* * * *

Dr. Franklin should, in the second place, have won because the families of the Tyler district hold the enviable record of having sent more of their sons and daughters away to college than perhaps any other subdivision of a county in the entire South. The educational tradition is there and the property ownership tradition is there also.

But it happens here as in hundreds of other places, that the advantage of literacy and comfortable living have had no bearing on attitudes toward participation in the affairs of government by casting a ballot on election day. The educated group in many places frequently behave as do the masses in asserting that voting and office-seeking are none of their business.

Dr. Franklin, in the third place should have won, because of himself and his family background. For thirty odd years he has been the county's public servant number one in the practice of medicine, not only among the colored people but among the whites as well. In gratitude for his service it is possible that some of his votes were secured from some of his former white patients.

* * * *

His father, the beloved Alexander Q. Franklin, taught school in Charles City for 36 years and is the person most responsible for the unusual number of college bred men and women of this county.

Having faith in the ballot and believing firmly that every capable man has the privilege of seeking elective office, he was elected to the office of commissioner of revenue a number of times and served well. He climaxed his political career by winning a seat in the Virginia Legislature in the session of 1889-90.

Thus there was nothing wrong with Dr. C. S. Franklin as a candidate and there has been nothing wrong in the character and training of about all the Negro candidates for office in Virginia and North Carolina during the past ten years. Nor has anything been wrong with the white registration and election officers in large areas of these two states.

The real trouble has been the wrong thinking of ninety percent of the Negroes about their place as voting and officehold-

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WHERE IT COUNTS

37a(2)

Defender

We hear a great deal about political action among Negroes in the North and of the great strides that have been made in some of the larger cities where the Negro vote is often the balance of power and always a force with which the politicians must reckon. Comparatively little notice is given the enormous political activity of Southern Negroes who must not only organize their political strength but also do an additional job of defending the right of colored citizens to vote freely and take part in the political life of their local communities. Chicago Ill

The first Negro since the days of Reconstruction was elected to a Virginia county board of supervisors in Suffolk,

ing citizens in American society. As I have said repeatedly it will be the job of the schools, the churches, and other institutions to change our thinking on this vital phase of life in a democratic society.

Va., last week. The colored candidate, William Lawrence, won over his white opponent by a narrow margin but his victory was certified by the election commissioners, according to the news dispatch. Such victories in local contests may eventually proye to have far more significance than many of the more widely acclaimed successes of our political candidates in the metropolitan centers. 37a(2) Va.

Breaking Ice in Virginia

Biggest political news to come out of the South in a long, long time was the report last week from Suffolk, Va., that William Lawrence, a Negro, had been elected to the County Board of Supervisors, winning by two votes over a white opponent for a two-year term.

37a(2) Courier

Coupled with the recent candidacies of Richmond and Norfolk Negroes for the General Assembly in the August primary, this victory assumes a significance out of all proportion to the position won.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

So far as we can recall there has been no important elected position held by a Negro in Virginia since Congressman George White ended his term in 1901, but if the colored people will quality to vote in the Old Dominion in increasing numbers, there ought to be many of the group elected to office in the future.

What is true in Virginia is also true in many other parts of the South where old barriers have broken down and more and more colored people are qualifying to vote.

Sat. 11-22-47

Of course the really important thing is not so much the election of colored men and women as such but the ability of colored people to participate in the elections, whether candidates be white or colored.

However, the news from Suffolk is heartening to those who have worked so hard to win the franchise again for colored people over long tradition and opposition.

The ice has been broken in Virginia. Maybe this is an indication of the end of one era and the beginning of another and brighter one.

37c(2) 1947

Virginia

Nansemond County Voters Elect A Negro To Office

Journal & Guide

VIRGINIA has had, in recent years especially, a number of Negro men of high caliber to stand for public office, such as city or town councils and a few for the state legislature. Most of these have made exceptionally noteworthy showings, but until last week none had been elected to any such position; that is, since the years immediately following the Civil War. The man to set the modern precedent was Mr. WILLIAM A. LAWRENCE, who has been declared officially elected to the board of supervisors of Nansemond county, the governing body of that political subdivision. 37c(2)

In the initial count of votes Mr. LAWRENCE and a white rival were declared to have tied with 291 votes each. On the basis of a subsequent recount of the ballots he was disclosed to have been the winner by a margin of two votes and this second count was confirmed formally by the county election commission in an announcement made on November 10. The election was held on November 4. Va.

The successful candidate has several things in his record to prompt wide confidence in his ability and preparation for serving well and ably on the board of supervisors. He has been a teacher for eleven years. He was educated at Nansemond Institute in Suffolk. Now in the construction business, he is vice president of the county branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was staunchly supported in the election campaign by the Nansemond County Independent Voters League.

It takes in many regions of this country a special kind of moral courage to offer for public office, when the prospects of anything but eventual success are usually so dismal. Mr. LAWRENCE clearly possesses that sort of courage. After his candidacy was announced he had numerous pressures brought upon him to retire from the race; these importunities he wisely resisted.

But Mr. LAWRENCE possesses also a high caliber of physical courage. On the night of Sept. 15 a huge fiery cross was burned at the intersection of highways 642 and 675 in the county, near the spot where voters would have to go to cast ballots. The cross-burning symbolized the resurgence of the spirit of Kluxery and dramatized the possibilities of violence. It definitely injected racial poison into a campaign, needlessly. This act of intimidation did not deter Mr. LAWRENCE. He ignored it and cooly went about conducting his campaign to a successful climax.

This venture into fuller participation in the affairs of government will depend to a great extent upon the direction which public opinion takes, or is guided. A favorable augury is the comment of the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, a daily newspaper close enough —as is the JOURNAL AND GUIDE— to Nansemond county to reflect to a degree an important local viewpoint. The *Pilot* cogently points out:

Sat 11-15-47

> **What is known here about Nansemond county's Negro supervisor-elect suggests that he is an alert, educated, and tactful person who should have no difficulty establishing a cordial working relationship with his white colleagues. It is nevertheless true that the Negro in legislative office is something new in the post-Reconstruction South, and that he confronts a situation that will demand of both him and his white colleagues wisdom, understanding, and diplomacy in a measure not demanded from legislative or administrative agencies that are not racially mixed.**

Journal & Guide

Gradually the slackening of the majority group's emotionally inspired resistance to Negro voting and to the election of Negroes to public office—accompanied by the accelerated use of the ballot by Negroes, against many obstacles, will make possible the naming of more colored Americans to offices within the gift of the electorate.

Already there are signs in some regions of several of the southern states that the fear of many persons that "white supremacy" and all of its taboos will be upset immediately if members of the two races occupy seats in our law-making or administrative agencies, is being replaced by a realization of the hollowness of such a fear.

There is every reason for all persons to recognize calmly and dispassionately the rightness and inevitability of representation of all segments of the citizenry in the government under which they live. Anything less repudiates the democratic principle of government based on the consent of the governed. Anything less makes a mockery of our tradition of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Norfolk, Va.

The closeness of the voting in Nansemond county, combined with the acknowledgment of Mr. LAWRENCE'S election, makes evident that the contest was honestly conducted. That is a reason for pride and gratification by the people of the county, and will be shared by all men of goodwill. If the people of the county make an equally honest attempt to demonstrate the value of a bi-racial board of supervisors, the cause of good government and of social justice will achieve an important impetus. The opportunity exists. The responsibility to grasp it cannot be evaded.

Virginian Elected To County Board

37c(2) Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

SUFFOLK, Va. — (NNPA) — By the narrow margin of two votes, in a recount last Thursday of votes cast in the November 4 election for members of the Nansemond County Board of Supervisors, William A Lawrence was declare elected.,

The announcement of Mr. Lawrences election was made by Henry E. Parker, research director of the Nansemond Independent Voters League. Tue 11-11-47

In the original count, Mr. Lawrence polled 291 votes, the same number received by F. E. Farrell white Democratic opponent.

In the Cypress District the colored candidate netted only 10 votes in the Cypress, a predominantly colored district, Precinct, while Farrell received 19 votes. But in Paul's Branch, Lawrence's home precinct, the count was 281 for him and 102 for his opponent.

In this city voting was listless and pathetic with only 385 ballots cast in a list of 2,700 qualified voters.

LEAGUE ENDORSEMENT

In Lawrence, a teacher in the local school system, was endorsed and supported by the Nansemond County Independent Voters League. His candidacy was announced in June following which considerable political activity was aroused in the district.

On Monday night, September 15, a huge fiery cross was burned at the intersection of highways 642 and 675, near the spot where the voters had to go to cast their ballots.

Previous to that it had been suggested that he withdrew from the hace.

The 40-year-old candidate has been teaching in the Virginia public school system for 11 years. He is a member of the trustee board and vice president of the local N. A. A. C. P.

It is rumored that a resolution wi be offered in which Baptists wi be called upon to pray for Herma Talmadge in view of the fact tha he a candidate for Governor in th next election. Several importan committee reports will be made b key minds in the convention.

Candidate Wins In Election By 2 Vote Margin

Journal & Guide

Norfolk, Va. 37c(2)

Sat. 11-15-47

Recount Necessary In County Where Fiery Cross Burned

Special to Journal and Guide

SUFFOLK, Va.—A recount of the votes cast in last Tuesday's election for members of the Nansemond County Board of Supervisors revealed that William Lawrence, independent Negro candidate for the Cypress District, won the election by a two vote margin.

The first report from the polls that necessitated the recount listed Mr. Lawrence as tied with F. E. Harrell, white Democratic opponent, with 291 votes each. The result of the recount was announced late last Thursday afternoon.

MR. LAWRENCE

Though the Cypress District, which Mr. Lawrence was elected to represent on the Board of Supervisors, is predominately Negro, the candidate polled only 10 votes in that precinct while Harrell received 189 votes In Paul Branch, the Lawrence home precinct, however, the count was listed at 281 for him and 102 for his opponent.

The overall voting in the Tuesday elections showed a listless and apathetic mood with only 385 ballots cast in a list of 2,700 qualified voters. 37c(2)

FIREY CROSS BURNED Va.

The announcement that Mr. Lawrence was to be a candidate for the board aroused considerable political activity and controversity when first made in June. The seething undercurrent of political unrest in the district reached a boiling point on Monday night, Sept. 15, when a fiery cross was burned at the intersection of highways 648 and 675, near a polling place.

It had once been suggested that Mr. Lawrence withdraw from the race. Sat. 11-15-47

AVENT MR. LAWRENCE

William Lawrence is 40 years of age, and has been a teacher in the Virginia public school system for 11 years. He is a member of the trustee board and vice president of the local NAACP branch, and was supported in his campaign by the Nansemond County Independent Voters League.

Other members of the board of Supervisors named in Tuesday's election were James Rawls, Holy Neck District; F. O. Clarke, Whaleyville District and Vernon C. Eberwine, Sleepy Hole District, all white.

NEGRO ELECTED IN VIRGINIA

James

He Wins a County Supervisor's

Office by a Two-Vote Margin

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SUFFOLK, Va., Nov. 10—William Lawrence, the first Negro to be elected to a Vriginia county board of supervisors since Reconstruction Days, was announced the victor over a white opponent in Tuesday's general election by a two-vote margin late today. [illegible]

Nansemond County election commissioners said he had defeated a white Democratic candidate, F. E. Harrell, 292 to 290. Unofficial returns announced Tuesday night credited the candidates with a tie vote at 291 each. [illegible] 11-11-47

Mr. Lawrence will hold the Cypress District seat on the county's board for a two-year term.

Two Negroes ran for the state General Assembly in Richmond and Norfolk in last August's pirmary, but neither was nominated, although the Richmond candidate lost by only a few hundred votes.

Mr. Lawrence ran as an independent in the Nansemond contest.

37c(2) 1947

West Virginia

37c(2) W. Va.

Afro American Baltimore, Md. -10-47

NEW COUNCILMAN—Willard L. Brown, an attorney, was elected city council from the 12th ward in Charleston, W. Va., recently. Fifty per cent of the residents in the district are white. He is one of two Republicans who won.

Charleston Lawyer Gets Council Post

Afro American Baltimore, Md.

By CECILE M. McCORMICK

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Democrats for the first time in thirty years wrested the reigns of city government from the Republican Party in Charleston's recent municipal election. Emerging successfully were only seven Republicans, two of whom were colored.

One of the two is Willard L. Brown, attorney, elected as councilman from the 12th Ward. All former 12th Ward councilmen have been white. The ward is about 50% white.

Practised Law - Years

Mr. Brown, 35, has practiced law since 1936. He is a product of Charleston's public schools and a graduate of West Virginia State College in 1932, with an A.B. degree, gaining LL.B. and LL.M. degrees by 1936 from Boston University Law School.

The newly-elected councilman is illustrious potentate of Salaam Temple No. 83 of the Shriners, a member of Omego Psi Phi Fraternity, the First Baptist Church, Masons and Elks lodges. He is a supporter of the NAACP, being legal adviser to the local branch. Sat. 5-10-47

37d 1947

Alabama

Tell It To Old Grandma

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser

"WAKE UP, GRANDMA"

Editor, The Advertiser:

I just want to call your attention to two small news items which appeared in The Advertiser recently: Wed. 7-23-47

1. "Members of the Lions Club were warned yesterday that un-American activities are undermining the country churches, educational system, labor unions and industry. The speaker, Claud M. Haygood, director of the American Legion's Americanism in Alabama, said every citizen should be on the alert for subversive elements, pointing out that numerous "isms" are at work throughout the country."

2. "BIRMINGHAM, ALA., June 23.—Judge Hugh A. Locke, Birmingham attorney, said here today in a speech before the Alabama State Exchange Club Convention that Birmingham is headquarters for Communism in the Southeast. He told the group that Communism had invaded the individual churches. 'I'm a Methodist and proud of it,' Locke declared, 'but in my own church I heard a speech that was communistic.'

"'Somebody has been asleep at the switch,' he added.

"Judge Locke accused Northern politicians of deliberately denouncing the South and of using the Negro to embitter other sections against the South."

Now, Mr. Editor, these two men, Dr. Claud M. Haygood and Judge Hugh A. Locke are not alarmists, but they are representatives of the sober, substantial and patroitic citizens of Alabama and the South. What they say her is important—very important to the whole South right now. When men like these speak, people should take notice.

"Somebody has gone to sleep at the switch," says Judge Locke, and when we read the editorial (it sounded more like a new item) in The Advertiser of July 14, titled "Wallace's Odyssey," we had to conclude that "Old Grandma" was one of the sleepers. Wed. 7-23-47

Quoting Henry Wallace, The Advertiser said:

"Wallace might have gone further and pointed out that in Alabama we have a happy circumstance of two farm papers that are polar extremes in their doctrines."

The writer is evidently referring to political doctrines for he uses the terms "right" and "left." The right, in present day language, means conservative; the left means liberal. The more one stands for Americanism, the more conservative or reactionary he is. The more one leans toward communistic doctrines the more liberal he is. For the life of us, then, we can't see why these "polar extremes" in the same city should be a "happy circumstance."

A little further on Old Grandma says of the leftist organ (The Southern Farmer), that "it takes an undeviating and inflexible line in the manner of The Daily Worker"! A statement like this should strike all good Americans and especially Southerners like a bomb shell. But the writer says it with just as much complacency and innocence as if he were saying "Twinkle, twinkle, little star," or "Mary had a little lamb." In case any reader does not know what The Daily Worker is, we will say that it is the official organ of the Communists.

Wake up, Grandma, and pay attention to what men like Judge Locke and Dr. Haygood have to say. HUGH S. CALDWELL.

Union Springs, Ala.

Wed. 7-23-47

The sentence, unexpurgated:

"IT DOES NOT SAY THE SAME THING, but it takes an undeviating and inflexible line in the manner of The Daily Worker, OR THE ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS."—Ed.

37d 1947

Communism

e New York Times
y. N.Y.

37d

Sat-6-28-47

Books of the Times

By NASH K. BURGER

Sat-6-28

JAMES ONEAL, long active in the Socialist party and editor of The New Leader from 1924 to 1940, originally wrote "American Communism"* in 1927. The account has now been brought up to date by G. A. Werner, a native of Sweden, doctor of philosophy of the University of California and professor of Russian history at the College of the Pacific. Dr. Werner expanded two of Mr. Oneal's thirteen chapters, wrote nine new ones and added several appendices. The present volume is nearly twice the length of the original and an up-to-date handbook for reading or reference on one of the striking aberrations of our time.

Here in one continuous narrative are presented the European backgrounds and the contemporary European connections of American Communism, its history, past and present, in this country and its relations with other political movements. The volume makes amply clear by direct quotation from Communist leaders and by documented presentation of fact, that American Communism is not American at all, but Russian, and that the distinguishing feature of this Russo-American Communism is not so much traditional communism (community or state ownership or control of goods and production) as it is totalitarianism and tyranny. In addition, and the important thing for the rest of the world, this special brand of tyranny is not to be sold on its merits alone, if any, but—as announced by Marx and confirmed by the words and actions of Lenin and Stalin, the unhappy fate of much of eastern Europe and the program of the Communist party in this country—it is to be spread by any means at hand: conspiracy, fraud, violence, murder, revolution, war.

Sat-6-28-47

Nazi-Communist Parallels Listed

Dr. Werner has prepared in an appendix a long list of Nazi-Communist parallels, parallels which are implicit in extended form in the narrative of "American Communism." He suggests a common, spiritual forebear for the two totalitarianisms: Mikhail Bakunin, the Russian anarchist whose followers were active in the First International. It is a dolorous thought that mankind, which was beset for many years by an expanding Nazi tyranny, culminating in the world's most disastrous war, should now be confronted by another equally powerful and expanding despotism. Those Americans who, before World War II, took Hitler at his "Mein Kampf" words and declared he should be stopped, but who now insist that Marx-Lenin-Stalin are only fooling; those Americans who deny, with stubborn wishfulness, the similarity of Nazi and Communist totalitarianism, should benefit by this book.

The earlier chapters, those written by Mr. Oneal, are more specific, more detailed than the later ones. As a result they are more valuable, if somewhat less easy to follow. After referring to examples of Communist theory in nineteenth-century America and earlier, Mr. Oneal discusses Marx, Engels and Bakunin and shows how the philosophy of violence in the world labor movement was brought into this country. He traces the history of the Socialist party, its growth, its internal bickering under the goading of an extreme left wing and international communism, and how, as a result, the Communist party profited. The tendency of the Communists, from the very first, to operate through a great number of special organizations, each designed to appeal to a political, racial or economic group, is made clear. Sometimes it is hard to keep track of the Communist party as the narrative skips about to keep up with the Communists themselves and the numerous organizations they have formed or tried to take over. Or if not to take over, to wreck. The Socialist party, the Farm-Labor party, the American Labor party and numerous labor unions are cited as notable victims of this policy of rule or ruin.

Moscow Gives the Orders

Yet there is never any doubt as to who is boss: "The whole party was pledged to comply with orders of a small committee sitting in the capital of Russia, no matter what a majority of the party might decide on some matter relating to the economic or political situation in the United States." When the idea of a "united front" in the labor movement began to take hold, the Communists decided to participate, as the Executive Committee of the Third International expressed it, "not for the purpose of making it effective, but for the purpose of strengthening the Communists."

Sat-6-28-47

Dr. Werner's chapters discuss the long and checkered career of William Z. Foster, who replaced Earl Browder as Communist party head last year and is "one of the very few workers of native stock who has been attracted to the Communist movement"; Trotskyism; the switching, flip-flopping and back-tracking of party policy (except on the one, fundamental, long-time aim: world revolution directed from Moscow); the purges within the party from Trotsky to Browder; the sources of party funds; Communist youth movements, and American Communist loyalty to Moscow rather than to the United States, before, during and since World War II. Quoted is the statement of Communist party leader Foster that under communism "all the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist—would be liquidated, the Communist party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses"—no matter what the "toiling masses" might think about it.

Finally, Dr. Werner permits himself a not too pessimistic look into the future. He has no fear that the American people will ever willingly accept Russo-American Communism. (Indeed, no people—including the people of Russia—ever have willingly accepted communism; it has always been thrust upon them by force.) Dr. Werner lists three courses which America might conceivably follow: the old type of unrestricted private enterprise "which brought the nation to its greatest crisis"; democratic collectivism, or a mixed economy of private and collective enterprise. This last section of the book is a little off the subject, but it is well written, thoughtful and stimulating. Dr. Werner is bullish over the long-term outlook for American good sense, politically and otherwise.

American Communism. James Oneal and W. G. Werner. Dutton. $5.00.

37d

Commonweal. New York, N.Y. Fri. 8-8-47

JAMES ONEAL and W. G. Werner have written a thoroughly documented, highly readable account of the communist movement in the United States. Forsaking the usual frenzy which surrounds so much of our discussion of communism, they have preferred to write objectively, letting the record of the communists as they themselves have compiled and written it stand up for examination. The only touch of the sensational was added by the publishers who seemed to feel that a book on communism needed not only a red dust jacket but also a red cover.

Commonweal. New York, N.Y. Fri. 8-8-47

"American Communism" was first published by Mr. Oneal, then editor of the *New Leader,* in 1927. Last spring with the assistance of Dr. Werner, Professor of Russian History at the College of the Pacific, Mr. Oneal completed the present revision. Nine new chapters—of which Mr. Oneal contributed four and Dr. Werner five—have been added to the original. Other chapters have been revised and brought up to date and three new appendices have been added. Of these latter the most interesting is the one describing the "Instructions to Communist Factions." The four hundred odd pages of the book seem much less since the story they tell is so important and compelling. Although orderly reading would require the book to be read continuously from the first page on, very little will be lost by reading chapters picked at random. Without meaning to single out particular chapters for praise there are three which in view of current developments stand out: "Financing American Communism," "Communism and American Youth," and "More Fronts and Splits." Here perhaps more than any other place in the book we can see the viciousness and ruthlessness of the communist struggle.

The authors make two statements in their introduction which should be kept in mind whenever and wherever communism is met. The first is ". . . little is known by the readers of this (the American) press regarding American communism." The second is ". . . the American Communist Party is not a political party in the American sense. It is an offshoot of the counter-revolution against the democratic Republic of Russia and an agency of that counter-revolution in this country, a agency pledged to carry out the orders of Russian dictatorship and awaiting *the day* when it believes it can afford to risk an attempt to do the same thing here."

The greatest single aid to communism in the United States is contained in the first statement quoted above. Through ignorance or malice almost every progressive proposal offered in this country has been labeled communistic when first it was suggested. Price control, rationing, the entrance of displaced persons, fair employment practices, and so on and on have all been painted with the red brush. In fact so ridiculous has this indiscriminate red-labeling been carried on that recently in a large Midwestern city portions of Papal encyclicals when quoted without reference to source were called communist propaganda. The ignorant are the tools of the malicious. For the latter we can only offer prayers, but for the former we can offer a suggestion to read the Oneal-Werner book. Fri. 8-8-47

There are no better witnesses to the truth of the second quotation than the fate which befell the Socialist, Farmer-Labor, and American Labor Parties when they admitted communists and "fellow-travelers" to their membership. And only at the last minute have many of the trade unions realized their similar mistake in letting the communists gain positions of power in the interest of labor solidarity. It is to the interest of the entire nation that labor be successful where the political parties mentioned above failed.

Whether "American Communism" is the best book on the subject one cannot say offhand. That it is a good book there can be no argument, except from the communist press. Chapter and verse of the Party's aims are quoted, with the Party usually doing the talking. This makes it rather difficult to refute. For those who wish to write or talk about Communism (with a capital C) this book will be invaluable. Its hundreds of references and its complete index make it an excellent source book.

Commonweal. New York, N.Y. Fri. 8-8-47

JAMES B. KELLEY.

W. E. B. DuBois

Chicago Defender Ill.

37d

'Stupid and Dangerous'

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S PLEA to arm Greece against Russia, is to my mind the most stupid and dangerous proposal ever made by the leader of a great modern nation. I am willing to continue to be taxed at the present excessive rate indefinitely, to feed the starving people of Europe. But I am not willing to spend a

Sat. 4-19-47

single cent to promote civil war in Greece, for the benefit of British Imperialism, or for the profit of the American oil millionaires. The charge that this step is to fight Communism and that Communism threatens civilization is false.

Of the basic things for which Communism fights, the majority are as Nehru has said exactly what every intelligent, broad-minded and unselfish thinker of the last century has demanded. They are:

1. Abolition of poverty;
2. The wiping out of illiteracy;
3. The carrying on of industry primarily for the benefit of consumers and not for private profit;
4. Social control through the state of the great gifts of nature, instead of allowing them to be monopolized by private interests;
5. The total abolition of unemployment;

"Yes," answer many persons, "we too want these things, but we can't get them!" Some declare, "the poor will be always with you"; others say that "poverty may disappear but that it will take a thousand years." In addition to this, a tremendous propaganda is carried on in our monopolized press and news services, and by our bribed and bought columnists and broadcasters and even by paid college professors to prove that every attempt of the state to conduct industry is a miserable and dangerous failure; and this in the face of our postal service, our parcel posts, our Federal banks and postal savings; our irrigation and flood control; our relief measures and fight against unemployment.

An Attack on Civilization

BUT THIS IS NOT ALL: we now see an attempt to prove that any thought or effort to abolish poverty or break monopoly, or make unemployment impossible or permit the state to conduct industry, is not only futile but part of a nasty criminal conspiracy: an "Attack on Civilization!" Not only do we fight introduction of such measures in America, we are furious if any other country attempts them.

The same thing happened in the Abolition movement. Just as soon as a number of honest persons began to fight human slavery, than the bought press and the respectable leaders of society began to howl: the Abolitionists were liars and hypocrites; they wanted to arouse black beasts to murder white women and children; they believed in free love and miscegenation; they were atheists and enemies of religion. (If you doubt this, read Shirley Graham's magnificently written and fascinating story of Frederick Douglass "There was once a slave.") Immediately all the respectable people rushed to deny any sympathy with these anarchists; rushed to prove that all slaves were contented and all free Negroes, lazy beasts. The church abjured Abolition and proceeded to "Preach Christ Crucified." Abolitionists were denied places of power, driven out of good society, and Negroes were seized and sold into slavery without trial or jury.

Russia Tries Own Remedy

Sat. 4-19-4

SO TODAY: the leading minds of the world have advocated some form of Socialism for a century. Finally in the twentieth century when "free enterprise" has well-nigh ruined civilization, Russia proposes a remedy and tries it on herself. You do not like it? Very well; then YOU try something better than a second and a third world war.

What does America now propose to abolish poverty and save the world from Communism? Nothing but four hundred million dollars to start another war.

If you don't like Communism, don't follow it; if Communism or Republicans or Presbyterians break laws, punish them; but punish them for law-breaking but not for thinking. Do not try to stop men from wanting a better world. And don't in God's name, get it into your fool head, that a man is necessarily a scoundrel, just because he sympathizes with Russia's effort for a new world, whether she fails or not.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Observations On Communism

Atlanta, Ga.

> *If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.*—Board of Education vs. Burnette, United States Supreme Court, 1945.

Mon. 11-3-47

Hearings by the House Committee in Hollywood were opposed, as to method, by such conservatives as Eric Johnson, former President of the National Association of Manufacturers and an oft-mentioned possibility for GOP Presidential nomination, and by Paul McNutt, for years a leading Democrat of national stature and himself a one-time Vice Presidential possibility.

The hearings were disturbing to me because of the methods employed and because the committee obviously had its ear to the political earth. Also, I felt there was need for a convincing, legal exposure of the Communist influence in Hollywood unions, but what happened was that those accused were not legally or convincingly proved Communists, but were left with a sort of underdog popularity. Communist influence is there, but not specific—there-it-is light—was thrown upon it.

Liars A Communist—any Communist—is a liar. He or she becomes officially a liar the moment he or she accepts, officially or unofficially, the Communist Party or its "line."

The Communists are not required to have stability of character or intellectual integrity.

When Germany was about to conquer the world, they attacked this country's aid to Europe, they sought to prevent preparedness in this country for possible war; they sabotaged every effort by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt to assist Britain to hold on against the heavy attacks by the Germans. They even had pickets before the White House and daily denounced the President as a warmonger and an imperialist.

Mon. 11-3-47

Flops At this time they even had a kind word for Hitler. They previously had denounced him as a dog and the son of a dog, but when the Russians unexpectedly signed a peace treaty with Hitler, the Commies unhesitatingly changed their tune and found him not a bad fellow after all.

So, as Roosevelt sought to prepare this country, the Communists attacked him and damned him and picketed the White House.

But on the day the Germans invaded Russia, the Commies again flopped over and started cheering the President and damning him for not giving enough aid to Europe—especially Russia.

These are but a few illustrations of the facts which must always be kept in mind about the Communists—they are liars and they are loyal only to Russia. They would betray any country in which they work without hesitation.

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

Methods I regretted the committee was not prepared with evidence to expose the Communists and their propaganda. That it exists we are sure. But to go in with such fanfare and expose only that the party line was followed by certain persons, weakened the investigation and left it of doubtful value.

I rather sympathized with the principle behind refusal to answer the question as to whether one was or was not a Communist because, as the writers of our Constitution, and as our Supreme Court often has affirmed, a man's political faith, nationalism and religion are his own business. The question was meaningless anyhow, because if a Communist felt it would be beneficial to his cause he would lie. But, if there were Communists among those refusing to answer, they refused because of the chance at semi-martyrdom in behalf of their constitutional rights which the opportunity gave them. This question played into their hands.

Mon. 11-3-47

What we need to do is revise the concept of the Communist Party. It is not a political party and DeGaulle, for all his faults, is perfectly correct when he declares, of the French Communist Party, that it is not a French political party, but an organization loyal only to Moscow and working only to destroy France in behalf of the Soviet Union. The sooner we cease to recognize the Communist Party as a political party and legally establish it for what it is—the better. Until then we have no legal right to ask a person his political affiliation.

Difficult Yet it is extremely difficult for anyone to oppose the admittedly bad features of the House Committee investigation. The Hollywood stars who oppose it, for all their glamor, include too many who have sordid and unstable personal lives, replete with dubious divorces, public brawls, and so on. They are a phoney set of leaders.

As the President's Committee on Civil Rights declared, the Communists and Fascists, both of whom are equally harmful to the American heritage of individual freedom, use the words and symbols of democracy to mask their totalitarian tactics.

This creates the dilemma of maintaining the right of free expression and yet at the same time to protecting the country against its enemies.

We know that Communists have infiltrated many unions and especially those which control communications and transportation, especially sea transportation. On just last Saturday, in a deportation hearing in New York, Michael J. Obermeier, President of the Union of Hotel and Club Workers, which engaged in a series of paralyzing strikes some years ago, admitted in court he had been an active Communist. At the same trial five other Communists, who swore to having quit the Party, testified it was a Soviet Party.

All this, plus the Hollywood glamor pusses, makes it difficult for an American to keep in mind that out of his own background of overthrowing a government to establish his own; there was written into his constitution individual guarantees he would not want weakened in any degree.

It is a dilemma and a House Committee which acted on facts and real evidence could help us, as it has not. And the Hollywood set led by Bogart and Kaye is even worse.

37d 1947

Communist

VIEWS and ◆ Reviews ◆

37d Courier

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Pittsburgh, Pa.

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors).

ALMOST A MONTH ago Gerhart Eisler, notorious Communist agent, who has been carrying out the will of Moscow in many parts of the world for the past twenty years, was convicted of passport fraud while under sentence to serve a year for contempt of Congress.

Eisler, whose own sister testified against him as "a member of the OGPU—the Russian secret police—the greatest enemy of mankind," was convicted by a jury of seven Negroes and five whites on the testimony chiefly of two Negro ex-Communists, William Nowell and Manning Johnson. Eisler may get as much as five years (and should) but we shall not know until the 15th of this month.

Sat. 9-13-47

* * *

THE EISLER CASE is of interest to the colored brethren because so many prominent Negroes are connected with Communist-front organizations which rushed to his defense and did their utmost to aid him.

For example, on April 28, one of our prominent writers, Shirley Graham, shared the platform with Eisler at a meeting at Webster Hall in New York City right after he was released on bail from Federal confinement. Mary Lou Williams played the piano on that occasion.

On Thursday, Feb. 27, the Civil Rights Congress, a notorious Communist-front, released a story to the press naming several prominent Negroes who denounced "the shameful persecution of the German anti-fascist refugee" Eisler. Among them it was interesting to see were Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, NAACP founder and official; Dr. D. V. Jemison, president, National Baptist Convention, Inc.; Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Virginia State College; Dr. David D. Jones, president of Bennett College; Frank Marshall Davis, executive editor of the Associated Negro Press; Mrs. Catherine S. Smith, National Association of Colored Women, and Prof. Harry W. Roberts of Virginia State College.

Sat. 9-13-47

* * *

THE CIVIL RIGHTS Congress has almost entirely concerned itself with the defense of the Communist party and recently, convicted people like Eisler, Marzani and the ten board members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee of New York, who received jail terms and $500 fines for contempt of Congress.

These latter included Howard Fast, the fictionist; Herman Shumlin, theatrical producer; Leverett Gleason, publisher of the left-front digest, Readers' Scope, and several well-known Communist-fronters.

The U. S. Government has just issued a report showing how the Civil Rights Congress serves the bidding of Stalin. From October, 1946, to July 9, 1947, this Communist-front spent $156,827 defending Reds afoul of the law. It is interesting to note that one of the honorary co-chairmen of the Civil Rights Congress is Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, while one of the vice-chairmen is Dr. Mary McLeod-Bethune, founder and erstwhile president of Bethune-Cookman College.

One hopes that these allegedly educated Negroes know what they are doing. Interestingly enough the only item listed in the report of the Civil Rights Congress for advertising is $126.60 for the Daily Worker, official mouthpiece of the Red conspiracy in the U. S. A.

* * *

ANOTHER COMMUNIST-FRONT which will be under the gun in the near future is the totally unnecessary United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, headed by Howard E. Johnson, national commander, who has been and may still be on the faculty of the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York, sometimes known as the American Red University.

One of the witnesses in behalf of Gerhart Eisler in his trial on the charge of passport fraud was Walter Garland, national adjutant of UNAVA. It is unfortunate that several prominent Negroes, including Joe Louis, have permitted their names to be used in this Kremlinite outfit.

Sat. 9-13-47

It is curious and somewhat alarming that some of the same leading Negroes, whose names appear on letterheads of the Urban League and the NAACP, also appear on those of the National Negro Congress, Council on African Affairs, the American Youth for Democracy, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and kindred smearbunds.

I notice that some of our leading colored brethren who are members of these organizations, which the U. S. Government regards as treasonable, are trying to defend their affiliation by whistling-in-the-dark statements that the current drive is "just hysteria" or "witch hunting," a cover for so-called reaction, etc. This will not save them when the real clean-up comes.

The Government has a right to be hysterical about the Communist menace on the basis of ample evidence such as the Canadian spy report, the book, "Pattern for World Revolution," by Ypsilon (Ziff-Davis), and the article, "The Secret Stalin-Hitler Plans," by Noel Stanford in the American Mercury for September, 1947. Any foreign agency which can enlist some of our prominent citizens, colored and white, and use them to its nefarious ends (whether they realize it or not) is truly a menace.

By the same token, any witch hunt is more than justified when there are witches to hunt such as spies, passport forgers, military secret stealers, trade union disruptionists, smear artists and peddlers of all sorts of political corruption. If it be "reaction" to fight this vicious menace, then three cheers for reaction.

* * *

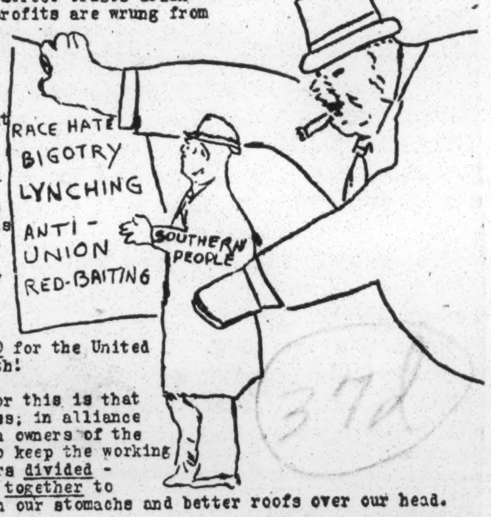
IF IT WERE merely a matter of some of our colored gentry going to the hoosegow, I would not care. There would be just that many vacancies for other Negroes in the fields of social work, journalism and education. But the world is in such a temper today that the thing will not end there. Such affiliation will be used by our enemies as an excuse to use drastic measures against all Negroes.

Sat. 9-13-47

A glance at the communal strife in India and the recollection of the savage movements of populations in Czechoslovakia, Germany, Russia, Poland and other countries shows which way the wind is blowing. We had better watch it. There has never before been a situation in the world like this.

ROBBED! SOUTHERNERS ARE ROBBED OF $10.40 WEEKLY!

Virginia is one of the eleven Southern states from which Wall Street trusts drain super profits. These profits are wrung from the people by keeping their standard of living below that of the country as a whole.



37d

The U.S. Department of Commerce has just showed that every person living in the South received $10.40 less every week than persons living in other sections of our country in 1946.

The average yearly income per person in 1946 in the South was $814.00 - compared to an average of $1,355.00 for the United States outside the South!

The main reason for this is that Wall Street Big Business; in alliance with the big plantation owners of the South, use race hate to keep the working people and small farmers divided - instead of organizing together to fight for more food in our stomachs and better roofs over our head.

The working people of Virginia, and the entire South, must unite and organize into trade unions. Every unorganized worker must be organized into a union!

Southern white workers must join with the Negro workers to wipe out the $10.40 weekly differential in the South. This is the only way that we will be able to break the Big Business conspiracy to drive down our living standards, to hasten an economic depression, and to smash democratic rights!

Write Pres. Truman, Washington, D.C. to call Congress in Special Session to stop the rising cost of living by Re-enacting Price Controls and rationing of meat, grain and dairy products - and roll back prices to June, 1946!
Congress must re-enact a strong Rent Control Act!

Issued as a public service by the Communist Party of Virginia.
Get more copies from: 102 N. 8th St. Richmond - Phone 7-7853

For the truth in the news - Read - "THE WORKER"

This is the leaflet that caused the attack on the Communi Party office in Richmond, Va.

Hoodlums Attack CP Office For Exposing Jimcrow's Cost

378

The Worker

New York, N.Y. Sun. 9-28-47

RICHMOND, Va.—The Communist Party offices were attacked here shortly after an expose of how Virginia workers and all Southerners were being robbed of $10.40 every week because of the Jimcrow and lynch segregation system. The Communist Party issued a leaflet showing specifically how Wall Street drains superprofits from the people of all the Southern states. The leaflet used recent figures issued by the U. S. Department of Commerce to prove this contention.

Revealing that the average per capita income of Southerners was $814.00 as compared to a national average of $1,355 outside of the South, the leaflet declared:

Sun. 9-28-47

"The main reason for this is that Wall Street Big Business, in alliance with the big plantation owners of the South, use race hate to keep the working people and farmers divided instead of organizing together to fight for more food in our stomachs and better roofs over our head."

It called upon the people of Virginia and the South "to organize into trade unions" and stated that "every unorganized worker must be organized into unions." The Worker

Urging white workers, in their own interests, to join with Negroes, the leaflet stated, **"Southern white workers must join with the Negro workers to wipe out the $10.40 weekly differential in the South. This is the only way that we will be able to break the big business' conspiracy to drive down our living standards, to hasten an economic depression and to smash democratic rights."**

The leaflets which hang on the Communist office door for passersby were torn out and bricks thrown through office windows late one night when the streets were deserted. New York, N.Y.

Fewer Than 1000 'Reds' in Harlem

Afro-American

378 Baltimore, md.

NEW YORK — Of the 11,084 dues-paying members of the Communist Party in this city, 812 of them live in Harlem, a highly secret "breakdown" of the entire "Red" membership list published here by a daily newspaper Saturday revealed. Sat 12-13-47

Inasmuch as Communist do not designate the racial background of their members, and because of the fact that many persons living in Harlem are of Latin American, Philippine and other foreign-language speaking, "exploited" groups, attempts to assess the numbers of colored "Reds" in the district patently would be conjectural.

A breakdown of occupations of the Communist Party membership discloses that 626 dues payers are in the waterfront section, 517 in the distributive trades, 839 in the fur industry, 133 in radio and 159 in "white collar" groups.

12-13-47

Plot Against NAACP Bared

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md

'Reds' Plan to Seize Control, Probers Say

12-6-47

Sat. 12-6-47

NEW YORK—"Communists plan to capture the NAACP," subscribers to Counterattack, a "Newsletter of Facts on Communism" published by American Business Consultants, Inc., were informed in a leading article last Friday.

The newsletter charged that the Communist Party has been making "serious efforts" to infiltrate into this "great mass organization" of colored people "for some time," and decided last summer to "move on from infiltration to actual capture of it." 12-6-47

It asserted further that its "investigators" learned exclusively of the proposed NAACP coup, and liquidation of the National Negro Congress, planned by the Communist national board, often called the Politbureau.

Plan to Outwit White

It pointed out that, last week, the Communists "merged" (liquidated) the Congress with the Civil Rights Congress, alleged legal arm of the party and that Communists formerly active in the National Negro Congress will now concentrate on the NAACP. 12-6-47 378

The newsletter declared that the Politbureau has ordered Communists "to behave discreetly awhile, and thus quiet the suspicions of Walter White, executive secretary, and prevent him from acting before they get too strong for him to stop them." 12-6-47

Harlem's Streets Echo a Communist Voice

Daily World, N.Y.

By Abner W. Berry

Daily Worker N.Y.

10-9-47

It was slow at the Harlem polling place in W. 127 St. the second night of registration. Clerks sat idle in threes and fours. Now and then a prospective voter and sometimes a couple strolled in and enrolled. A lone cop stood in the doorway leading from the school building corridor to the schoolroom, where four election districts had polling places. He watched the clock on the wall with a bored yawn.

But just four blocks up Lenox Ave.—at 132 St.—someone was speaking over a loudspeaker mounted on a truck. The voice of the woman speaker was just audible as you left the school and reached the avenue. At 130 St. the sounds formed into words: ". . . PR . . . young generation . . . register . . . answer these questions for yourself at the polling places this November."

AND THEN the volume increased, each word hitting the ear like a bell's peal or a trumpet's note: "You want to save the five-cent fare; you want to save Proportional Representation; you who live in these vermin-infested slums want to get better housing, and you veterans want to be assured of the bonus," the voice was pleading. A uniformed soldier who had been listening intently moves a little closer to the ladder and smiles approval. The housewife, holding her husband's arm, nudges her affirmation and they both bow to each other in agreement. 10-9-47

"And you need a place to be cured when you are sick," the voice continued. "You need hospital space—not this ghetto aid station right up the street called Harlem Hospital. Do you know that right now there are people sleeping on stretchers there who have been there for two days without a bed? Four hundred people more than the official capacity are now in Harlem Hospital. I know, I used to be a nurse there and just last night I toured the buildings. So I know."

An old drunk, who had been talking to the corner policeman, approached the ladder at this point and began a senseless jig. He was disposed of by a well-dressed listener, who grabbed him by the neck and the seat of his pants.

Thu. 10-9-47

UNDISTURBED by the business with the drunk, the voice continued, "I know that all of you want to improve these things. And all of us have the answers. The answer is to get ourselves and our families registered. Thu 10-9-47

"Do you know that in Alabama I know of cases where Negroes have to go as far as 20 miles to get registered to vote, and thousands of them are doing so. They are helping us here in New York by fighting to change things down there. Well, if they can do that for us down there, then we can surely go around the corner or across the street to our polling places."

The crowd grew as the speaking went on. It was time to leave and the announcement was made that the police permit required the meeting to move to another corner. 10-9-47

"Go ahead," a voice called out from the crowd, "we'll be there." And some of them did attend three other meetings.

These meetings were part of more than 40 held during the registration period by the Communist Party in Harlem. No other meetings have been observed. The Harlem Communists are using every resource to bring the issues of this off-year election to the people. And the voice of their director of registration, Rose Paulden, is being listened to.

Scott, Robeson, Others Declared Un-American

Afro America

378 Baltimore md.

NEW YORK—(ANP), — Hazel Scott, pianist, her husband, Congressman A. C. Powell, Langston Hughes, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson and Thelma Dale have been accused of protecting Communists who run afoul of the law by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. 9-27-47

37d 1.47

Communist

Dennis Trial Opens; Defense Pleas Denied

Daily Worker

By Rob F. Hall New York, N.Y. Tues. 6-24-47

WASHINGTON, June 23.—Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, went on trial today in the U.S. District Court on a charge of contempt of the House Un-American Committee. In quick succession Justice David Pine denied motions by Louis F. McCabe, chief defense lawyer, for postponement of the trial and for its transfer to another district.

McCabe, vice president of the National Lawyers Guild and prominent Philadelphia attorney, was retained last Friday by the Civil Rights Congress to defend Dennis. In support of his argument for postponement, he pointed out that he had not sufficient time to prepare himself for handling the case. Charles Houston, noted Negro lawyer, had been compelled to withdraw from the case because of the government's insistence on immediate trial, McCabe said.

McCabe implied the government was rushing the trial as a result of pressure from members of the House Un-American Committee. He compared the demands of the Un-Americans for speedy conviction of Dennis to "the rumbling growl of a lynch mob." Tues. 6-24-47

PREJUDICE IN D. C.

In arguing for transfer to another district, Joseph R. Brodsky, a defense lawyer, submitted an affidavit charging that "there consists in the District of Columbia a prejudice so great against the defendant that he cannot obtain a fair and impartial trial."

Brodsky cited President Truman's executive order, directing a "loyalty" purge of government employes, with Communists. "Inasmuch as the with Communists. Inasmuch as the entire population of the city is dependent directly or indirectly on government employment," he said, "it is impossible to assume that persons selected for jury duty will run the risk of a charge of sympathy with communism following from voting for an acquittal of so prominent a leader of the Communist Party."

Judge Pine dismissed both defense pleas.

JURY SELECTED

A large part of the day was devoted to selecting a jury. When completed, it included six Negroes and six whites, eight men and four women.

All three prospective jurors excused by Assistant U. S. Attorney John W. Fihelly were Negroes.

Developments during the selection of a jury confirmed the defense claim that a widespread campaign of projudice against Dennis had been whipped up by the House Un-American Committee and local press. Tues. 6-24-47

One juror was excused by the judge because he admitted membership in the Anti-Communist Association, the outfit which attempted to deny Henry Wallace use of the Watergate open-air theater last week.

A woman was excused when her answers showed prejudice against Communists.

READ TIMES-HERALD

Four were dismissed when they told the court they had already formed an opinion as to the guilt of Dennis. Of the 12 jurors, 11 said they read the **Times-Herald,** the Washington end of the Patterson-McCormick axis and the most violently anti-liberal publication here.

Seven jurors are governmnt employes. Tues. 6-24-47

The charge against Dennis grows out of his challenge to the constitutionality of the House Un-American Committee last April. At that time, Dennis responded to a subpena from the committee by sending through his attorney a letter to Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R-NJ), its chairman, in which he charged the group had abandoned any legislative function and had

dence. The letter is "inflammatory, scurrilous and of an un-American type," Fihelly said. After the jury was taken from the courtroom, the government prosecutor insisted that the court "simply cannot let this letter go before the jury."

He said that particularly in view because of the disfranchisement of Negroes in Mississippi, holds his seat in violation of the 14th Amendment.

SEEK TO BAR LETTER

Fihelly objected violently when McCabe indicated he would offer Dennis' letter to Thomas as evi-taken upon itself a police authority.

Dennis contended House Resolution 5, under which the Un-Americans operate, is so broad and vague as to be unconstitutional. He attacked the legality of the committee for its inclusion of Rep. John E. Rankin (D-Miss), who of the Negroes on the jury, that part of the letter dealing with Rep. Rankin "would do grave damage."

McCabe contended that in order to establish whether Dennis' contempt was "wilful" the jury should have the letter to enable it to understand the Communist leader's motive. To challenge the authority of the House Un-American Committee was not an evil purpose, he said, because the Thomas Committee "is an absolutely infamous conspiracy. It never had an honest decent purposes. Known Nazis and un-Americans have been coddled by it, and given permission to read long statements."

Its aim is to smear liberals, to intimidate them and thus keep down any progressive movement, he said. Tues. 6-24-47

Judge Pine decided to hear further arguments on the legal aspects of the case tomorrow with the jury excluded.

Deny Mistrial Move in Case of 16

Daily Worker Washington Bureau Daily Worker N.Y., N.Y.

WASHINGTON, June 23.—O. John Rogge, chief counsel for Dr. Edward K. Barsky, Howard Fast and 14 other leaders of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, today moved for mistrial in the contempt of congress proceedings against the 16. Judge Richmond Keech denied the motion. In support of his motion Rogge submitted the front page of today's **Washington Times-Herald** which featured an article linking one of the JAFRC defendants with the Eisler case. Tues. 6-24-47

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kept shouting their determination to walk out for a 14-cent raise, six paid holidays, a joint welfare fund and other concessions.

Twenty-five thousand New York workers and 75,000 more shipbuilders and repairmen along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts will go out if owners continue to stall, John Green, president of the CIO ship union (IUMSW), said.

Thousands of Bethlehem Steel yard workers will be "hitting the bricks" Wednesday midnight, five days ahead of the others, union leaders declared. Bethlehem negotiators have brushed off the union in an especially cool fashion.

HIT TAFT BILL

Cries of defiance greeted every mention of the Taft-Hartley slave law, on which employers were counting. Tues. 6-24-47

Rank and file fighting spirit at the meeting reminded observers of the old times when the union was built.

"I want to make this one thing clear," Green told the 6,000 workers. "This is no time for dilly-dallying. It is no time for adjourning negotiation sessions and

resented as a climax to the celeration of the orchestra's 10th aniversary. During the past 10 years he orchestra has played under the listinguished leadership of Arturo Toscanini, Felix Weingartner, Bernardino Molinari, Malcolm Sargent, Eugene Szenkar, William Steinberg and Charles Muench. Palestine music lovers, critics and members of the orchestra themselves paid tribute to the musicianship of Bernstein, who appeared in the dual role of conductor and pianist. Bernstein conducts the New York City Symphony in Marc Blitzstein's great "Airborne" Symphony, released by

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◆ VIEWS and Reviews ◆

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

IN HIS "CAPITAL CONFETTI" of June 14, my learned colleague, Mr. Prattis, in commenting on the recent speech of Russian-born Mrs. Suria Lewis before a high school student assembly in Washington, D. C., on which three students walked out because of its pro-Communist nature, rushes manfully to her defense.

He criticizes the three patriotic students, the Hearst papers for touring them around the country, the Nation's dailies for not reprinting the speech, and denounces Representative Rankin for objecting to having Representative Dirksen insert it into the Congressional Record.

He thinks Mrs. Lewis has been the victim of mob hysteria and that her speech was innocent. This scarcely seems to be borne out by the excerpts cited by my good friend. Sat. 6-28-47

* * *

MRS. LEWIS said that "Education is free in Russia . . . If you want to be an engineer, doctor, philosopher, professor, you are just able to do it because it is free. You don't need to pay any money."

This is simply a falsehood. I refer Mr. Prattis to House Document 754, entitled "Communism in Action," prepared under the direction of the above-mentioned Representative Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress under the direction of Ernest S. Griffith. Copies may be obtained from the Government Printing Office. This is perhaps the most authoritative work extant on the USSR facts of life.

* * *

ON P. 115, THIS book says: ". . . . secondary school pupils from the eighth to the tenth year pay a small fee of 50 rubles a year—about 1.4 per cent of the average annual income per person. Textbooks are published by the Government and sold to students at very low prices . . . The fee for education in universities and institutes is 400 rubles per annum, but all good students receive a grant ranging from 185 rubles a month the first year to 300 rubles a month the last year.

"Scholarships are granted to brilliant students." Actually only the offsprings of the ruling class—Army and Navy officers, commissars, managers and bureaucrats, with here and there the offspring of a Stakanovite, can hope to get training as a professional in Soviet Russia. Mrs. Lewis gave the students in Washington a biased view.

* * *

AGAIN, THIS RUSSIAN-AMERICAN lady observed that "Each Russian person, each citizen is given medical care free . . . You are given health aids by the hospitals and doctors and you do not need to pay for them . . . Each person has the opportunity to go once a year to rest in the Graymi (rest home)—at the shore, to relax and breathe the fresh air and make gymnastics."

This was another falsehood Mrs. Lewis told the Washington children. Sat. 6-28-47

John L. Strom, president of the American Agricultural Editors Association, who recently traveled 4,000 miles throughout European Russia at the express invitation of Stalin, says in his book "Just Tell the Truth," (Scribners): "Doctors are very scarce, and their offices are crowded during the days when they work on salary for the Government. Many Russians would rather pay for a doctor if they could be sure of getting one. And so doctors have office hours at night, in their homes. It's all strictly legal. They can pay a Government license fee of about $400 a month and still make money by charging their patients $7 to $10 a visit."

Since the average Russian worker gets less per month than a black South African miner, you can see what a racket USSR medical practice is. Mrs. Lewis did not mention this, thus giving a biased picture.

* * *

AS TO REST HOMES, the above-mentioned U. S. book, "Communism in Action," says p. 49: "Obviously there is no provision at these resorts for 25 to 27 million workers, not to speak of their families. Citrine (Sir Walter Citrine, head of British Trades Unions) estimated that 3 per cent of the industrial workers had the privileges of a rest home in 1932.

"In the plant managed by Krackenko at Nikipol, pretty near the Black Sea, where several of these resorts are located, only fifty-seven workers out of 1,500 had been at a rest home during the year, even though all the workers had had deductions from their wages for this service. To be sent to a rest home was something of a prize, to say the least." Note the racket of deducting from wages for services not received.

* * *

OUT OF 25 MILLION workers, only between two and three million in 1938 spent any part of their holidays at rest homes, and only 439,000 were sent to sanatoria. Says "Communism in Action," concerning holidays at sanatoria: "It is obvious that on the average such a treat comes only about once in twenty years." Quite a different picture than Mrs. Lewis conveyed.

"It is quite a mistake," says the above-mentioned book, "to think that holidays in sanatoria are free. The All-Union Central Committee of Trades-Unions in two decrees of Feb. 29 and March 7, 1940, laid down that all workers earning more than R300 a month (about $15 G.S.S.) must pay 30 per cent of the cost of their holidays, while those earning less than that sum, pay a sum fixed by their own local Social Insurance Council or their Factory Insurance Committee.

"Another thing to be noted is that if about 3,000,000 persons enjoy holidays PARTLY at the expense of the State, or rather the Social Insurance Fund, it is only about 10 per cent of the total number of workers and employes in the national economy."

It might be added that the 14,000,000 Soviet slaves get no vacations until death releases them.

Sat. 6-28-47

* * *

SPACE PREVENTS exposing all the fictions this woman ladled out and which my colleague, Mr. Prattis, evidently believes are facts. From what I have read of her speech it was the old familiar Communist propaganda which would make the Soviet slaveocracy appear as a summer resort or Baptist picnic instead of a cruel, wicked, murderous cabal of fanatics riding herd on 200,000,000 hapless serfs and seeking to enslave the rest of the world's people through their quislings, agents and fellow travelers in all lands and of all colors.

It is gratifying that there are a few people with backbone, like the three Washington students, who have the guts to challengge this vicious propaganda about the blessings (?) of communism in action.

FBI Head Lists 10 Don'ts in Fighting Communism

The Afro-American Baltimore, MD.

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in a recent article in Newsweek, on How to Fight Communism, significantly instructs the public on how not to fight it. Ten of the wrong ways listed by the FBI man are: Sat. 8-2-47

Don't label anyone as a Communist unless you have the facts.

Don't confuse liberals and progressives with Communists.

Don't take the law into your own hands. If Communists violate the law, report such facts to your law enforcement agency.

Don't be a party to the violation of the civil rights of anyone. When this is done, you are playing directly into the hands of the Communists.

Don't let up on the fight against real Fascists, the KKK and other dangerous groups.

Don't let Communists in your organization or Labor union outwork, out-vote or out-number you.

Don't be hoodwinked by Communist propaganda that says one thing but means destruction of the American Way of Life. Expose it with the truth. Sat. 8-2-47

Don't give aid and comfort to the Communist cause by joining front organizations, contributing to their campaign chests or by championing their cause in any way, shape or form.

Don't let Communists infiltrate into our schools, churches and moulders of public opinion, the press, radio and screen.

Don't fail to make democracy work with equal opportunity and the fullest enjoyment of every American's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Sat. 8-2-47

What Great Guys Communists Are

Courier Journal

A Review by Rena Niles

CLARKTON: By Howard Fast. 239 pp. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.75. 376

WHETHER you like Mr. Fast's portrayal of a New England mill town in the throes of a strike or whether you don't will depend more on your political convictions than on your literary tastes. It is inevitable that all fiction which is not fantasy should be compared with existing reality. Mr. Fast's tremendous narrative skill, his swift style, and the emotional drive of his writing will not make you like "Clarkton" if you believe as this reviewer does that Mr. Fast's basic premise in writing the story is false.

Mr. Fast's basic premise seems to be that the Communists, and the Communists alone, are capable of sound, strong and honest union leadership. It is inconceivable that Mr. Fast intended "Clarkton" to be the story of an isolated case—a small New England town, a one-factory town, tied up with a strike complicated by the employment of professional strike-breakers. The town of Clarkton is obviously meant to stand for many similar towns, and Mr. Fast would have us believe that Lowell, the plant owner who doesn't know anything about his business and doesn't care, is a typical industrialist; that the brutal police chief is typical of police chiefs throughout the country, and that the small Communist minority in the union—sainted types, one and all—are typical U. S. Communists. Unless we, the public, have been grossly misinformed, the facts do not jibe with Mr. Fast's emotional statement. Sun. 10-19-47

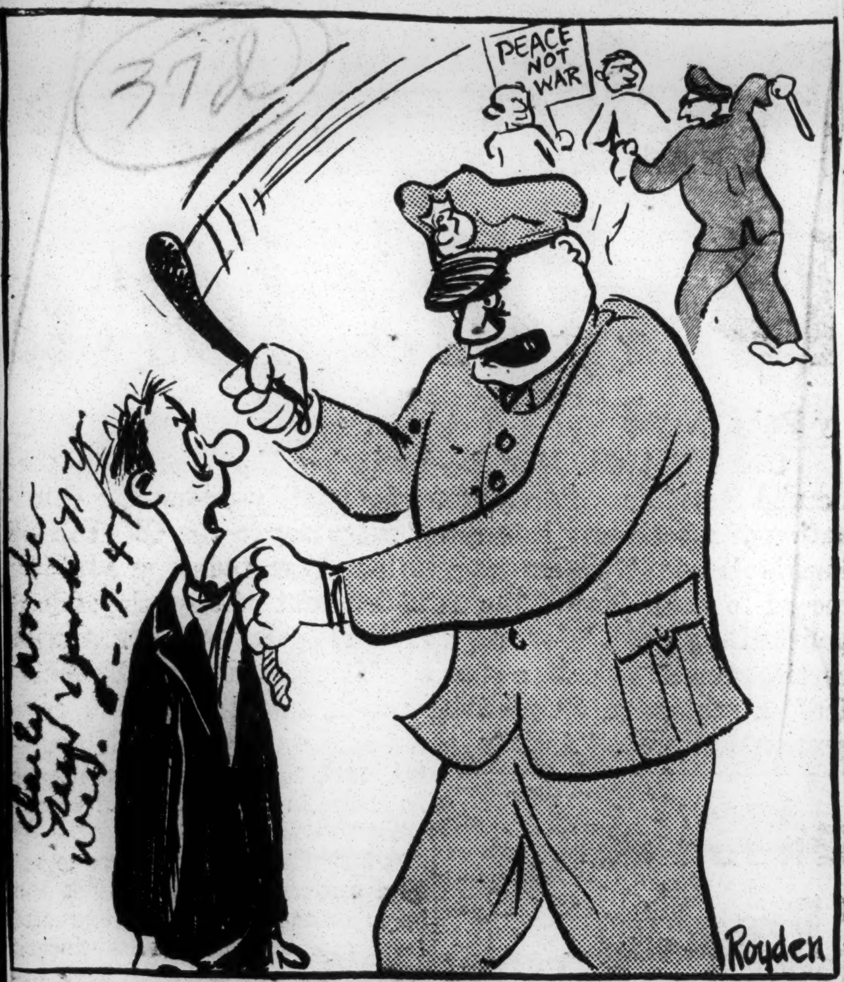
It is somehow typical of his point of view that at no time are the reasons for the strike set forth. The assumption is that the strike is entirely justified. But the reasons for the justification are apparently so unimportant to Mr. Fast that he simply overlooks them.

Looking at the problem from the author's point of view, it is too bad that he weakened his case by presenting it in black and white contrast, with all the saints on one side and all the sinners on the other. As a rule, when that kind of division is made, it is the sinners who emerge as memorable characters. Here, the reverse is true: Mr. Fast does succeed in making his saints into living characters, while their opponents — and particularly Lowell, the plant owner — remain strangely nebulous, more hated than understood.

Louisville, Ky.

It is not Mr. Fast's fault, though it is his and his publishers' misfortune, that "Clarkton" should appear at this particular time, when the American public is not ready to be told what great guys the Communists are. Of course, it must be conceded that the atmosphere for this book would not have improved by delaying its publication. Maybe Mr. Fast just wrote the book some 10 or 12 years too late.

PESTBROOK WIGLER, ROVING REPORTER



Daily worker
New York N.Y.
Wed. 5-7-47

"... But I'm an anti-Communist!"
"I don't give a damn what kind of Communist you are."

Berry to Join 'Worker' Board

The Worker

ABNER W. BERRY

New York N.Y.

Abner W. Berry leading Negro Communist and journalist, will rejoin the staff of The Worker and Daily Worker next month as a member of the Editorial Board.

Berry served on the staff of the two papers before he entered the army. He has recently been state educational director of the Communist Party of Michigan.

Sun. 3-2-47

DETROIT.—A dinner honoring the work of two nationally known Negro Communists and their wives, Abner and Rosalie Berry, James and Esther Cooper Jackson will be held Saturday, March 8 at 7 p. m. at Schiller Hall, corner Gratiot and St. Aubin, under the auspices of a group of individuals from labor, church, civic and veterans groups.

The occasion will also mark the coming to Michigan of Mr and Mrs. Jackson, former president and secretary respectively of the Southern Negro Youth Conference. Abner Berry, state educational director of the Communist Party and his wife, Rosalie, secretary-treasurer of the progressive weekly, the Michigan Herald, are being given a sendoff on the occasion of Berry's leaving to assume an editorial board position on the Daily Worker in New York. His wife will accompany him.

3-2-47

Jackson will work in Michigan as the representative of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

BAN ON PAINE BOOK LAID TO 'VULGARITY'

Author's Reputed Communist Affiliation Did Not Enter, School Officials Assert

The Board of Superintendent's recommended ban of Howard Fast's historical novel, "Citizen Tom Paine," because of "vulgar" expressions, was indirectly a result of a high school teacher's advice to her pupils that they buy another of the author's novels, it was learned yesterday.

At the Board of Education it was found that an investigation of the teacher's action had disclosed that "Citizen Tom Paine" was placed on the approved reading list for public school libraries through "an inadvertance."

Frederic Ernst, associate superintendent in charge of the high school division, said the first forty pages of "Citizen Tom Paine" contained ten or twelve passages he regarded as "vulgar." It was for this reason and no other, he said, that the superintendents had recommended the novel be banned.

The superintendents' investigation was started after a parent had complained that a high school teacher had urged her class to buy "Freedom Road," which has as its theme the role that Negro officials played in the reconstruction government of South Carolina after the Civil War and the efforts of Southern whites to destroy it. This book was never placed on the approved list for school libraries.

Errors by Teacher Cited

Mr. Ernst declared that the teacher's action was "wrong" for two reasons. The teacher, whom he would not identify, had no right "to ask pupils to buy a text in a school system that provides free textbooks," he explained, and the teacher should not have recommended at book for class use that was not the approved list.

The parent's protest was turned over for investigation to Miss Margaret A. Nolan, chairman of the English Department of the Forest Hills High School and chairman of the board's reading committee. She found that "Freedom Road" had not been approved, but that "Citizen Tom Paine" was on the approved list, though it had been put there through an "administrative error."

Miss Nolan and Mr. Ernst said yesterday that they were of one opinion, that the Paine novel contained passages unfit to be read by children. Miss Nolan stressed that "no book is rejected on the whim of an individual" and that "a rejected book always gets a second reading."

Other Fast Books Approved

As proof that the novel was not recommended for removal because of Mr. Fast's reputed affiliation with the Communist party or for any reason other than its allegedly vulgar passages, Miss Nolan cited the fact that the author's volume, "The Unvanquished," was on the approved list and that a collection of his short stories, "Patrick Henry and the Frigate's Keel," was expected to be approved at the reading committee's next meeting.

Mr. Ernst denied that "Citizen Tom Paine" has been removed from the libraries or that it has been "segregated." He said it would not be removed unless the Board of Education approves such action at its meeting on Feb. 26.

Meanwhile, Benjamin J. Davis, Communist member of the City Council, sent a telegram to Andrew G. Clauson Jr., president of the Board of Education, terming the superintendents' move "witch-burning," "a disgrace to the city" and "a cheap insult to one of America's greatest novelists."

"The Board of Superintendents should withdraw this ban and apologize to the people of New York and Howard Fast," he said. "I shall ask the City Council to take action on this un-American censorship as a danger to free democratic education in New York."

Build the CP Is Keynote At Conference

The Worker
New York N.Y.

By Mary Southard

BIRMINGHAM.—While the **Alabama** magazine, mouthpiece of the Associated Industries, was going into high gear stirring up the "Red menace" in this state, the Alabama Communist Party held a special state conference in downtown Birmingham. Sun. 5-11-47

If the Big Mules seriously dream of making the Communists in Alabama run for cover by shouting, their dream was thoroughly smashed by the spirit and determination of this meeting of white and Negro working people.

Fifty delegates were there. Workers from the coal mines and steel mills of the Birmingham valley, farm delegates from the Black Belt, a scattering of office and professional workers, housewives and fraternal delegates from Mississippi and Tennessee.

★

THE DELEGATES voted unanimously to try new ways to take the program of the Alabama Party to the people. They decided to buy a quarter page ad in the Birmingham **News Age-Herald,** which reaches 200,000 people and to have a radio broadcast over a Birmingham station, which can be heard in most parts of the state.

A veteran miner, who has been digging coal and building his union for more than ten years, told how after he had spoken at a large union meeting some workers came up to him and asked how he knew what the score was so well and how he had learned to stand up and carry his point. He told them then and there that the Communist Party and the Daily Worker had taught him—and he recruited them.

★

A NEGRO STEELWORKER told how a group of white workers in one of the steel locals got together after a meeting and said they had heard so much anti-Red talk they thought it would be a good idea for them all to join the Communist Party and find out what it was all about. Sun. 5-11-47

A Birmingham club leader, a Negro housewife and church worker, told how she had not joined the Party for many years because she thought it was hostile to the church. But now she felt from working in her community that hundreds of church members would come to the Party because it tried to "make Christianity work."

★

DELEGATES PLEDGED to get 200 new members by June 1—and have already gotten 60. Two hundred copies of the Southern Edition of The Worker were ordered, and $1,000 pledged for the defense and building of the Party.

This was a fighting conference—one where delegates remembered, too, that the Alabama Communist Party has a history to defend. A history of 17 years of making common cause with the working people of the state, fighting for work during the unemployed days of beans and handouts, bringing organization to unorganized workers, first to fight against the polltax, leader in the fight against the whole Jimcrow system which blights the lives of both Negro and white with poverty, ill-health, illiteracy, defender of the Scottsboro boys.

Spies Say Marzani Fought Jimcrow, Peace Draft, Race Discrimination

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

By Fred Vast

WASHINGTON, May 15.—Archer Drew, police agent who said he operated under the name of Bill Easley in the Communist Party on New York's lower eastside, testified in District Court today that Carl Aldo Marzani was a Communist.

At the same time Drew contradicted yesterday's testimony of another government witness, Louis Harper of Chicago. Harper claimed he ended his Communist Party membership in 1938, but Drew asserted Harper was an active member and teaching classes in 1940-41. The discrepancy may result in a perjury charge.

When he first took the witness stand, Drew said he could remember events and persons he spied on six years ago. A moment later he was "refreshing" his memory by consulting reports he had allegedly written as he recited the alleged activity of Marzani.

Marzani, fired from the State Department last December, is accused of making false statements to government officials in denying membership in the Communist Party.

REPORTS CALL TO REVOLT

New York, N.Y.

Although one of Marzani's alleged speeches was made in Italian, which Drew admittedly could not understand, nevertheless the witness claimed it was against the draft bill.

Drew claimed that once Marzani urged disintegration of Army morale and recruiting of GI's in preparation for revolt. At another time, he asserted, Marzani called for an immediate revolt because "there are more Communists in the United States now than there were in Russia in 1917."

Marzani also opposed passage of the Smith anti-labor bill, Drew testified.

The defendant helped Drew write leaflets and taught a class for new members wherein he blasted racial discrimination and praised unions, the witness said.

Three self-confessed spies, all Negroes, have been introduced to back government contentions. All admitted Communist activity was on behalf of the Negro people's welfare.

Prosecutor John Kelley asserted in his opening statement the Communist Party was sowing discontent and resentment among Negroes for recruiting purposes

Nine of the jury's 12 members are Negroes. Fri 5-16-47

Daily Claims Communist Out To Capture School Board

Criterion, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mon. 3-10-47

By Lawrence F. LaMar

LOS ANGELES (NPB) — Negro voters are learning more each day how they are being 'sold' down the river by self appointed Negro leaders, for the benefit of the Communist party. This same suspicion of being 'sold' formerly attributed to Negro elders, described popularly as "Uncle Tom's".

The latest information on the score, comes from an editorial article which appeared in last Sunday's Los Angeles Times. The article pointed out the Communist slate and indicated the candidates selected by the party.

Among those named as candidates favorable to the Red Cause, were Mrs. LaRue McCormick, who opposes Mrs. Allen for election; Ralph Koenigsberg, who is opposing Dr. Larrabie; Walter J. Turner, who is opposing Mrs. Rounseville, and Dr. H. Claude Hudson (Negro), who is opposing the field in the uncontested district.

Dr. Hudson, former president and current vice president of the local branch, NAACP, is the same Negro who opposed the recent Negro candidate for Congress from the 14th District, Frederick M. Roberts, on the grounds that "I am voting for the person best suited for office, and not on the basis of race." Dr. Hudson worked ardently for Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, (D) who was subsequently elected.

Workers in the present campaign to have Dr. Hudson elected a member of the Board of Education, are loud in their plea for support of the well known dentist, simply on the basis of race alone. In view of the fact that Dr. Hudson, himself decried the issuance of race as a factor in a democratic election, political observers are of the opinion, that those responsible for the inclusion of Hudson's name on the Communist slate, is a mere sop to gain the Negro vote. Mon. 3-10-47

Here To Yonder

Langston Hughes

Chicago Defender Ill.

Are You A Communist?

A DISTINGUISHED-LOOKING light-skinned Negro woman of my acquaintance, a teacher in the New York public schools, was Harlem bound the other day on a Fifth Avenue bus which she boarded in the shopping district. A nice middle-aged well-dressed white woman sat down beside her and, as the bus wended its way past Central Park, she began to chat with the colored teacher.

In the course of her conversation the white lady said that she had just purchased some shoes in Sak's Fifth Avenue store. "And, don't you know," said the white woman indignantly, "a Negress came in and sat right down beside me!"

9-13-47

"Quite a number of colored people trade at that shop," said the colored teacher.

"I guess Negroes made so much money during the war," said the white lady, "but if I were a clerk, I would hate to wait on them, particularly for shoes."

"Why?" asked the Negro teacher, realizing that the woman did not know she was talking to a colored person. To try to understand her reasoning, she continued to draw her out.

"Why," said the nice-looking elderly white lady, "Negroes are dirty."

"I suppose you mean poor Negroes," said my friend. "Sometimes poor people of any race are not as clean as others because they often have no hot water, no baths in their apartments perhaps."

"I think most Negroes are dirty," said the white lady, "and if I were a shoe clerk, I would hate to wait on them. They ought to trade in their own shops."

Sat.

"Don't you believe in equal rights?" asked the colored teacher.

"Oh, of course, I do!" exclaimed the nice white lady. "I'm an American and I believe in fair play for everybody. I believe in Negro having their own places, their own schools and all. I have nothing against Negro but, of course, I'm not a Communist."

They Must Be Red

IN THIS NICE-LOOKING elderly white lady's mind, people who really believed in equal rights for Negroes—in shops and elsewhere — **must** be Communists. In reverse, I heard another story last winter in the Middle West reflecting the same kind of attitude on the part of colored people.

In a city where I was giving a program of my poems, it seems a group of sincere and religious white Quakers — far from politically left-wing — decided they would like to do something helpful for the Negro community, further carrying out their workcamp ideal of practically usefulness. So several white young Quaker women went into the colored project homes offering without charge to care for the children of working mothers while the mothers were on the job, or to help Negro invalids keep their home clean. Although they were treated politely and a number of colored folks accepted their help, the general consensus of opinion as whispered about among the Negro project dwellers was, "Those white folks **must** be Communists!"

It seems strange to me that if—as I must admit happens all too rarely in America—people really believe in interracial friendship and decency, they just **have** to be Communists. Certainly, it is true that the Communist Soviet Union has abolished all racial lines and has succeeded (as even the most biased observers against the USSR admit) in making racial equality work. It is true, too, that the Communist Party in America has preached the complete political, economic, and social equality of all peoples. But it is also true that there are some Americans who are **not** Communist who believe in equality.

I Believe In Equality

I AM NOT NOW, nor have ever been a member of the Communist Party, **but I believe in equality.** Perhaps that is why the followers of Gerald L. K. Smith sometimes put out handbills against me, stating that I move in "high" white society, and that the Communists have assigned me to mislead the Negro intellectuals. Perhaps that is why the **Chicago Tribune** published my picture last Sunday as branded by the House Un-American Committee as a "member of the Communist Party." Both Mr. Smith and the Un-American Committee are wrong.

In a New England city where I was scheduled to speak some months ago, my lecture sponsors met me at the train with, "Somebody showed us a clipping that said you were a Communist, Mr. Hughes, and we got so afraid that we got in touch with the F.B.I. But the F.B.I. says you are not. So we are going ahead with our program." The next time the House Un-American Committee gets ready to call me a Communist, I respectfully suggest that they check with the F.B.I. That is, if the committee wishes to keep the facts straight.

Negro Leaders Rap Attacks on Communists

The Worker

New York N.Y.

Almost 100 Negro leaders, headed by W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson and Roscoe Dunjee, last week called upon President Truman "to repudiate decisively" steps to "illegalize the Communist Party."

The statement addressed to the President and currently published as a paid advertisement in a dozen Negro newspapers, declared:

"It is clear that the Negro's historic goal of freedom from racial discrimination and oppression can be attained only in a society where the civil and political liberties of minorities are fully protected by government."

Sun. 5-21-47

A CROSS-SECTION of Negro life is represented among the signatories of the statement — college presidents, lawyers, trade union leaders, bishops and community leaders.

"As Negro Americans," they wrote the President, "we cannot be unmindful that this proposal to outlaw the Communist Party comes precisely when our Federal government professes grave concern over the democratic rights of peoples in far distant parts of the world." President Truman was told by the group that the apathy in connection with the "mounting attacks upon the rights and lives of the Negro people . . . aggravates our concern."

Attacking Secretary Schwellenbach's proposal to outlaw the Communist Party, the Negro leaders point to the lessons of Germany. "We know full well," they go on, "that a triumphant fascism in America would doom the Negro people. . . ."

"We will resist with all our power every step taken in that direction."

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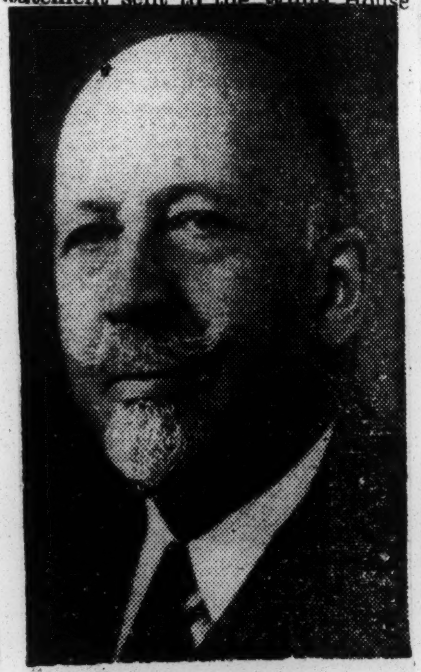
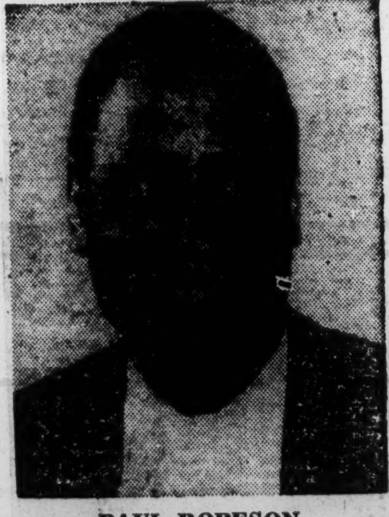
THE STATEMENT concludes with an urgent call upon the President and Congress to enact fair employment practices legislation, abolish the poll tax, outlaw lynching, establish a national code of civil rights.

"This program, we submit, is far more consistent with the democratic ideals and aspirations of the American people than the fascist-like proposal to illegalize the Communist Party."

Included among the signers of the statement sent to the White House



W. E. B. DUBOIS



PAUL ROBESON

are Fay Allen (Calif.), Bishop C. C. Alleyne (Pa.), Assemblyman Wm. T. Andrews (N.Y.), Augustine A. Austin (N.Y.), Charlotta A. Bass (Cal.), and Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop (N.Y.). Sun. 5-21-47

Also: Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown (N.C.), Rev. A. J. Cuffee (Conn.), Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. (N.Y.), William N. De Berry (Mass.), Arthur Huff Fauset (Penn.), Attorney Charles H. Houston (D.C.), Mary Church Terrell (D.C.), Dr. Benjamin E. Mays (Ga.), Dr. David N. Jones (N.C.), Bishop P. A. Wallace (N.Y.), Doxie Wilkerson (N.Y.), Dr. Rayford W. Logan (D.C.), Bishop Noah H. Williams (Mo.). Dr. Max Yergan and others.

A REPLY TO I. F. STONE ON THE EISLER CASE

Daily Worker Mon-2-10-47

New York N.Y.

By Joseph Starobin

I. F. STONE, OF THE NEWSPAPER PM, believes that everybody should do some hard thinking about the Gerhard Eisler case. He believes it "would be well if in Moscow there were some serious thinking about the Eisler case," and he also believes that American Communists "would be well advised to pause and think."

Evidently, the only man who is exempt from thinking is—I. F. Stone himself. Daily Worker

I have too much respect for Stone as a man and a journalist to pull any punches when I believe his thinking is ridiculous and dangerous, as yesterday's exhibit in PM shows.

Stone admits that the Eisler affair "may prove a Reichstag fire in that it may provide an excuse for a wave of repression that will first illegalize the Communist Party and then, with all Communist driven underground, spread terror by tagging as Communist conspirators any and every progressive." And Stone is fully aware that this would be a heavy blow to peace and democratic advance. Mon 2-10-47

If this is so, you might expect him to denounce the un-American committee. His journalistic talent, you would think, could help expose the Eisler frame-up which threatens him as well as us. New York N.Y.

But the sorry spectacle is that he accepts the un-American committee's arguments, lock stock and barrel. In the company of Rep John Rankin, he says that no sophisticated person credits the dissolution of the Communist International. Like J. Parnell Thomas, Mr. Stone believes the Communists are "playing at revolution." Like Rep. Karl Mundt and Louis Budenz, Mr. Stone says the Kremlin is the place where all this must be faced.

Mon 2-10-47

AS HE KNOWS very well, the American Communists are not playing (as he charges) at "penny-dreadful" or "hole-in-the-wall" politics.

We are a legal party. We stand on our own feet, as "free men in a country still free," and we have been doing that for a time long time.

The American Communists have no apologies to make to other American progressives; our record compares very favorably with theirs; and they will have to examine their own consciences if they feel embarrassed by our activities. Daily Worker

We have fought the good fight in fair weather and foul. We helped build the industrial unions; we helped secure social insurance; our men went to fight and die on the fields of Spain; we did our bit, like all other patriots, to win victory over fascism. We have made our mistakes, and we have a long way to go. But we have no apologies to make to any other workers in the vineyards of progress.

We never have played, and do not now, play at revolutions, as Stone very well knows. Revolution is a basic American right, prescribed in the documents of the Founding Fathers; but revolutions are made by the majority of people, not by groups or parties.

We are entirely in agreement with the effort of the democratic majority to bring about peaceful social change; if reaction can be prevented from subverting American democracy by the peaceful massing of America's overwhelming majority, we support that effort 100 percent.

Mon 2-10-47

AMERICAN COMMUNISTS have not been members of the Communist International since Nov. 1941, when we anticipated its dissolution by two years.

We do not apologize for our past membership in this erstwhile fraternity of workingclass parties which helped save humanity from fascism. New York N.Y.

We are not ashamed of this brotherhood that produced the parties of men like Dimitrov, Tito, Thorez, Togliatti, Mao Tse-tung and Luis Carlos Prestes; their record can be matched with that of all non-Communist progressives.

But American Communists were among the first to realize that the age of the International had come to an end. We were public members of it. We publicly withdrew. If it ever reforms (which I doubt and would oppose) Mr. Stone will not have to learn about it from J. Parnell Thomas, or J. Edgar Hoover.

Daily Worker

AS FOR THE KREMLIN, I would be surprised if it were not thinking seriously about the Eisler case. The frame-up of Eisler, on the eve of the Moscow conference shows the Kremlin how rabid and desperate some circles of American reaction are becoming.

No doubt, Stalin is interested to observe that responsible governmental figures have not put any muzzle on the un-American Committee. Slanders against Russia have a diplomatic meaning, too.

That has no bearing on the stand of American Communists, who do not, and do not need to look to Moscow for understanding and advice on what the Eisler case means. Anybody who says so is a liar; such lies should be left to a Budenz and a Fischer. They are unbecoming to I. F. Stone.

Mon 2-10-47

Let me say in conclusion that Mr. Stone need not worry so much about us Communists being illegalized, as though he fears that is the way the Hoovers and Thomases will get after him.

We are not going to be illegalized quite so easily—and the current war of nerves does not frighten either. New York, N.Y.

Whether I. F. Stone will fight—legally or otherwise—is up to himself, and I would like to believe that he is a fighter.

But last Sunday's PM piece reveals that instead of giving American Communists advice, he will do well to make sure that his own mind is clear. In every battle, a good rule is to know which side you're firing from.

Reasons Communism Has No Place in America

Florida Times

Communism is an enemy that the United States should stamp out, and the job should be done quickly and thoroughly. With the elimination should go every individual and every organization that has had anything to do with spreading this vicious theory of government in America.

No patriotic American can read the articles that have been appearing on this page during the past several days about the Reds' Canadian spy ring, and testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities about the activities in the United States of one Gerhard Eisler, who refused to take an oath that he would tell the committee the truth about what he has been doing in America for many years, without realizing that Communism is America's most dangerous enemy.

In the stories about the Canadian spy ring, which are based on the report of the Royal Commission's investigation, details are given of the work of representatives of the Russian Government to obtain the secrets of the atomic bomb, and information about everything else that would be useful to the Russians against this country. mon 2-10-47

Members of the spy ring operated both in Canada and the United States. They inveigled scientists and others first into believing in Communism through subtle methods of teaching, and then into revealing secrets of the utmost importance to the United States and Canadian Governments. Jacksonville Fla.

Evidence assembled by the Royal Commission shows that the spy ring's activities were widespread and far-reaching; that it was ruthless and without principle in carrying on its program.

This evidence is supported by testimony before the House committee, where Eisler's own sister described him as "a most dangerous terrorist both for the people of America and the people of Germany." The sister's testimony in turn was supported by a Georgia-born negro who declared he had known Eisler in Moscow and Detroit under several aliases.

When he knew the terrorist in Moscow, Eisler was "working on American problems." The negro testified that he joined the Communist Party in Detroit in 1929 and was sent that year to Moscow and again in 1931 to study at the International Lenin School such subjects as Marxian economics, conspiracy, sabotage, espionage, building barricades, wrecking trains, seizing essential facilities code and the transmission of messages.

Two years later the negro said he met Eisler in Detroit when he himself was working on propaganda agitation for the Communist Party and helping organize the American Negro Congress.

In this information we get an accurate picture of the kind of government America is dealing with in Moscow—a government the people of America are urged to try to understand and be friendly with.

Americans could be friendly with the Russian people, indeed they are their friends, but obviously they cannot and will not be friends with the Government of the Russians—the Government that is trying to force Communism, with all its vicious evils, upon the United States. And it cannot be too strongly emphasized that anyone in this country who calls himself an American that tries to further the Politburo's program here is an enemy of the United States, and should be treated as such. mon 2-10-47

Stool Against Eisler Worked for GLK Smith

Daily Worker

By Helen Simon

William Nowell, a star witness against anti-fascist Gerhart Eisler, is a "labor spy and associate of Gerarld L. K. Smith and other fascists," Albert E. Kahn told the Daily Worker in an interview yesterday. mon 2-10-47

Nowell's record is well known to Kahn, who made extensive personal investigations of fifth column activities in the Detroit area for **The Hour** and for **Sabotage**, which he co-authored. Kahn is also co-author of the best sellers **The Great Conspiracy** and **The Plot Against the Peace**. New York, N.Y.

Kahn recalled these unsavory items about the man whom the House Committee on Un-American Activities called in to denounce Eisler:

- **Nowell worked in Detroit with Frank Norriss, fascist preacher, helping to organize storm troop bands which attacked trade union and progressive meetings.**
- **Affidavits secured by Kahn from Ford Motor Co. labor spies established that Nowell worked under Harry Bennett in the Ford Service (labor espionage) Department.**

In this capacity Nowell helped organize groups of armed strike-breakers, largely from Detroit's underworld. When Ford workers launched the strike which finally organized the plant, Nowell helped bring the scabs into the buildings. Daily Worker

Ford dispensaries were opened to provide the scabs with drugs. They were fed liquor, supplied with women. Thus crazed, the criminals made steel knives at Ford lathes and used them against the strikers.

Bennett assigned Nowell to work with a close associate whose activities he helped to finance: Gerald L. K. Smith—Silver Shirter No. 3223, organizer of the notorious nation-wide network of fifth column groups and out-spoken anti-Semite who had contacts with Axis agents and propagandists.

Nowell thereafter was constantly seen in Smith's company. In frequent confidential conferences, Nowell, a Negro, helped Smith to map out his strategy on the "race" question. Smith used Nowell's advice to promote Negro-white hostility. Nowell addressed several of Smith's meetings. mon 2-10-47 New York N.Y.

"When I interviewed Smith in the summer of 1943, I confronted him with his relations with Bennett and Nowell," Kahn said. Smith admitted this was true." Daily Worker

Kahn summed up:

"This man who has been used as one of the star witnesses against Eisler has been a long-time associate of ruthless criminals in Detroit and an aide to one of the most dangerous fascists in the country. His complete degeneracy and unreliability has been proved. mon 2-10-47

"It is a shocking indictment of our whole governmental procedure that we can make use of such a disreputable character in a case with international implications."

Kahn yesterday wrote Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and denounced the committee's persecution of Eisler. His letter, released by the **German American** anti-Nazi periodical, said in part: New York N.Y.

"As an American and a Jew I feel a profound debt to Gerhart Eisler for his heroic, self-sacrificing struggle against fascism, and I cannot witness in silence your indescribably shameful persecution of this outstanding German anti-fascist.

Daily Worker

"I have repeatedly observed how your un-American Committee carefully avoided prosecuting American fascists while sedulously persecuting American anti-fascists. mon 2-10-47

"In 1939 I called your attention to the case of the Russian fascist emigre, Anastase Vonsiatsky. He was then operating in this country as an agent of the German and Japanese Intelligence Services. He was disseminating Nazi propaganda and was drilling an armed band of stormtroopers on his Connecticut estate, which was used as a rendezvous for Axis spies. New York N.Y.

"I submitted to your Committee, among other documentary material, evidence that Vonsiatsky had participated in a number of torture-murders before coming to this country.

"But Vonsiatsky was not Eisler. Vonsiatsky was a fascist, not an anti-fascist. So your Committee took no action whatsoever against Vonsiatsky. . . ."

Mrs. Gerhart Eisler will tell the story her husband was prevented from presenting to the House Un-American Committee at Brown Hall, Boston, Feb. 14, where her husband had been scheduled to speak under the auspices of the Progressive Bookshop.

She will appear with Carol King, Eisler's attorney, at Musician's Hall, Philadelphia, Feb. 12.

In agreeing to speak in place of her husband, Mrs. Eisler said: "Gerhart believes they locked him up to keep him from speaking, writing, defending himself before the American people. Somebody should be allowed to present the true facts."

Communists Must Have Been Right Sometimes

The Nation, New York, N.Y.

Dear Sirs: I hope you will allow me to explain to your correspondent, J. Hayden Moore, Sr., that those of us who are genuine liberals, and have determined that it is essential to have nothing to do with the Communists, do not believe that Communists are always wrong; nor, as I read his letter, did Alfred Baker Lewis, whom Mr. Moore attempts to refute, make any such claim.

Communists have been at various times on exactly opposite sides of important labor and international questions. They were in favor of collective security against Nazi aggression, and then made a pact with Hitler. They are anti-imperialists so far as Indo-China, Indonesia, and India are concerned, and supporters of Russian imperialism in the Baltic states, Poland, and Rumania. They have appealed to the principle of national sovereignty against the alleged evils of the Marshall Plan and denied that principle when Czechoslovakia and Finland wanted to go along with the Marshall Plan. Sat. 11-8-47

In the labor movement they first favored and then denounced dual unionism. They have supported and opposed John L. Lewis. They supported strikes in America against national defense when Stalin and Hitler were allies, and later supported the no-strike pledge and even, alone among the ranks of organized labor, the move to conscript labor. They defend the Civil Rights Congress in the United States—in an effort to undermine the American Civil Liberties Union—and deny civil rights in countries which they control.

With such a record they must have been right at least sometimes.

Sat. 11-8-47 JACK ALTMAN,
International Vice-President,
Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union
New York, October 25

37d 1947

Communist

An Editorial

By I. F. Stone

The Eisler Affair as Spectacle and Warning

WASHINGTON.

There were vivid moments in the Eisler hearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee:

PM

Rankin leaning forward avidly, with a curiosity that seemed almost obscene, to ask William Odell Nowell how many Negroes were with him in Moscow for training; the ex-Communist Nowell, rubbing his right ear lobe and massaging his thumb nervously, as he recounted the same story he told the committee in 1939; Louis Budenz, blushing as Carol King, an old friend in his Communist Party days, walked up to and past him without a sign of recognition; Ruth Fischer, testifying that the last time she saw her politically estranged brother, in a Paris Cafe in 1936, he went by her with "Bolshevik trained iron eyes, looking neither to the right nor left;" the beefy, red-faced chairman, Thomas, whom Hollywood would cast as a reactionary vigilante; the big six-footer Birmingham, whom anyone would take at once for a hotel's house detective, testifying in strong Brooklynese that he served subpenas at the "Fawrheight" (*Freiheit*); the committee member Mundt, with a Wizard of Oz smile, a pre-Pearl Harbor "isolationist," now sniffing hard on the trail of Communists.

Sun 2-9-47

Budenz's testimony provided two graphic glimpses inside Communist headquarters: "Edwards," identified as Eisler, telling off Clarence Hathaway, then editor of the *Daily Worker*, for his shortcomings and Hathaway taking it all "with a silly grin"; William Z. Foster, then in eclipse, wandering around the building, trying to find out what was going on, "a rather pitiful spectacle."

One wondered how Nowell, a light brown man of education and culture, felt as Rankin prodded him eagerly for more information on Communists in their relation to Negroes.

New York, N.Y.

The psychologically most fascinating of the three witnesses was Eisler's sister, Ruth Fischer, a figure for a post-1917 Dostoyevsky. This fierce family quarrel between Stalinist brother and Trotskyist sister was beyond the committee's grasp in emotional depth and political subtlety.

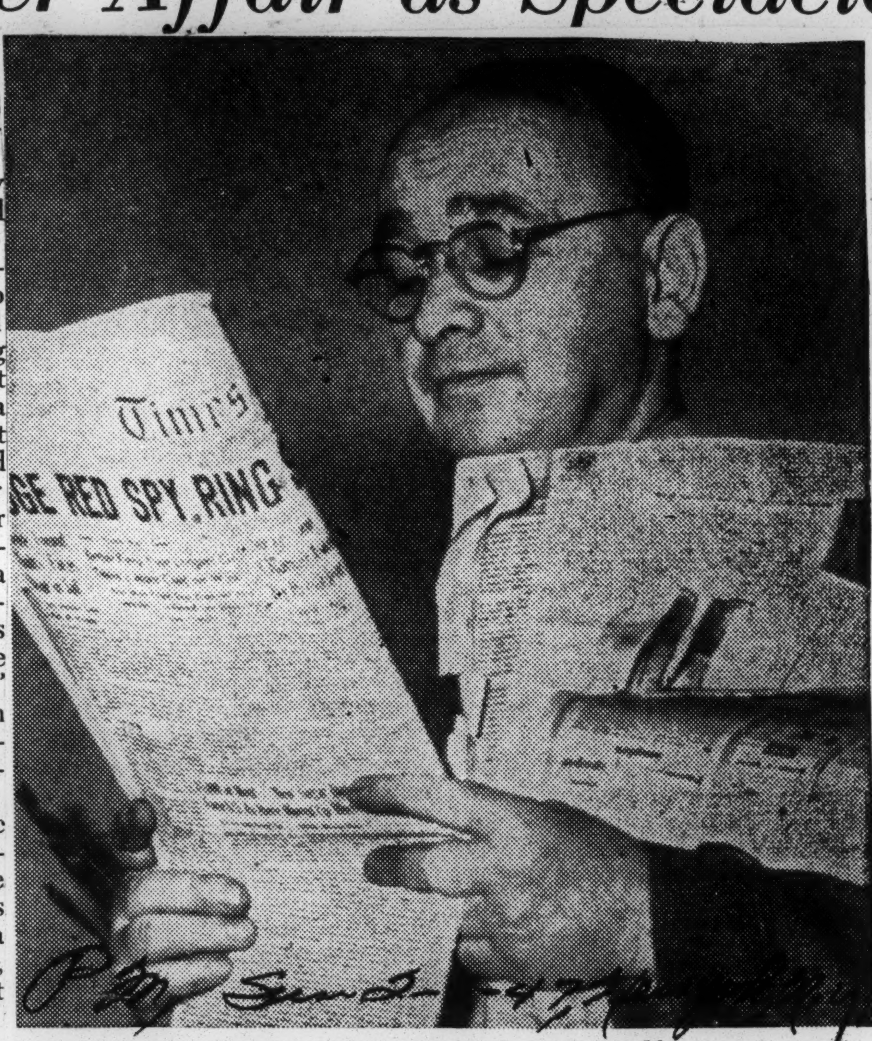
At one point Fischer spoke with scorn of her brother as a man who had not personally participated in the German struggle against the Nazis. She said bittery, "He did not lose one book, one manuscript" in the Nazi terror. Only an intellectual would have picked that out first, ahead of property or life itself, as the prime example of suffering in the Hitler terror.

Sun 2-9-47

There was the ingenuous moment when she, though helping to hand her own brother over to the FBI, protested that a man who serves Stalin "is conditioned to hand over to the GPU his child, his sister, his closest friend." Here was the hot breath of "the movement," twisting every human relationship in the furnace of revolutionary fanaticism. This was what France knew in the bloody bitter factionalism after 1789, what early Christians experienced and Gibbon described in the fratricidal sectarianism of Arian and Athanasian.

Unfortunately the hearing was more serious than mere spectacle.

PM



PM Sun 2-9-47

Gerhart Eisler reads in the papers about himself.

" 'Reichstag Fire' Ruse Seen in Eisler Frame-up" cries the *Daily Worker*. The Cissie Patterson *Times-Herald* here shrieks, "Red Atom Spy . . . Plot to Overthrow U. S. Government." On the basis of everything made public up until today, the plot is blown up nonsense. Certainly the allegations linking Eisler to the Canadian prosecution are of the thinnest kind; that the rest is a frame-up I am not convinced. The affair may prove a "Reichstag fire" in that it may provide an excuse for a wave of repression that will first illegalize the Communist Party, and then, with all the Communists driven underground, spread terror by tagging as Communist conspirator any and every progressive. That would be a blow to world peace, the death of the United Nations, the beginning of vaster arms preparations, the subordination of reconstruction for peace in the devastated USSR.

Before that happens, it would be well if in Moscow there were some serious thinking about the Eisler case. No politically sophisticated person believes that the Comintern has been abolished in more than name. The Russians cannot have the cake of conspiracy and the penny of cooperation at the same time. That is an issue the Kremlin must face.

Sun 2-9-47

Certainly here in America the conspiratorial habits of a petty handful of Communists may soon provide excuse and occasion for a repetition, on a far more dangerous scale, of the Red scare that followed the last war. It would be better for all concerned if the Communists came fully into the open, ended all the penny-dreadful hole-in-the-wall playing-at-revolution and then fought, as free men in a country still free, for the maintenance of legal standing as another legal minority party.

I can hear the screams from Union Square already, but before the Communists scream too loud, they would be well advised to pause and think. They can't make a revolution but they can certainly set off a counter-revolution that will smash civil liberty and the whole progressive movement in America and end hope of world peace.

New York, N.Y.

—I. F. STONE.

A writ of habeas corpus for the release of Gerhart Eisler, alleged boss of American Communists, was issued by Federal Judge John Bright at New York, but action was delayed until Feb. 14 to permit the Government additional time to prepare its case.

Sun 2-9-47

Eisler's attorney, Carol King, charged that he was being detained illegally under an alleged warrant based on an executive order controlling alien enemies.

Eisler had been returned to Ellis Island from Washington after a brief appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities which cited him for contempt when he refused to take the oath.

Sun 2-9-47

The Committee has asked the Justice Dept. to charge Eisler with contempt of Congress, perjury, conspiracy to overthrow the U. S. Government, evasion of income tax and falsification of passport.

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3 Give Testimony in Case Involving Red Activities

Afro American 47

Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON

The United States Government used three former members of the Communist Party as star witnesses to present its case against Carl Aldo Marzani, white, before Judge Raymond B. Keech and a jury of 12, only three of whom are white, in District Court.

Marzani is being tried on a charge of concealing his communistic affiliations while a State Department employee and eight other counts.

The Government rested its case at 2:37 p.m., Friday, with the testimony of the third witness, Archer Drew, New York City detective. Previously, Louis Harper, 940 E. 13th St., Chicago, and George Hewitt, 2750 Bronx Park, New York, had testified.

The first witness to be put on the stand by John H. Kelley Jr., special assistant to the attorney general, was Hewitt.

Sun 2-4-47

Hewitt testified on Tuesday that he had been a Communist Party member from 1927 until 1944, and was sent to Russia in 1930 to learn revolutionary technique, aimed "at the overthrow of the United States Government."

Out of 100 students from the United States who attended the International Lenin School in Moscow, 40 were colored, he disclosed.

Afro American

After returning to the United States in 1933, he was assigned to teach in a "worker's school" in New York, and was asked to use the alias "Timothy Holmes," Hewitt testified.

Met Undercover Agent

He told the court that one "Bill Easley," later identified as Archer Drew, a detective with the New York undercover squad, was one of his students.

He claimed that in company with "Bill Easley," he had attended a communist meeting in New York in 1940 to discuss communist "work" among colored groups.

Baltimore Md.

Also in attendance at this meeting was a Mr. Whales, who was introduced as the educational director of that section of the Communist Party, Hewitt continued.

Calls Marzani Whales

He said he later identified "Tony Whales" as Marzani from his pictures in the newspapers. He pointed Marzani out in the courtroom as the Tony Whales he knew.

Hewitt denied that he had ever been expelled from the Communist Party, which he said he joined in 1932.

Harper followed Hewitt on the stand as a Government witness and, telling of his membership in the National Negro Congress, testified that he had attended its meetings with "Bill Easley."

On one occasion, Harper, who is engaged in educational work with the Altgeld Gardens Consumers' Co-operative, said "Tony Whales" was introduced as representing the Communist Party. He also identified Marzani to the court as "Tony Whales."

Among the charges against Marzani was that he had used the name, Tony Whales, and was a member of the Communist Party in New York, during 1940-41.

Another charge facing him was that he had instructed party members to sow discontent and resentment among colored persons by agitation on the racial question.

Secret Operative No. 29

Drew told the court how he had been assigned as Operative No. 29 to join the Communist Party in Harlem and was later sent to the Union Square Area.

Instructions were given to "divorce himself" from all contact with the New York police and operate under cover, he said.

He testified that a transportation card had been issued under the name of "Bill Easley" and that he was identified as a rail clerk. He said that Communist Party headquarters were under a "front" of the Merchandise Survey, 225 Broadway.

Became Party Organizer

He said he became a member of the party on July 22, 1940, and helped to organize a branch of the National Negro Congress in September, 1940, on the East Side of New York.

In mentioning the names of Harper, George Smith and Harry Palmer, whom he said helped to organize the NNC Branch, he addressed them as "comrade," a term, he told the court, used by the Communist Party for its members.

At the end of Drew's testimony, the Government rested its case and after a brief intermission, Charles E. Ford, Marzani's attorney, made his opening statement to the jury.

Mistaken Identity Charged

He told of Marzani's being born in Rome in 1912, coming here in 1924, going to Europe and traveling extensively, later returning to the United States and settling on the lower East Side.

There, because of his educational qualifications, he assumed the role of counselor and advisor to his neighbors, at their request, the attorney declared.

Ford told the court that he would attempt to prove that Marzani had never been to Moscow in his life and had never used any other name than his own to seek employment in the United States Government.

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He has never been a member of the Communist Party, the lawyer declared.

For Human Beings

Marzani's lawyer said he would further try to prove that none of his client's activities had been for the Communist Party, but they had been only for human beings of any race, color or creed.

At the close of this opening statement to the court, Judge Keech recessed until 10 a.m., Monday, May 19. [illegible]

Competition for Communism

Sirs: Time Chicago, Ill.

What democracy is not was expressed by Secretary of State Marshall in Moscow [TIME, March 24] when he said: "To us a society is not democratic if men . . . are not free to express their beliefs and convictions without fear that they may be snatched away from their home and family," and without fear "of being deprived of the right to work or deprived of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Mon. 4-21-47

The question now arises whether or not we can function as a democracy if the legislation to outlaw the Communist Party is passed. If men can be deprived of the "right to work" because of political beliefs, if men are in "fear" that they may be fired from their jobs because of the illegality of holding certain political beliefs, if under the dubious standard of democracy, men are persecuted for radical opinions, then where is the freedom outlined in the Bill of Rights, the Atlantic Charter, the basic tenets on which our country was founded? . . .

If our way of life cannot compete with Communism in the open, then perhaps there is a deficiency on our part. Are we as truly democratic as we have professed to the world at large? . . .

A. HAMILTON MENCHER
Albuquerque, N. Mex. 4-21-47

Sirs: Time Chicago, Ill.

. . . Let the Commies go to it. Give them their share of newsprint and radio time, and let them rave. Let them address the D.A.R. in their Washington hall, if they can get an audience. Let them set up a soapbox in front of Independence Hall and holler their heads off. Let them lambast the Democratic and Republican Parties to their hearts' content (both parties need it every day).

If We the People haven't the brains and the will to work out our own political and economic salvation within the best form of government yet devised by man, then we deserve to go Communist and take all the dreadful consequences. Indeed, if we tried half as hard to preserve our Republic as the Communists do to destroy it, we should have little to worry about within the United States. . . . Time 4-21-47

WILLIAM ALEXANDER McCAIN
Doylestown, Pa. Mon.

Sirs: Chicago, Ill.

. . . Communism will flourish wherever living conditions are bad, and especially where there is a wide gulf between the standards of the rich and those of the poor. . . .

If the U.S. wants to defeat the spread of Communism, her job is to 1) broaden the base of economic democracy at home, so as to raise living standards; and 2) lead the fight to raise living standards all over the world through the United Nations. . . .

If we do not have the faith to transfer the policing of the world from unilateral power politics to the United Nations under a system of world law, our political "leaders" are reenacting the role of Samson in the temple of the Philistines by perpetuating the insane anarchy of war, muttering the shibboleth of "national sovereignty."

HENRY GOTLIFFE
Detroit

Red Worker Is Busy Among Mobile Negroes

Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

MOBILE, ALA., June 10.—(AP)—An "emissary of communism" is busy among Mobile Negroes "trying to convince them that the Russian form of government is the best," Federal Judge John McDuffie said today he had been told. Wed. 1-11-47

The jurist said he had heard of such activity by a Russian-born, naturalized American citizen.

He made his remarks during a criminal court proceeding in commenting upon the duties of citizenship. Wed. 1-11-47

Birmingham Man Linked With Reds

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

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BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—According to an article in the Birmingham Post by Charles Pou, Hosea Hudson, employe of Jackson Industries and president of Local 2185 of the United Steelworkers, CIO, is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., under the alias of "H. Smith." Pa. Sat. 11-1-47

Hudson allegedly was one of six leaders in a Communist-front "School for Democracy" in May, 1945, which listed Louis E. Burnham, Mrs. Pauline Dobbs and Mrs. Esther Cooper among its instructors. 11-1-47. Sat.

Marzani's Fight for Racial Justice Puts Him on Spot

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

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NEW YORK (NNPA)—Carl Aldo Marzani, white, convicted in Washington, D.C., last week on a charge of concealing membership in the Communist Party when a State Department worker, was persecuted partly for his activities on behalf of the "democratic rights" of colored people, it was charged here last week.

The charge was made by the committee organized here to defend him. Sat. 5-31-47

A biographical sketch accompanying the statement, said Marzani was born in Italy, educated in the primary and secondary schools there, and migrated with his family to Scranton, Pa., after Mussolini seized power in 1922.

Brilliant Scholar

He learned English and was awarded a scholarship to Williams College after finishing high school. Marzani was elected to Phi Beta Kappa at Williams and received a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford University in England.

He returned to this country in the late 1930's and settled in New York, moving to Washington in 1942 to work with the Co-ordinator of Information, which later became the Office of Strategic Services.

ETHIOPIAN FEDERATION LEADER DENIES COMMUNISTS CONNECTIONS

Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK.—George W. Harris, president of the Ethiopian World Federation, last week, in an open letter to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, pointed out that he is erroneously cited in reports of the Un-American Activities Committee as being a sponsor of the New York State Conference of Negro Youth, a "Communist-front" group and denies even knowing of any such organization. Afro-American

Sat. [illegible]

FOLKS IN L.A. are pretty sore about the refusal of the Olympic Auditorium management to rent the hall to the Communist Party for a Foster and Cacchione September mass meeting. The Los Angeles A.C., owners of the big sporting arena similar to New York's Madison Square Garden, have hinted that from here in, the hall won't be rented to trade unions or progressive citizens' groups.

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So such concerned groups as the Civil Rights Congress, CIO Council, American Veterans Committee, American Jewish Congress, AYD, the National Lawyers Guild, UNAVA and others have been boycotting all sports shows at the Olympic Auditorium since last week. Tues. 7-22-47

The arena has always had Negro and Mexican fighters showing in the main event boxing bouts, etc. And the fans who've packed the arena have always been representative of all nationalities.

Does the recent implied ban against progressive mass meetings also presage a new policy against the athletes representing American minority groups? Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

What a contradictory farce when the Auditorium features nondiscriminatory sporting events, and then denies free speech to a party which has always been in the forefront for equal rights of all nationalities! Tues. 7-22-47

I hope the boycott makes the Olympic Auditorium moguls think twice.

37d 1947 Communist

CP Defense Fund Keeps Rolling In

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Here are just a few highlights on the response of the Communist Party members to our Fighting Fund Appeal. These are random instances which can be multiplied a hundred fold, from right around here. In a few days I'll have more stories to match these from all over the country. Sat. 3-22-47

The Bronx CP office tells me it already has formed a 52-20 club of vets turning in their checks. One Tremont Section vet gave $50 out of a $70 disability check. Another (same section), whose wife is expecting a baby, cashed his last three $25 bonds and turned over the proceeds.

In Morrisiana Section a woman Party member, 75 years old, with a $30 income, gave $50 herself and raised $80. Steve, of Tremont, who gets $30 a week and just welcomed a new baby gave $50. Benny Ehrenburg, a furrier, unemployed for ten weeks, turned in to Morrissania Section $60 worth of bonds—his last. Another furrier, same section, named Murray, borrowed $45 to give for wife and self.

JERSEY REPORTS

And my namesake, the Gurley Flynn Club in the South Bronx—a poor neighborhood of Puerto Rican, Spanish and Jewish workers raised $450. Am I proud!

New Jersey office reported a few instances, by phone. An unemployed member turned in two compensation checks. A vet gave his income tax refund. Another vet from Pacific theatre gave his last $100 bond.

An elderly doctor who had saved $320.00 for a new car to attend his patients decided that the Party's need was greater. With tears in his eyes he donated the entire amount. "The Party takes precedence," he said.

A farm area group had gathered to raise $100 for a local purpose. When the appeal was read for this fund, they raised $1100. The board members of the New Jersey Party each donated a week's pay and raised more—total $500. They notified us a check for $10,000 will be delivered by New Jersey Sunday to our National Office. We'll be ready to receive it! Daily Worker

Brownsville Section was next on my list of phone calls, and I was not disappointed. Margaret H., a new woman member, a nurse, gave $25 and pledged $25, although at present she is unemployed. Another, Comrade Ruth, gave $25. At a second meeting she gave $50 more which she had saved for a spring suit. New York, N.Y.

SIX $100 BILLS

A member of a Brownsville youth club, Lou G., just read about the fund in the paper and came in with six new $100 bills. He had drawn out his entire savings. Of course he couldn't afford it but when somebody remarked about "giving till it hurts" this comrade, member of the Communist Party for one year said **"It doesn't hurt. It makes me very happy!"**

Then there's comrade Lurie, 70 years old, who has already given her second old age check of $50.00. Williamsburg has a young vet, 23 years old, Irving. He and his wife Estelle talked it over and drew out $1000, his savings from when he was in service and gave it to the Communist Party. He has a Purple Heart and Silver Star; was in the 104th Infantry. He believes in fighting for democracy here and now. Another vet going to medical school gets $90 a month, and "bills don't grow on trees," he remarks, but he sent in $150.00.

Manhattan County has many examples. I'll just give you three today. In an AFL Food industrial branch of 25, where they are not working at present, all donated their unemployment checks. Another unemployed comrade pawned all pawnable jewelry, silverware, etc., and brought in $200.

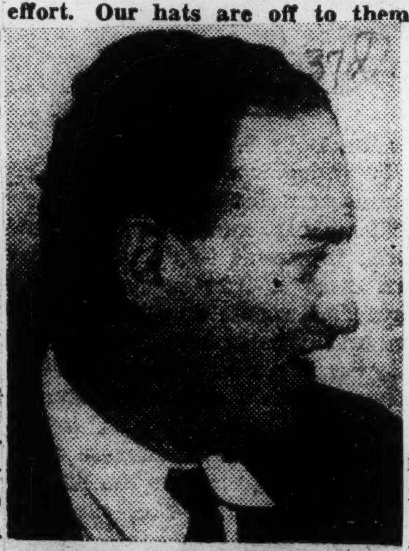
WEEK'S PAY

At the Tubman branch of Negro comrades the entire executive pledged a week's pay. One unemployed comrade, with a wife and two children but no money, donated a gift, a Waltham watch, to be raffled off for the Fighting Fund which will be utilized for ads in the daily press, radio talks, speaking tours and other mass activities in defense of the CP and the American Bill of Rights.

Many CP members are giving a week's wages and borrowing money to eat on. Many Puerto Rican comrades, in Prospect Avenue Club, earn $30 a week and gave $50 and $70 to the Party. Many are selling their bonds to give the cash to the Party. The loyalty and generosity of our membership is something tremendous, I assure you. It shows the stuff that Communists are made of.

New York District has already raised $109,000 in the first week of the drive! Sat. 3-22-47

We know money is en route from every state, county and club. We will show the day-by-day progress on the thermometer. It can and must hit $10,000 a day in the next week. Let's hear from all districts right now and daily. Send funds daily and all your human interest stories. We want to demonstrate what the Communists and their friends can do. Our wonderful Party clubs are making a herculean effort. Our hats are off to them!



HERBERT K. SORRELL, chairman of the AFL Conference of Studio Unions in Hollywood yesterday condemned legislation to outlaw the Communist Party. "Legislative measures to prohibit the Communist Party," he said, "will be about as successful as the Volstead Act. Why not let the Communists have an honest way to advocate their ideals? If they are good enough, maybe we should adopt them. If they are not good enough, we should defeat them at the polls. When we begin to legislate our domestic rights away, we open the door to totalitarian rule." Sorrell was recently kidnapped and beaten because of his leadership in the movie strike.

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

Wed. 3-26-47

Rogge Assails House Un-American Body

By Ruby Cooper

CHICAGO, March 23.—A double-barreled attack on the House Un-American Activities Committee and the "Anti-Communist smokescreen" now covering the country was made here by O. John Rogge, former Assistant U. S. Attorney General.

Rogge addressed 400 persons here today at the 17th anniversary dinner of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee.

The House Un-American Activities Committee, Rogge charges, "is the greatest single threat to American civil liberties in the United States today." Wed. 3-26-47

"The committee wouldn't recognize un-American activities if they saw them," Rogge said, denouncing the committee's failure to investigate the Ku Klux Klan, the Columbians and other blatant, fascist groups. Daily Worker

While stating his own opposition to communism, Rogge charged that wealthy interests and fascists in the U. S. were creating "an anti-Communist smokescreen to hide the reaction which is taking place."

"Fascism didn't end with the war, it just reconverted," he said. He outlined "recommendations of soft treatment for Germany" and "the publication of new types of sleazy pamphlets attacking minority groups" as aspects of the reconversion. New York, N.Y.

The same influences in the U. S. which favored the Hitler regime now favor "soft treatment" for Germany, Rogge declared.

"The same crowd that was playing with Germany in 1939 is advocating a strong Germany now."

"Our large wealthy interests have too much to say about policies after this war just as they did after the last one," he added.

CALL TRUMAN DOCTRINE THREAT TO NEGRO PEOPLE

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

The civil liberties of the Negro people are gravely threatened by the Truman Plan for worldwide intervention and by the "anti-Communist" witch-hunt accompanying the plan.

Negro Communist Party leaders made this warning yesterday in a statement calling upon Negroes to take an active part in the fight to restore democratic sanity to American public affairs. Sun. 4-6-47

"Our freedom to think and act on issues affecting the welfare of our people has been jeopardized by President Truman's proposal to Congress" for the so-called "loans" to Greece and Turkey, the statement said. Supporting this charge was the reminder that the witch-hunt was part of the scheme to put the loans across.

"Unless checked now, these imperialist expansion policies abroad will be the smokescreen to destroy democracy at home and to usher in a Fascist regime."

The loan proposals were made on March 12, the statement noted. The "anti-Communist" follow-up was not delayed long:

"The President's 'loyalty-screening' Executive Order issued ten days later, on March 22, is another part of the same trend. It can only result in a witch-hunt among present and future federal employees. Any Negro or white person who fights against Jim-crow status quo can be ruled 'subversive' and legally barred from employment. Sun. 4-6-47

"The sworn upholders of the.

—New Pamphlet—

'What You Should Know About the Communists'

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Mon. 3-31-47

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is publishing this week a new pamphlet, What You Should Know About the Communists—Who They Are—What They Believe In—What They Fight For (price 3 cents), in connection with its recruiting drive aimed at reaching 100,000 members before the end of 1947.

What You Should Know About the Communists is planned specifically to help recruiters answer the questions of progressives who for one reason or another have never joined the Communist Party. This pamphlet analyzes these reasons one by one. It clarifies the role of the Party in the struggles in which all anti-fascists today have a life-and-death stake. New York, N.Y.

Addressed primarily to workers and other progressives in unions and mass organizations who have incomplete or distorted views about the Communist Party, the pamphlet opens with the question: "Are you a Communist? Don't be startled. You may be one without knowing it." Daily Worker

What You Should Know About the Communists asks only that the readers should not judge the Communist Party by reports spread by its enemies. It then explains the immediate and long-range aims of the Party, pointing out that the permanent achievement of the aims for which progressives fight can be gained only through socialism. On this basis the pamphlet makes a forthright and convincing appeal to such progressives to join up and hely fight reaction effectively. Daily Worker

New Century Publishers will handle national distribution of What You Should Know About the Communists. Mon. 3-31-47

Constitution could by-pass its safeguards on the excuse that they were acting on executive order. The Negro people would be the first and worst sufferers."

The statement was signed by:

Benjamin J. Davis, Henry Winston, Claudia Jones, Abner W. Berry, William L. Patterson, Rose Gaulden, Doxey Wilkerson, Josh Lawrence, Pettis Perry, James E. Jackson, Ray Hansbrough, James W. Ford, Claude Lightfoot, Charles Loman, Audley Moore, Robert Campbell, Theodore Bassett, Charles Evans, Howard Johnson, Bonita Williams, Anthony Morton, William Taylor, Ben Careathers, Tom Nabried, Abe Lewis, Christopher C. Alston, Gerald Boyd and Herbert Wheeldin.

Notables Defend Communist Rights

Daily Worker

More than 100 prominent individuals yesterday called upon Congress to defeat the various "exceptional and punitive measures directed against the Communist Party," now in the hands of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Signers of the letter include Thomas Mann, Franklin P. Adams, Vincent Sheean, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College, Mr. and Mrs. Sherwood Eddy, Mrs. Margaret Sanger Slee, Jo Davidson, Garson Kanin, Libby Holman and Dean Walter G. Mudder of Boston Universcity School of Theology.

"Legislation such as that proposed by Congressmen Rankin, Sheppard, Hartley, Parnell Thomas and McDonough follows the Hitler pattern," the signers declared in a letter to House Speaker Joseph Martin, released by the Civil Rights Congress. New York, N.Y.

"The Communist Party is a legal American political party. We see nothing in its program, record or activities, either in war or peace to justify the enactment of the repressive legislation now being urged upon the Congress in an atmosphere of an organized hysteria." Wed. 4-16-47

Among the other signers of the letter are Samuel L. M. Barlow, Sholem Asch, Elmer A. Benson, former Governor of Minnesota; Prof. S. P. Breckinridge, University of Chicago; Zlatko Balokovic, Professors Archibald Cox, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana and F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard University; Prof. J. Frank Dobie, University of Texas, Adolf Dehn.

Also, Mayor Cornelius D. Scully, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Charles Houston, attorney Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City; Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Howard Fast, Dr. Harry F. Ward, John Howard Lawson, Agnes Smedley, Rev. Charles F. McLennan, Cleveland, O.; Arthur Miller, Artur Schnabel, Dashiell Hammett, and Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president, Palmer Memorial Institute.

Also, Max Weber, William Jay Schieffelin, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Bishop W. Y. Bell, Cordele, Ga.; Matthew Josephson, historian; Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan, Miami, Fla.; Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia attorney; Prof. Malcolm Sharp, University of Chicago Law School; George Marshall and Milton Kaufman, Civil Rights Congress. 4-16-47

(Titles and institutions for identification only.) Wed

Noted Citizens Rap Attack on Communists

The Worker N.Y. Sun. 4-20-47

The Worker
Sun. 4-20-47

Opposing all legislation that would curtail the civil rights of Communists, more than 100 prominent individuals called upon Congress to defeat the various "exceptional and punitive measures directed against the Communist Party," now in the hands of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"We consider the Rankin bill and all similar legislation a threat to the civil liberties of the entire American people almost without parallel in our history," they declared in a letter to Joseph M. Martin, speaker of the House, and released by the Civil Rights Congress. "It is a flagrant violation of the rights guaranteed all citizens under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and especially reserved to all minority parties and groups."

New York, N.Y.

Signers of the letter include Thomas Mann, Franklin P. Adams, Vincent Sheean, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College, Mr. and Mrs. Sherwood Eddy, Mrs. Margaret Sanger Slee, Jo Davidson, Garson Kanin, Libby Holman and Dean Walter G. Mudder of Boston University School of Theology.

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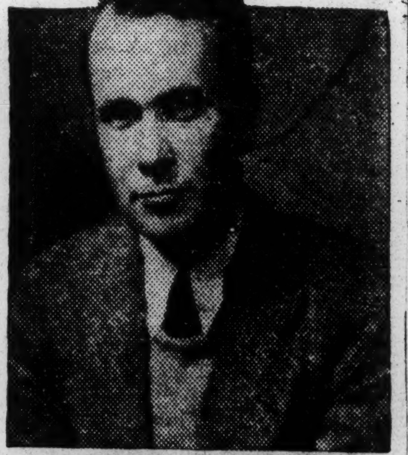
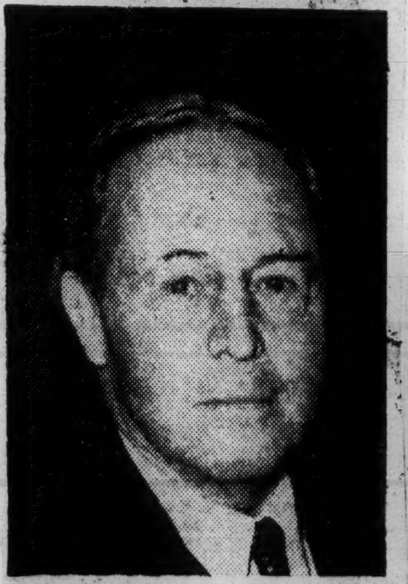
Also, Max Weber, William Jay Schieffelin, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Bishop W. Y. Bell, Cordele Ga.; Matthew Josephson, historian; Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan, Miami, Fla.; Francis Fisher Kane, Philadelphia attorney; Professor Malcolm Sharp, University of Chicago Law School; George Marshall and Milton Kaufman, Civil Rights Congress.

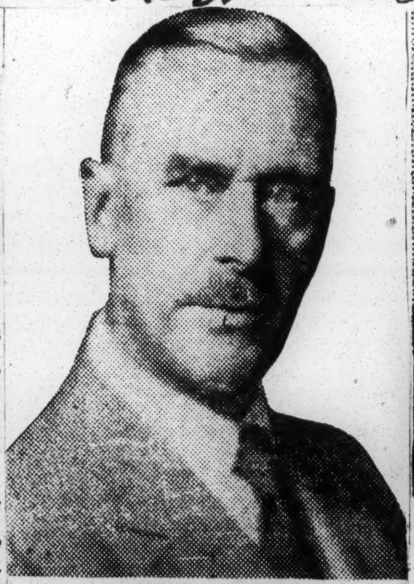


VINCENT SHEEAN

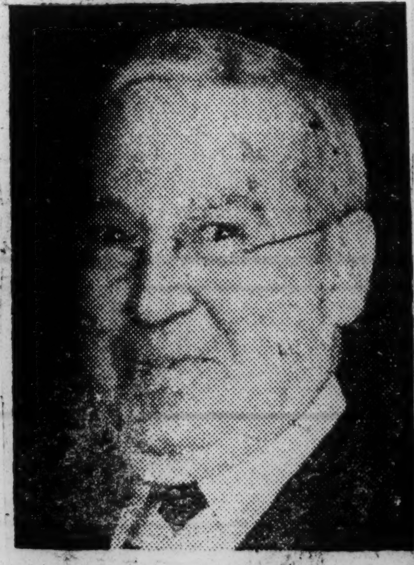


WILLIAM JAY SCHIEFFELIN

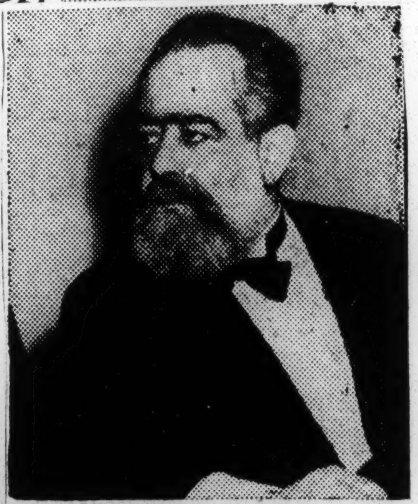
ROSCOE DUNJEE



THOMAS MANN



MAYOR SCULLY



JO DAVIDSON

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 5-3-47

UNDERCOVER MAN — Archer Drew, detective on New York City's "red squad," testified that he knew Carl Aldo Marzani as "Comrade Tony," a national committeeman of the Communist Party.

37d 1947

Communist

37d

RALPH McGILL

The Commies Have Come To Town

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga

Homer Bates Chase, an Eastern Communist who has used other names and whose real name is not yet at hand, is in Atlanta to set up headquarters for organization. Fri 4-4-47

This is the first time Georgia has been given a State organizer, Birmingham having long been the Communist headquarters for Southern organization. It remains Southern headquarters.

There is no need for alarm at the presence of the latest Communist in our midst. His presence serves to illustrate why the Communist party should not be outlawed. That would drive them underground.

We want them out in the open.

We have plenty on the newest comrade, all of which will be presented later on. At present it seems best merely to announce his arrival, of a few days ago. He currently is seeking a place to live and when he gets that it will be made known.

Record He is an experienced Communist from the East, skilled in various forms of sabotage. He is being checked for a criminal record.

What we need to do with Communists is to keep the spotlight on them.

What we need to know about Communists is that they are not loyal to this country. Their first loyalty is to the Soviet Union. They are enemies of this country and must be watched as such.

The proper law is not outlawing them—but requiring them to register as alien agents.

So much, for the present, about Communist Chase.

Local labor organizations are informed of his presence. Their present plans also are known.

We may expect the Communists to agitate the race question when and where they can.

This means that the Atlanta and DeKalb police forces must be on the alert.

Plans They will attempt to make suckers of the police by forcing them into some act of violence, or brutality, against a Negro. The fact that some police in every city seem to like to do such a thing has made the Communist job easier.

The Communists, who manage to infiltrate into the Southern Conference for Human Welfare enough to lead it into some fellow-traveling, especially with the admittedly Communist Negro Congress, is a sample.

They will try what they can to divide local labor unions, seeking to get a secret member, or fellow traveler, into some of the smaller unions in some capacity as secretary or chairman of an important policy-making committee.

There will be some local agitation to join certain "letterhead," high-sounding organizations, usually featuring the word "Democracy."

These organizations usually are not difficult to spot.

They denounce American and British policy while always accepting Soviet policy.

Constitution

They insist on the guarantees of personal liberty in the United States, but praise the Soviet Union as a nation of free peoples.

Commies This does not mean you must be an enemy of the Soviet Union. You don't. The Communists like to create that sort of situation. They delight in the fact that many Americans foolishly charge one another with being Communists. We need to work out a peaceful relationship with Russia, just as Gen. Marshall now is trying to do in the Moscow conference.

But, we don't have to accept the Communist line. Nor do we have to accept the foolishness that the Soviet system permits personal liberty.

Friday 4-4-47

And we don't have to play the Communist game by calling every person a Communist who thinks Negroes have rights and that poverty is wrong and evil and the worst enemy our system has fighting against it.

Chase isn't the first Communist visitor. During the recent legislative fight a mild, sincere little person, a young lady of South Carolina farm people, covered the proceedings for the Daily Worker. She attended Agnes Scott for two years but left there with no social emotions. She did not turn to Communism until she left Radcliff College at Boston. She is one of the naive toilers in the Communist hive, utterly sincere, and blindly unaware of the fact she is one of the many suckers whom the top Communist planners regard with contempt.

There is no need to feel any concern about the appearance of comrade Chase. The Commies have been busy in Alabama, Florida and Louisiana for almost 20 years and must have a good 500 members for their efforts, of whom a probable 100 work at it, so to speak. It is good to know he is here. We'll keep an eye on him.

Georgia, incidentally, has about 20 persons regarded as Communists and fellow travelers. The FBI knows them.

So, be just as calm as you were.

There is a lot to be done to make this a better America. There are wicked wrongs and injustices to be corrected. And we have got to do it.

There isn't anything wrong the Commies can fix.

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER

~~Atlanta Constitution~~

37d

McGill's Answer to Communism

(The following editorial appeared this week in The Montgomery Advertiser following an appearance by Constitution Editor Ralph McGill in the Alabama Capital.)

Ralph McGill, of The Atlanta Constitution, whom we regard as the South's Number One newspaper editor, offered the soundest American doctrine, the best answer to Communism that we ever heard, last night before the convention of the Alabama Conference of Social Work.

A man who speaks even more impressively than he writes, for the reason that his personality reflects such powerful conviction, McGill offered a simple but long-ignored solution to Communism.

"The evil flower of Communism grows only in the earth of discontent and misery," he said. "There is no greater lie or disservice to our country than to say that there are people who like to live in filth and wretchedness and disease. The adults may be past redemption or hope, though I will not admit it, but what of their children? In what will they believe?

Atlanta, Ga.

"In 1945 and again in 1946 I was appalled by the poverty and misery of the peoples in the Middle East. Caught in a feudal system, illiterate to a degree beyond belief, they nevertheless have heard vaguely that there is in Russia someone interested in misery. That propaganda has been skilfully presented. It rebounded upon its maker when the Russian soldiers saw in the Balkans and in Austria that their country was not really the worker's paradise they had been told it was. But everywhere there is misery and chaos you will find people willing to try something else that will work better than what they have. . ."

4-4-47

McGill told how he visited Americans building railroads in Persia, and asked how well the Iranians worked. "Well," he was told, "you know it is remarkable. Once they make enough money to eat, they develop into good steady workers."

Friday

The Atlanta editor said the same thing is true in China, in India, and in many corners of the world where rulers today are afraid of Communism—and with reason. So far, the rulers have offered nothing better than Communism, and they do well to fear.

"So, I do not understand the opposition to comprehensive welfare programs from those who have the most to lose," McGill declared. "And I do not understand why they are not among the forefront in demanding better pay and better teachers for our public schools . . . What fools we have been, who believe in the American system, to so degrade the teaching profession and the physical plants of our schools with poverty that we have muddled the wellsprings of our national life to the point that teachers are quitting what seems to them to be a sinking ship, leaving behind confusion and distrust and doubt.

"Jefferson wrote in 1816—'If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.' It disturbs me, as it should disturb the gentlemen who fear for the future of this country, but still want to ignore the social needs of it, that our educational level, in your state and mine, is about fifth grade . . . that the average Deep South Southerner has no more education than that."

McGill showed that what many people regard as "good government" is really just improved administration, without any help for the basic wants, needs, and lacks of the average person. He said that good government to thousands of people "means not fine words and administrative reforms —it means a pension for their mothers and fathers who are old and a burden on their income. It means an operation for a crippled child or help for a blind person. It means a chance at medical care. It means something they can feel and see."

McGill said a man complained to him that a lot of people had come to blame the government whenever they developed a toothache. McGill asked the man if the people might not be right. He cited Selective Service statistics which showed that we had "thousands of young men in the very flower of their youth who, because of bad teeth, hernias, long-infected tonsils, malnutrition and other lacks, were unfit for military service. All this in addition to our great number of men who could not read or write."

"Now," McGill asked, "would it not have been cheaper and more economical for the taxpayer of this nation had all these people who were too poor to pay or too ignorant to know how to take care of themselves, been provided through a free enterprise system with adequate health care? Would not there have been more faith and enthusiasm for the American way of life than there now is?"

The Advertiser wants to say, "Thanks for coming over to Alabama, Ralph McGill. It is such voices as yours that some day will make people in Georgia, in Alabama, and all over the nation, see these truths that are so simple, yet so little used in the frantic desperation of the Twentieth Century."

Fri 4-4-47

Three Cheers for McGill

The Constitution

Mon. 4-7-47

Editor of Constitution: The articles exposing Communism and its members are simply interesting and super-wonderful. Its philosophy is hated by real Americans in this Country, and among lots of other people in Europe. They tell the truth about this new cancerous order; let us have more and more information on this topic. Let good and true Americans realize and understand the difference between Democracy and Communism, and that American Democracy is the "foremost and best" form of government on earth, no matter what the Reds might think or say.

Atlanta, Ga.

LEONARD PENNISI.

Head of Wisc. Catholic Knights Defends Rights of Communists

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

Wed. 3-26-47

Special to the Daily Worker

MILWAUKEE, Wis., March 24.—Joseph F. Walsh, president of the Catholic Knights of Wisconsin, condemned the Schwellenbach proposal to outlaw the Communist Party as a violation of the right of "free speech, free assemblage and free elections." In a letter to the **Milwaukee Journal**, Walsh wrote:

"I would defend with my life the right of free citizenry to advocate communism or any other form of government wherein they use the secret ballot to change the government. But if this right is denied them by any act of the State Legislature or the Congress of the United States, I would agree with Jefferson and others that those who have been disfranchised have a right in defense of their opinions to resort to any means to regain those rights."

The Catholic Knights of Wisconsin is the largest fraternal organization in the state.

Congressman Kean Defends CP's Rights

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Wed. 3-26-47

Special to the Daily Worker

NEWARK, March 24.—In letters replying to his constituents, Rep. Robert W. Kean (R-NJ) said he agreed the Communist Party "should not be outlawed." He declared his policy is "to allow anyone to advocate and changes in our form of government as long as it is done through constitutional methods."

RALPH McGILL

A Commie Writes in Protest

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

(A letter of protest from Georgia's Communist organizer is so revealing of the Communist methods of confusing double talk that it is, as per his request, cheerfully reproduced. There will be further discussion of this tomorrow.)

Thurs. 4-10-47

"Your column of April 4 concerning the Communist Party and myself contains so many crude lies and outright distortions that it is difficult to answer in one letter. I will do my best and rely on the intelligence of the readers to ascertain for themselves that which I omit.

"My full name is Homer Bates Chase. You are not telling the truth when you state that I have ever used other names. This falsehood in itself is pointless, for many Americans have given outstanding service to this country while using names other than that by which they were born. For example, I can mention John Paul Jones, Mark Twain, O. Henry, Al Simmons, and Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of our party. This first falsehood appears pointless and meaningless except as a base for more serious falsehoods.

"You state, 'We have plenty on the newest comrade, all of which will be presented later on.' Only the lowest of the low in the newspaper field, such as William Randolph Hearst, use this form of slander. Tell the truth, Mr. McGill, if you had anything derogatory to say about me you would have said it in your April 4 issue instead of making up those silly lies.

Sabotage

"You state, 'He is an experienced Communist from the East, skilled in various forms of sabotage.' Here you pick on a half-truth and distort it into another slander and lie. I was trained in various forms of 'sabotage' in the Parachute Training School in Fort Benning, Georgia. I, together with thousands of other paratroopers, used this information on March 24, 1945, in a parachute jump by the 17th Airborne, five miles behind the German lines near Wesel, Germany. I was a member of Charley Company, 513th Infantry, at that time. I am certain, regardless of what you think, that the vast majority of Negro and white citizens of Georgia will not share your hysterical fear because of my parachute training.

The Constition

"You state, 'He is being checked for a criminal record.' Why didn't you check before you wrote that column? I have no criminal record. It is necessary to state here that no member of the Communist Party in the USA has ever been convicted of force or violence against the Government of the United States. Our party condemned and opposed Herman Talmadge's use of force and violence to secure the office of Governor.

Atlanta, Ga.

Hitler

"Mr. McGill, one wonders whether you will be given a choice seat on the Red-baiting bandwagon. My personal opinion is that Hearst, Hoover, McCormick, Hitler's ghost, and Herman Talmadge will probably give you a rear seat on the bandwagon. A glance at Hitler's tactics, and Hitler was a classic example of the Red-baiter and what happens to him, shows that the reactionaries and Fascists first curb the civil liberties of the Communists and then turn on the genuine liberals as well as the weak-kneed liberals, of which you are one.

"You ask us to register as alien agents. Since we are not liars and distorters we cannot do this. The Communist Party of the USA has made great contributions to the welfare of this country and proved its Americanism by the record. Let's look at the record for a moment. . . . Fifteen thousand of our members served in World War II and many Communists received decorations and commendations in every theater of the war. The Communist Party first took up the fight for the Scottsboro boys and helped to win this great victory for the Negro people and all freedom-loving people throughout the world. The Communist Party of the USA first raised the demand for unemployment insurance in this country and fought for that demand in the historic unemployed demonstrations of the early '30s. The weak-kneed liberals laughed at us at that time, but later on, I am glad to say, some of them gained strength and joined in the struggle. The Communist Party put forth the candidacy of Hon. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Atlanta-born Negro City Councilman of New York, and he was overwhelmingly re-elected by Negro and white citizens of New York. To conclude on this point, those who seek the truth will find that we Communists have been and are amongst the best fighters for Roosevelt's democratic program of economic reform and progress as well as Roosevelt's program of Big Three unity now under attack by Truman and the Republicans.

Thurs. 4-10-47

In Georgia

"The Communist Party of Georgia is needed in Georgia; that is why we are here. We can and will make a contribution in the fight against Talmadge's Fascist white supremacy attacks on democratic government. We will build our party under any and all conditions. We will speak more openly when the jobs and civil liberties of all Georgians are guaranteed regardless of their nationality or political belief. That such is not now the case is demonstrated by the recent events in DeKalb County, in Truman's thought purge against Government employees, in Walton County last Summer, and in brutal attacks against both CIO and AFL labor organizers in Georgia. I suggest, Mr. McGill, that your time would be better spent in securing these civil liberties rather than concocting fantasies which are not original with you, but were perfected by that master Red-baiter, Adolf Hitler.

"Red-baiting confuses the main issue. The enemy of the people of Georgia is Wall Street and its political henchman, Herman Talmadge. Wall Street owns 85 percent of the productive resources of Georgia and stirs up hatred between the working white and Negro people in order to continue their exploitation of this State. The Communists believe that a program based on Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights, supported by both Negro and white, is what is needed in Georgia today. The Communist Party of Georgia, together with all progressive Georgians, will continue the fight against Wall Street. In the course of this struggle the people of Georgia will learn who are their friends and who are their enemies, and which side the Red-baiters are on.

Thurs. 4-10-47

"Yours truly,

"HOMER B. C ASE,
"District Organizer Communist Par eorgia."

THOMAS L. STOKES

The Way To Fight Communism

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 4-15-47

WASHINGTON—Of late there has been considerable excitement over Communism and ways to combat it—both at home and in the world at large. A basic approach that appeals through its realism, practicality and sanity is the improvement of our own processes of democracy so that the Communist philosophy can offer no attraction to any segment of our people. That, of itself, will be an encouraging model to people elsewhere who are struggling now to attain democracy.

One of the essentials in democracy is education. In the first instance, education goes back to the teachers of our boys and girls. There is, therefore, a direct relation between teachers and the preservation of our democracy.

For that reason they must be recognized as an important element in our democratic process. To that end, they must be provided for adequately so that teaching will attract those best fitted, men and women with breadth, vision and understanding and capable of leadership. Their economic welfare is a real concern for democracy.

It has not been so. This has been vividly dramatized in recent weeks by publication of statistics showing how pitiably low are the salaries we pay teachers. This condition has forced many of them to seek other means of livelihood and also has caused groups of them here and there to resort to strikes to protect themselves.

THE PLIGHT of the nation's teachers again will become a subject for earnest attention at a conference here this week sponsored by the National Education Association, in which will participate representatives of some 60 organizations ranging from labor to bankers and including education, churches, farmers, business and civic groups.

The concern of conservative elements in our society with the pay and working conditions of teachers is indicated by some of the groups represented at this conference and by the interest of such conservative political leaders as Sen. Robert A. Taft, Republican, Ohio, sponsor of a bill for Federal aid to education.

Significant in this connection is an appeal for business to interest itself in better pay and working conditions for teachers. The appeal is being widely circulated in full-page advertisements in leading newspapers by James H. McGraw, Jr., President of McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, which issues many important business and trade journals.

Tues. 4-15-47

"THE CRISIS in education," Mr. McGraw says, "is a crisis for the nation as a whole. The work of our schools, colleges and libraries is such that its deterioration means deterioration of the nation.

"However, the salary crisis in education is in special measure a crisis for the business community. That community has a special stake in having a well-educated and well-disposed constituency.

"There may be room for disagreement as to whether teachers should organize themselves in trade unions, and follow trade union tactics. However, there is no conceivable room for disagreement as to whether organization of teachers into a fighting economic pressureg roup under the lash of a teachers' salary would be a body blow to business. Among many teachers it would foster an abiding hostility to the institution of business which, occupying a key position in the life of the community, had not done its utmost to make such unionization unnecessary by taking a lead in relieving the teachers' salary crisis."

He said: "We worry, and I think rightly, about having the free world engulfed by Russian Communism. According to the best figures available, the USSR is spending about twice as large a share of its total national income for education as we are. The figures compared include our expenditures for both public and private education. That comparison is really something to worry about."

He concluded that "the intelligent self-interest of business requires that it leave nothing undone to meet and master the crisis in education."

Tues. 4-15-47

37d 1947 Communist

'American Youth for Democracy' Called College Trojan Horse of Reds

The Courier-Journal

Louisville, Ky.

House Committee Urges Expose

Wed. 4-15-47

> "It is indeed a training school for lawlessness. Its methods are underhanded and devious, in line with the Trojan-horse policy initiated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International."

Washington, April 15 (AP)—The House Committee on Un-American Activities declared today that "the specter of communism stalks our college campuses, masked under the cloak of the American Youth for Democracy." It called on State Governors and school heads for a thorough expose of the organization.

Sponsors Are Named.

The committee, in a lengthy blast against A.Y.D., said that "gracing various A.Y.D. entertainments, meetings and campaigns, or contributing to its magazine, Spotlight, is the usual list of sponsors which are invariably found supporting the Communist Party and its front organizations."

It said the list includes such names as Paul Robeson, Edward G. Robinson, Col. Evans F. Carlson, "Zero" Mostel, Lt. Com. Charles S. Seely, U. S. Navy (retired), and Joseph E. Davies.

The House group also urged a rigid investigation of "the inimical objectives of the Communist Party in America."

'Methods Underhanded.'

In a report to the House, the committee said A.Y.D. had headquarters in New York City—formerly located at 13 Astor Place "in the same building with a number of other Communist-controlled organizations"—and claimed 60 chapters in colleges in 14 states and a total membership of 16,194.

It is "neither American nor democratic in its origin or purposes," the committee said, adding: Wed. 4-15-47

"Manipulated by shrewd and specially trained organizers operating in a narrow circle behind the scenes, it endeavors to exploit to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, the inexperience, and the craving to join, which is so characteristic of our college youth.

"Behind a veil of a multitude of high-sounding slogans, one is conscious of a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against the college authorities, and against the American Government itself.

'Communist Front' Groups Listed

By Lyle C. Wilson

United Press Staff Correspondent

3-26-47 Wed

WASHINGTON, Mar. 26.—The Justice Department's basic list of 11 Communist front or penetrated organizations to which Government employes may belong only at peril of losing their jobs turned up today in an old copy of the *Congressional Record.* New York, N.Y. P.M. New York, N.Y.

Atty. Gen. Tom C. Clark was ordered by President Truman last week to compile such lists of totalitarian, Fascist, Communist or subversive outfits to enable the Government to check the membership, affiliation or sympathies of its employes with them. Such membership affiliation or sympathy would be a factor in determining the employe's loyalty. 3-26-47 Wed.

The Justice Dept. compiled the *Congressional Record* list about five years ago and circulated it among government agencies marked "strictly confidential." The UP was informed that it still stands. The department still does not know who passed it on to a member of Congress to be inserted in the *Record.* The memoranda repeatedly emphasize that some innocent persons were sucked into most of the Communist fronts. P.M.

Here Are the Organizations:

New York, N.Y. 3-26-47 Wed.

American League Against War and Fascism, American League for Peace and Democracy, American Peace Mobilization and American People's Mobilization. These four are listed together because they succeeded each other as front organizations in the order named, tracing in their development from some time prior to 1937 into 1942. Of the American Peace Mobilization the Justice Dept. memorandum said:

"American Peace Mobilization was former in the Summer of 1940 under auspices of the Communist Party as a 'front' organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany. Its existence terminated within a month after the German invasion of Russia when it became American People's Mobilization and adopted a program favoring complete assistance to Britain, Russia and China."

American Youth Congress

Of this organization the department said: "It was originated in 1934 and since its inception has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth."

League of American Writers

The department memo said: "The League of American Writers was founded under Communist auspices in 1935. . .at a congress of American revolutionary writers held in New York City. In 1939. . .most of the non-Communists disaffiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to it."

National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners and National Committee for People's Rights. P.M. New York, N.Y.

The department said: "For a number of years past the NCDPP or NCPR (they apparently are interchangeable) has been infiltrated and controlled by the Communist Party." 3-26-47

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

The department said: "The NFCL is part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters among those who never would affiliate themselves openly with the party."

National Negro Congress

The department said: "Earl Browder (former head of Communists in this country) testified before the Dies Committee that it (NNC) functions as a 'transmission belt' for the Communist Party."

Washington, D. C., Co-operative Bookshop

3-26-47

The Department submitted what it termed evidence of Communist penetration or control of this organization. The memo said that mere patrons of the bookshop were not necessarily suspected of Communist sympathies although investigation of its administration was warranted.

Washington, D. C., Committee For Democratic Action

The department described this as an affiliate of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Of the latter, a departmental memo said: "The National Federation presents also the principle of interlocking leadership common to Communist-front and penetrated organizations. Some members of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action may be unaware of its Communist control. 3-26-47

It is understood that in addition to the foregoing there will be listed other organizations in existence when these were named and, further, some which have been set up since 1942.

Playing the Commies' Game

The Constitution

Here in Georgia there is going on a little by-play in the game played by the Commies to which we think it well to direct a bit of attention.

The greatest little helpers the Communists in this country have are those Congressmen, pamphleteers, speakers and even private citizens who so eagerly smear fellow Americans with the word "Communist." Atlanta, Ga.

The Communists delight to help bring this about. Thurs. 4-17-47

They create high-sounding organizations, featuring the words "democracy" and "freedom," persuade well-meaning persons to serve as officers and then employ it as a Communist front, because the Commies always write the letters and head the committees.

There is another little scheme and it is the one being worked in Atlanta, with union labor members and some unaffiliated citizens as the prospective goats.

A Communist weekly paper called "The Worker," which is published by the "Daily Worker" outfit, is being mailed to several hundred persons, probably 1,000, that being the customary starting number. These persons have not asked for the paper. They do not pay for it. Few of them will think to write and ask it be stopped. Even so, it likely would not be stopped. Some few take the precaution of indicating a copy of their notification requesting stoppage is going to the FBI. Then it stops. Thurs 4-17-47

Later on, the Commies will manage to get some silly Congressman, hot on the hunt for publicity as a red-baiter, to put his hands on this list—and others like it in other cities. These persons will then be embarrassed by being on a Communist mailing list. Now, one cannot very well keep off a mailing list; yet such an innocent appearance has brought smears from the witch-hunters.

The Atlanta Constitution will never bait "Reds." But it will seek to keep the spotlight on them—as well as on those who play the Communist game by denouncing any liberal as a "Communist."

Outlaw Communist Party, Bar Reds From Office, Schwellenbach Urges

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, March 11—(UP)—Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach told Congress bluntly Tuesday the Communist Party should be outlawed in the United States to prevent its members from gaining high public office. Wed. 3-12-47

He was supported quickly by Chairman Fred A. Hartley, Jr., Republican, New Jersey, of the House Labor Committee, who said he would seek legal advice on how to write a ban into law. "Communists should be outlawed everywhere," he added.

Although the Party has been under sharp attack by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Atty. Gen. Tom C. Clark, Schwellenbach was the first high administration official to propose that the Party be exorcised.

It was not revealed whether his words had President Truman's prior indorsement.

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"You call him in, and he denies having attended that meeting. He denies he is a Communist. That's the first thing a Communist learns—to lie about being a Communist." 3-12-47 Wed.

Schwellenbach said the Labor Department has fired about six of its employees because they were Communists or Communist sympathizers.

Hartley called Communism "a menace to everything we hold dear."

Banning Communists from labor unions does not go far enough, he declared. "To ban them just from unions would be discriminatory. They should be outlawed everywhere."

He said Communists seem to could see no reason why Communists should be allowed to run for either political or trade union office when their purpose "is to destroy this Government."

He said that a bill by Rep. Gerana, to prevent Communists from holding official places in trade unions "does not go far enough." The ban, he added, should not be restricted to labor unions.

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"Theoretically I agree with you entirely. But here's what we're up against. We get a report from the FBI which says Operator 63, have crept into "rural co-operatives as well as unions."

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Herzog also warned against legislation to overturn the Supreme Court decision holding that foremen are entitled to collective bargaining rights under the Wagner Act. Rep. Clare E. Hoffman, Republican, Michigan, announced he would support such legislation.

But Herzog said that removal of some 5,000,000 supervisory workers from provisions of the Act would force them to "resort to self-help and strikes to achieve recognition, as was done by other employees before passage of the Wagner Act." Wed. 3-12-47

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The Negro People Remember

37

The Worker New York N.Y.

By ABNER W. BERRY

Sun 4-27-47

A NEGRO minister, speaking at a rally protesting the assault on the Negro community in Columbia, Tennessee, summed up the Negro people's position in a simple story He had listened to a Communist speaker and when called upon elected to tell his story. Sun. 4-27-4

"My speech," he began, "will have to be in the form of a story. Once upon a time a man was beating me unmercifully. He was larger than I was and I had to call for help from my neighbors. I'll call the man a Republican. My next-door neighbor, whom I shall call a Democrat, heard my cries. He came to the gate and saw my predicament and began rubbing his hands, clucking his tongue and muttering. 'That's too bad. It's a shame. It's against the law too.'

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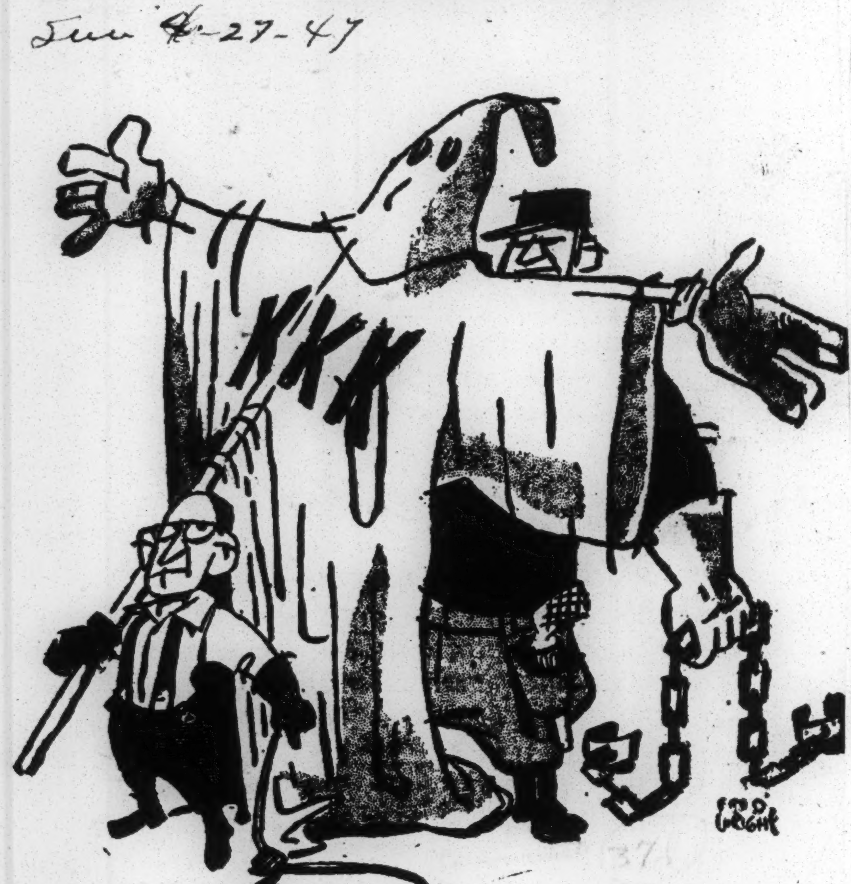
This minister chose to sum up his life and belief by telling this story. He had remembered East St. Louis, in 1917, where the Negro community had been fired by hoodlums and where many families were shot as they sought to escape the flames. He remembered that in Washington, Chicago, Omaha and at Elaine, Arkansas, following World War I, Negroes were attacked and their own protests drowned out by slanderers.

The old man remembered how they had forced the Negro back into "his place" with rope and gun and faggot. He had felt alone. He had prayed

But when the attack came at Columbia—that was different. Now the Negro didn't "shove into place" so easily. He was not alone now. He had allies, and the Communist Party, as it had done with the Scottsboro Case, was fighting not only in defense of the victims but also for the freedom of a people from future attack.

The enemy was the same—the Bourbon, the Republican boss of finance, the Klan, the racist, all of those who benefit from cheap Negro labor. But the friends were different. And they were more militant and more numerous. And wiser in the fight.



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On that May Day 15 years ago Scottsboro rang around the world. The State Department was worried and asked the Justice Department for a full accounting of the case. And all of this started when the Communist Party and its friends and supporters had yelled, "Stop!" at the would-be executioners of innocent Negroes.

Not only were the Scottsboro boys being defended, but the rights of the Negro people in America became the battlecry of the world's workers. May Day was the platform from which the slogans were shouted, slogans that were heard in Congress, the White House and in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The minister—the Negro people—was not alone. He had found an ally who did more than cluck his tongue. He did something to stop the lynchings, the tortures, the oppressions. That ally was the working class. And the working class found also an ally in the Negro people. The Communist Party sparked the development.

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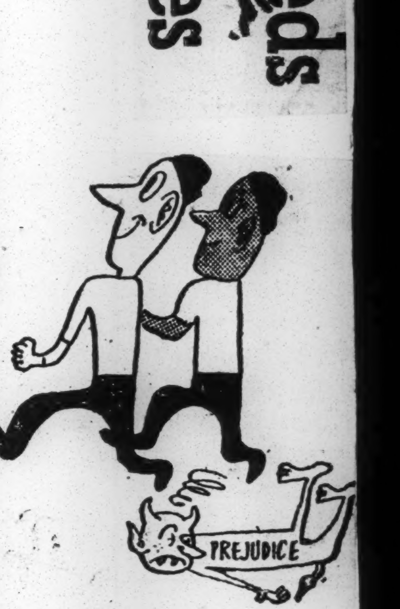
I am sure that the Flint Negro minister remembering this will march on May Day if there is a parade in his town.



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Constitution

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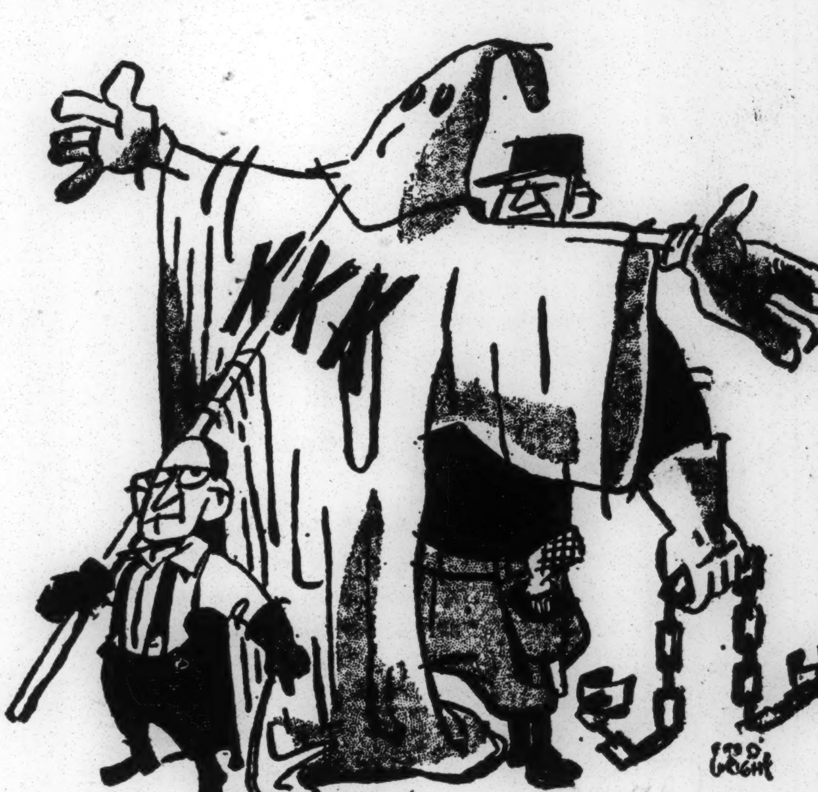
The Negro People Remember

378

The Worker New York N.Y.

By ABNER W. BERRY

Sun 4-27-47



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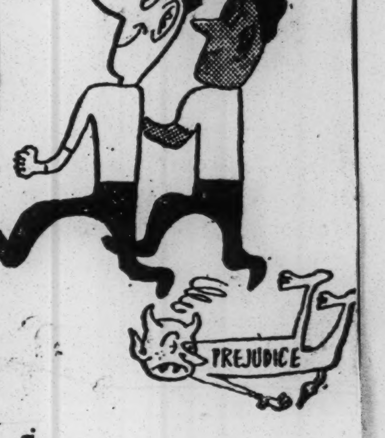

37d 1947

Communist

Enemies of Democracy

Constitution

It is interesting to note that the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians, as well as the Communist Party and numerous other organizations—11 schools among them—are included in the list of 90 groups whose loyalty to the United States is deemed questionable by Atty. Gen. Tom Clark. 37d Atlanta, Ga.

The Attorney General's list of subversive organizations was prepared under direction of President Truman's executive order establishing a loyalty board to investigate Government employees. The board will use the list in weeding out undesirables, but the Attorney General emphasized that membership in any of the organizations could not be accepted as conclusive proof of disloyalty.

"Guilt by association has never been one of the principles of our American jurisprudence," Mr. Clark said, adding, "We must be satisfied that reasonable grounds exist for concluding that an individual is disloyal. That must be the guide. 12-22-47 Mon

Obviously, the Attorney General is just as anxious as is President Truman that loyalty investigations shall not be in the nature of witch hunts.

But neither is the list of possible subversive organizations complete. It does not, as the Attorney General said, "represent a complete or final docket. For example, a number of small and local organizations are not listed. As to many organizations not named, the present available information is insufficient to warrant a final determination as to their character."

Mon. 12-22-47

Presumably, then, investigations of groups will continue and other organizations will be added to the list as their character becomes clearly defined.

In addition to the Columbians and the Ku Klux, the much-discussed American Youth for Democracy is included on the list. A few of the others are Committee to Aid the Fighting South, Southern Negro Youth Conference (both listed as affiliates of the Communist Party), National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the Civil Rights Congress.

It is notable, we think, that the Ku Klux Klan and other like organizations were placed on the list. Even though they are the very antithesis of Communism, the Ku Kluxers and their kind aim at totalitarianism. And whether it be of the Communistfc or Fascistic variety, totalitarianism is the enemy of democracy.

Face to Face

Clark's police state list shows that native fascism travels under false colors

The Worker
New York, N.Y.

By BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

Sun. 12-14-47

37d

ANYTHING that Attorney General Tom Clark has to say in the nature of calling some one else subversive, is discredited from the very start. He, himself was born with a lynch rope in his hand in polltax Texas.

His police state list, directed obviously against anti-fascist organizations, Negro and white, marks him as number one subverter of the civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution which he is sworn to uphold. As such, he is unfit to be dog-catcher in Podunk, and really must go! Sun.

Few will be surprised at Tom Clark's personal assumption of the powers of a Hitler-like deity in deciding who and what is American, and who and what is subversive. Least of all will the Negro people be surprised. Polltaxers like Rankin, Bilbo and others have long concluded within their alleged minds that Negroes were "inferior," against all the best scientific experience of mankind—and the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding. Clark and Rankin—in competition with numerous pro-fascist Republicans—are now trying to impose the second-class status of Negro citizens upon all other Americans—according to their political or anti-fascist beliefs.

12-14-47

IF THE POLLTAXERS and semi-feudal landlords in the deep South had not been so long permitted to get away with their barbarous treatment of the Negro section of our citizenry, perhaps now they would not be so bold as to extend their Nuremburg decrees to other Americans.

Clark's police state list is intended to intimidate all who militantly fight back against the chains of fascist slavery which Wall Street and its Washington lick-spittles are trying to clamp upon this country. But he is very much in error. If the workers of France and Italy were not cowed into submission by the brown and black shirt occupiers of their country, and are not terrorized by the Marshall Plan, the Americans are no less courageous and love their country just as well.

All Clark is showing is how fast the native fascists are moving in America, and how rapidly, militantly and unitedly labor and the people—Negro and white—must fight back.

In a wave of revulsion, the people beat back the Administration's bi-partisan attempt to fascicize the country by outright legislative fiat, such as outlawing the Communist Party Now reaction is trying to get the same result in extra-legislative ways, without giving up the "legal-legislative" method also. In fact, now the crime is being committed in the name of "defending civil liberties and individual freedom."

12-14-47

TWO WEEKS AGO, this column wrote that "the report of the President's Civil Rights Committee could become a smokescreen for the establishment of fascism." Earlier, Communists pointed out that the Freedom Train—engineered by this same Tom Clark—was intended to hide the airplane speed with which Wall Street's fascist express was moving—in deeds. In New York, pro-fascist machine politicians, in the name of defending the City Council from so-called "agents of Moscow," were able to abolish the people's democratic chance of electing unbossed, progressive legislators. There are countless other examples.

The ideology of native fascism is seeking power not in the name of fascism, Nazism and Hitlerism, but behind a smokescreen of lush demagogy, empty words and hypocritical gestures, and behind the terms "free enterprise" and "Americanism" coming from the mouths of such men as Clark, Hearst, Rankin and Parnell Thomas.

VIEWS and ◆ Reviews ◆

Courier

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Pittsburgh, Pa.

37d

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

THE AFRAMERICAN so-called intelligentsia does not relish frequent reference to the manner in which a large section of this class has been roped into doing Moscow's bidding by U. S. Red strategists who have learned how to make them swallow the fallacy that Communists are friends of the Negro and sincerely desire to cure the just ills to which the colored brethren are heir.

In consequence, many of this upper class have grown rather sour on this writer because of the many exposes of their gullibility. However, I regard these enlightening discussions as a service to the vast majority of colored folk who are sceptical of the Red rumble-bumble and seek more light on the subject. Vitriolic letters from enraged fellow-travelers will not deter me.

* * *

FOR INSTANCE, I wish to discuss this week, my children, many recent events of importance to our folk on the Red front. You have heard, of course, that the National Negro Congress has "merged" with the Civil Rights Congress.

Both are Communist fronts so dubbed by Congress and the Attorney General of the United States. This "merger" really means that the Reds are quietly casting the National Negro Congress down the sewer from which it should never have emerged.

It is instructive to note that Party Organizer, Vol. VIII, No. 3, March, 1935, issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A., in discussing "How to Penetrate the Negro Organizations," said:

"In connection with the question of the united front on the Negro question—if we work properly now and see that we must penetrate these organizations, there is a possibility of setting up a National Negro Congress on a broad united front basis. We had a discussion about this reference in the New York District in which we discussed the Negro question, and the possibility of a National Negro Congress. If we make the

proper orientation, we will be able to build the biggest Congress of Negro people ever held."

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.

SURE ENOUGH it was not long afterward that the initial organization meeting was called in Chicago with a large contingent of white Comrades on hand to get things going. There was a sizable contingent of gullible Negro "intellectuals" on hand. The outfit was kept going by contributions from Left-wing CIO unions and soon A. Philip Randolph was hornswoggled into heading the organization whose prime purpose was really to undermine the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sat. 12-20-47

When Brother Randolph saw the Red light he cut out and the notorious follower of Communist lines, Max Yergan, succeeded him. The NNC failed to even approach within shouting distance of its goal, so now it has been decided by Red high command to ditch it and concentrating on boring from within the NAACP in the hope of capturing it. This may be possible because there are many Reds and Fellow-travelers among NAACP officialdom, although Walter White seems to be unaware of it.

* * *

A YEAR AGO the NNC initiated a petition to the United Nations wailing about the ills Negroes suffer in the United States. Every informed person knew it was done to help bolster the Russian propaganda campaign against the USA, and for that reason solely, because there was and is nothing the UN can do to aid American Negroes (or anybody else).

Came October of this year and the NAACP, which had just said four months previously at its Washington conference that all the Negro's problems here could be solved within the U. S. democratic framework, petitioned the United Nations, just as the Communist-front NNC had done a year previously. Of course, the petition was rejected by the UN.

Sensible comment came from Haitian representative, Herrard Roy, whom the New York TIMES Geneva representative quoted as saying that he was as anxious as anybody to dig into the Negro problem, but argued the futility of hearing petitions by a body that had neither the power to do anything nor the standards by which to consider what it ought to do.

* * *

OF COURSE everybody who knew anything at all about the charter of the United Nations knew this. Why didn't Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Earl Dickerson know it? Or did they know it and simply followed the Communist line laid down by the Red-controlled National Negro Congress a year earlier?

* * *

WHAT THE PETITION set forth about the Negro's status was largely true (although the presentation was biased and distorted) but what is the use of Negroes' squandering their limited resources fighting futile battles? Unless, of course, they are following the line of the National Negro Congress which was headed by Max Yergan until he resigned a few days before its demise.

Now thousands of Negroes of supposed education have been taken in by these Red-front tactics which they are too dull-witted, in the main, to understand. Unaware of what time it is in world politics, they persist in selling their safety for Red promises which are about as good as Confederate money.

They swear by PM (Pravda Minor), the phoney Southern Conference on Human Welfare, the Progressive Citizens of America, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the American Youth for Democracy and kindred Kremlin-controlled outfits which flatter them and use them. It is a sad state of affairs and would be more dangerous if these outfits had not failed to win over the mass of solid, intelligent Negro workers.

37d 1947 Communist (William O'Dell Nowell)

Why I Quit the Communists!

EDITOR'S NOTE:—William O'Dell Nowell of Detroit, Mich., a member of the Communist Party from 1929 to 1936, a former student of Communist International School for party workers in Moscow, Russia for a year and and a half,a high Communist party official for everal years and a former Comintern agent in in this country, was a key witness in the hearings conducted by the House Un-American Activities Committee into the activities of Gerhart Eisler. Since Eisler, a Comintern representative in America, was cited for contempt by the House of Representatives, Mr. Nowell has been closeted with a Federal Grand Jury, which is preparing a contempt indictment, and with the U. S. Attorney General. Because he sincerely feels that the Communist program is not organized in the best interests of the American Negro he has agreed to tell his story exclusively through The Pittsburgh Courier.

37½

By **WILLIAM O'DELL NOWELL**
as told to Lem Graves Jr.

(First in a Series)

BECAUSE OF MY PROFOUND CONVICTION that the program now being revived among Negroes in this country by the Communist party is inherently and explicitly dangerous to the American Negro, I have agreed to explain, for The Pittsburgh Courier and the mass of Negroes in America, my reasons for embracing the Communist ideology and my subsequent reasons for abandoning it. Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

I think we are facing a crisis in our National, racial, political and general social affairs. My experiences with the Communist movement over a period of fifteen years have led me to the conclusion that communism, as preached and practiced by the Communist partty and the Communist Internationale, is not operating in the best interest of labor or the minorities, particularly the Negro minority. Therefore, I feel that the question should be clarified in the interest of future racial and industrial harmony and social peace. Personalities and opportunist considerations do not enter into my decision to warn Negro America of the inherent dangers of communism.

Sat. 3-22-47

* * *

THAT THERE ARE GRAVE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING Negro Americans is obvious. However, I have now come to the conclusion that, although we don't have a pure democracy in this country, it is possible to adjust these racial differences in a constructive, decent and legitimate fashion. My extensive experiences with the Communist party in America and with the Communist International have convinced me that the Communist program for relieving our problems is neither constructive, decent nor legitimate. Sat. 3-22-47

I would not like to convey the impression that there is nothing desirable in the Communist program, or that communism, as it has operated in Russia, has been a total and absolute failure. To be sure, some good has acrued to the Russian proletariat as a result of the various "plans" conducted at the domestic level. I challenge the contention that communism is a desirable format for political or economic development but I am willing to acknowledge that some substantial gains have been achieved in Russia.

However, I have found absolutely nothing in the Comintern's plans and policies for world revolution which should recommend itself to the American Negro or which, in my opinion, is valuable as applied to the problems of racial adjustment in America.

* * *

I DO NOT DOUBT THAT THE PROGRAM, as it appears on the surface, has some appeal to the oppressed Negro citizen who seeks some escape from the limitations of democracy as they affect him. It had some appeal to me, before I got to know and understand the deeper implications of its formula for world revolution and before I understood the callous viciousness of this formula.

In order that others may benefit by my experience, I shall attempt to explain why I became a Communist and why I no longer have any sympathy for the Communist ideology. Though there were many obvious shortcomings in the Communist program which inspired me to abandon the party, the most vicious was the theory and program of self-determination for American Negroes.

I do not hesitate to say that the Communist program of self-determination constitutes a grave danger to sound and decent and constructive race relationships in the United States.

(The self-determination program has had some appeal despite the ridiculous premise on which it is based. Essentially, it consists of a demand for a separate State for Negroes—pereferably under Communist tutelage or hegemony. Such a plan would thrust more than eight million Negroes into the paws of a pincer between the northern and southern geographical and political areas of this country. Why would the Communists, who claim to espouse the best interest of colored people and labor, advocate such a program?

* * *

(THE REASONS, ACCORDING TO MY OWN knowledge and experience, are these: (1) In order to secure protection for themselves. The Communist party is not a minority in the United States. It is a conspiracy, working both legally and illegally to capture power for an alien Government. On the other hand, Negroes constitute a morally and politicially legitimate minority in the United States—not of their own volition but because of a series of political and historical circumstances which have produced what we now know as "the Negro problem."

(Because of physical differences, the Negro is not easily integrated or absorbed into the majority. He is easily identifiable by his color. This factor gives moral validity to his demands for equality before the law. On the other hand, the Communist, knowing that they are operating illegitimately and, in most cases, insincerely, sought to achieve the illusion of legitimacy by seizing on the honest grievances of Negroes in the hope that such a move would offer a camouflage for their subversive activities.

(2. In case the people of this country became aroused and infuriated by Communist activity against the constituted Government of America, the Negro might serve as a buffer against any attack on communism while the really subversive elements used this deliberately created confusion to either operate successfully under cover or to escape into other areas or countries.

(3. This strategy—self-deetrmination—is a technique designed to promote racial discord and prejudice in order to drive the Negro into dependence upon and into subservience to loud and insincere Communist demands. Instead of consciously seeking to eliminate discord, this program avowedly proposed to arouse racial antagonisms and to use the natural instincts of the American people for anti-Negro emotionalism as a smoke-screen for its insidious operations in other spheres.) Sat. 3-22-47

But more on this later. I should like first to explain the nature of my personal background and to point up the motivating influences in my decision to seek some escape from American racial prejudice in the inviting formula of communism.

(Continued Next Week)

William O'Dell Nowell

Tells Why He Joined Ranks Of Communists

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 3-29-47

37½

By **WILLIAM O'DELL NOWELL**
As told to Lem Graves Jr.

(Second in a Series)

TO BEGIN WITH, I was born, July 11, 1904, in Walton County, Ga It is sufficent, as an explanation of the atmosphere in which I passed my early years, to remind readers that I lived on the outskirts of the county seat, Monroe—the scene of the recent lynching of our Negroes, two men and their wives.

My parents, Benjamin and Selena Nowell, were farmers. We did not own our land but we owned our own tools and stock and we paid rent for the land, either in cash or in produce. There were seven children, four boys and three girls. Six of us are still living.

My mother died when I was eight years old, leaving a large family of which the oldest child was 15 years old. My father, who had had a slight graded school education, had taught some in the backwood rural schools, was liberal in his views, and was considered a counselor by the rural Negro citizens of the community.

* * *

I WENT TO SCHOOL for a short time in Monroe very near to the field where the four unarmed Negroes were so unceremoniously murdered last year. During my childhood, I saw the body of another Negro who had been lynched in that county and this incident made an unforgettable impression on my mind. Perhaps, unconsciously, it was a dominant influence in the things I thought and did in later life.

No less impressionable was another experience which undoubtedly had a severe influence on my development. In those days, as is the case today, Southern children were born with few native prejudices. When my father took us into town on Saturdays, he often left us to play in the town square while he attended to his business. I got to know several young boys of both races and we all played together without inhibitions.

* * *

THEN ONE DAY the county constable came over to the square, called aside one of my white playmates, and, in a harsh, almost vicious manner, said: "Don't you know you shouldn't be playing with that n——r?"

In addition to these two bitter incidents, I suffered all the other demoralizing experiences connected with trying to live, get an education, and grow up in an environment which was hostile to me. Our family economy was that of any poor Southern farm tenant and we suffered the added disadvantage of being poor, Southern Negro farm tenants. Sat. 3-29-47

BY THE TIME I was 15, I had become disgusted with Walton County, Ga., and I ran away from home to try to get an education. I went to Atlanta to stay with my aunt. This was in 1918. I had hoped to be able to go to school at Morris Brown College but I got a job instead. I discovered that my relatives in Atlanta were rather well to do and I did not like the idea of them helping me through school. The only job I could get was as a porter in one of the S. H. Kresge Stores and I was paid $8 a week. I saved by money until I had $125. I went to Savannah and entered Central Park Institute.

My family migrated to Detroit in 1919 and I left Savanah before finishing high school to join them in 1920. I was 16 years old by that time. I did some work around Detroit in the various industrial plants while continuing to study at night. Later, I spent a year and a half at Ferris School, a college preparatory school in Big Rapids, Mich.

* * *

IT WAS DURING these early years in Detroit that I became disillusioned about the "broad new vistas of opportunity" which were supposedly available to Negroes in the North. I found that in Detroit, many Southern Negroes had merely exchanged agrarian feudalism for industrial feudalism. The exploitation of Negroes in the slum-ridden ghettoes of Detroit was even worse than it had been in Georgia because it was more hypocritical. In many cases, alien national or religious groups preyed on the Negro population without shame, meanwhile corrupting its leadership with flattery and an occasional bone from the table of their own prosperity. These Negroes had escaped from Bilbo but found themselves in the same plantation pattern.

Sat. 3-29-47

I SOUGHT an answer to my personal problem and the problem of the people around me in the program offered to me by the Communist party. I was working at the Ford Motor Company at the time—1929—and I was invited to join the party. I had read Karl Marx and the Socialists and I went into the proposition with a reasonable theoretical knowledge of what it was, but with little practical knowledge of its workings.

'Communist International Composed of Thugs'--Nowell

Pittsburgh, Pa. ~~Courier~~

By WILLIAM O'DELL NOWELL

(As Told to Lem Graves Jr.)

Sat. 4-12-47

(Fourth in a Series)

I HAD BEEN nominated for a high position on the Central Committee of the party. But it was during this convention that the first draft of the "self-determination" program was offered to the delegates. Somehow, it didn't sound right to me. So I opposed it on the floor of the convention because I was convinced that it was insidious.

It seemed to me that this program was simply a feudal philosphy, dressed up in new form with apparenetly liberal motives and offered to my people. I could see that the Communists were willing to trade the lives of my people for any advantage for themselves. Just as the Jews had been made the sacrificial lambs of the Communist program in Germany, so were the Negroes to be the goats in America.

For opposing this program, my name was removed from the party nomination lists and I was later removed from the presidency of the Negro Labor Congress Chapter in Detroit. I remained a member of the political secretariat, a member of the national committee of the Trade Union League, another "front," and the chairman of the Auto Workers Union local.

* * *

THE PARTY LEADERS thought I wasn't progressing, politically, along the lines that they wanted me to, but they had confidence in my ability and integrtiy. So, I was disciplined. Somehow, I still had confidence in the Communist. International and my wife and I were sent to Russia to attend the Comintern school for party workers in Moscow. I was taking my case directly to the Comintern. When I discovered that the Communist International was composed of thugs, I was about ready to give up.

The year and one-half I spent in Russia, during 1931 and 1932, permitted me to observe closely the pattern of Communist policy in its program of fomenting world revolution and to see certain dangerous parallels between what happened to other groups and what might happen to American Negroes if they were taken in by the Communist plot.

* * *

THE COMMUNIST PARTY had adopted at the sixth World Congress a program which called for the organization and liberation of colonial peoples and racial minorities all over the world. This was the international self-determination program, of which the black republic strategy in the United States was but one facet. We were all in general agreement on the anti-discrimination aspects of this program, although some of us held certain reservations concerning the tactics. Sat. 4-12-47

We assumed that Russia was genuine, sincere in its program for colonial liberation and that its motives were honest.

During this time the Nazis and Communists of Germany were competing against one another in an effort to wreck the Weimar Republic of Germany and to assume control of this key European economy. By nature arrogant, the Communists—who had a head start—suffered a gradual deterioration which derives from some of the inner weaknesses of the Communist philosophy. It was evident in 1932 that the Communist could not stop Hitler and the German Fuehrer ascended to power in 1933.

Nowell Tells How 'Reds' Bullied Negro Students

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier Sat. 4-19-47

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier Sat. 4-19-47

By WILLIAM O'DELL NOWELL As Told to Lem Graves Jr.

(Fifth in a Series)

As evidence of the criminally Machiavellian nature of these "thugs," I wish to cite a few examples: When Negro Communists inquired of Ossip Pyatnitsky, secretary of the Comintern and an old Bolshevik associate of Lenin, as to why an American Negro student had "died suddenly" and was cremated before any of the American Negro students who were attending the Communist International School were notified about it, Pyatnitsky refused to give us any information and told the delegation, of which I was a member, that "We are not afraid of the world. Don't be so smart and don't think we are afraid of you."

Gerhard Eisler, in closed caucuses, acting in the interest of the Comintern and the OGPU, frequently called individual Negro delegates into small rooms, where they were surrounded by the tought agents of the Russian secret police. In these caucuses, Negro students were threatened with physical violence in an attempt to force Negroes to accept the self-determination program and to swallow a policy designed to sell out colonial people for the sake of gaining the selfish objectives of the Soviet leadership.

* * *

OTHERS WHO participated in atrocities perpetrated on Negro students during the time I was in Russia, or who conspired on this program, included Maurice Childs, an American who was acting as an agent for the OGPU and who, until recently, served as the district secretary of the party in Chicago prior to his appointment to the staff of the Daily Worker; William Peters of New York, an Ameri-n representative to Moscow; Beatrice Suskind, former educational director in Chicago; Yateschenko, famous OGPU agent and former chiof of the police school, who prosecuted a court-martial of American Negro students in 1932; Constantin Oumansky, who was later an Ambassador to the U. S., and who was in charge of international OGPU espionage in 1932, in which capacity he directed the brutalities directed against Negro students who seemed disposed to doubt and question the Comintern's policies; and three other Russian officials, Manuilsky, Mingulin and Yaroslavsky, who later rose to key positions in Soviet Russia.

Sat. 4-19-47

THERE WAS immediately a new political orientation by the Communists which involved treachery to minority or underpriviliged groups. Inside Germany, the Communists bought time by trading off the lives of several thousand Jews. The Jews became the scapegoats of this new orinentation and the Communists did not hesitate to sacrifice these Jews in a deliberate effort to take the spotlight off of themselves and their own activities and to create racial antagonism which might divert the attention of the Nazi overlords.

It is a known fact that Communist leadership actually inspired the liquidation of countless Jews in order to buy some immunity for themselves

On the international level, the reorientation took the form of appeasement of the imperialistic countries—which owned the colonial people whom the International had swon to liberate. This was done by offering to Britain and France and other colonial powers a proposition whereby the Communist liberation movement among the colonials would be abandoned in exchange for mutual assitance pacts against Germany. By betraying the colonials, the Russians secured the pacts which resulted in a quarantine of Nazi Germany.

THIS APPEASEMENT program became apparent to the millions of Negroes, Chinese, Africans, Arabs and Indians and they began to remind the Comintern of its pledges in their behalf. As a result, the Comintern turned on these darker peoples with charges of nationalism and proceeded to make concessions to the imperialistic nations.

For instance, even in the United States, this policy was carried out. In order to aid Roosevelt in his appeasement of the South, the Communist party agreed on a compromise of the famous Scottsboro case, accepted the freedom of five of the boys and sacrificed four of them—all convicted for the same crime.

Sat. 4-19-47

ANNA DAMON, then national secretary of the International Labor Defense, revealed to me that she had had correspondence with Ben Davis of New York which showed that Davis had been bribing the Scottsboro boys to let the ILD handle their case and to take it out of the hands of the NAACP.

Anna is also reported to have told Angelo Herndon—when he complained that nothing was done for a long time, to get him out of jail in Georgia—that he was too lightskinned and that, because of his complexion, the Communists could not make capital of his situation as easily as they might have if he had been darker.

The New Deal, courting Communists and labor in the North and the politically dominant Democratic powers of the Solid South, agreed to compromise on the Scottsboro case to appease both elements and to keep both elements in the Roosevelt camp.

(To be continued)

37d 1947

Negro Party Delegates Vote To Join Democrats of State

July 17, 1947

(37d)

Plan to Test Waring Ruling At Georgetown

By The Associated Press

More than 150 singing, jubilant delegates to a special state convention of the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic party voted yesterday to join the state Democratic party, whose executive committee will meet here today.

Bouyed by last Saturday's U. S. district court decision of Judge J. Waties Waring that the Democratic party should open its primaries to Negroes, the Progessives agreed to continue their organization as a guidance group for Negro members entering the heretofore exclusively white party.

Interspersing floor action with heartily-sung religious songs and fired by the oratory of State President J. M. Hinton of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the special convention adopted a seven-point program of continued organization.

South Carolina and U. S. flags framing the speakers' table were brought in by corpulent light-skinned George Elmore, Columbia Negro whose suit seeking a white party primary vote brought forth Waring's decision.

Elmore was cheered loudly when he said, "In the words of our other champion, Joe Louis, all I can say is 'I'm glad I win'."

Hinton warned the delegates that "white men want office and they want the vote of our people. We will be sought after, but we must be extremely careful who we vote for.

"We will not oppose any man, but we will support our friends" in democratic primaries, he promised, and added: "I have no love in my heart for Senator (Burnet R.) Maybank.

"We think we can get office holders who will represent us. We must make a choice between those who have fought us and those who are our friends * * * whether it be the junior or senior senator from South Carolina or a sheriff who has sought for weeks for a Negro suspect."

(Maybank denounced Waring's decision in a news statement Monday; Junior Senator Olin D. Johnson called the 1944 special legislative session that repealed primary laws in an effort to avoid a supreme court decision opening the Democratic primary to Negroes; and Sheriff T. Alex Heise of Richland county, has long had under investigation a criminal assault charge by a Columbia suburban white woman against an unidentified Negro.)

"We want 100,000 Negro votes in 1948," Hinton said. "We are not interested in who you vote for, but that you vote.

"Georgetown has a city election coming up this fall. If our leadership there—and we are strong in Georgetown—plans well, we will get our first real test of the effectiveness of Judge Waring's historic opinion."

Chairman John H. McCray of the Party, presiding, classed Waring's decision as "final, ending white primaries everywhere, the most eventful act in our history since Lincoln signed the Emancipation proclamation.

"The decision disposes of the legal aspects, but the actual victory is yet to be won. Yet to be heard from are schemes by the vanquished upholders of white supremacy to keep down participation in primaries by our race.

"It is up to us to carry the decision through to its logical conclusion—a vote for every eligible man and women."

McCray predicted "we may expect barriers to be thrown up, such as difficult literary tests, a poll tax, separation of local, state and federal primaries, or even dissolution of the primary system.

"It is possible the Democratic party tomorrow may agree to abide by Judge Waring's decision. General election requirements may be made more stringent.

"Firm hostility may be expected in the reactionary counties, but at all times, discourage violence." Hinton added that the NAACP would defend "no one creating (racial) embarrassments."

"The greatest calamity would be for the (Progressive) party to dissolve and leave the 800,000 Negroes and the few whites who have supported us to the mercy and whims of white supremacists," McCray said.

Vice President John H. Green of Charleston, led the delegates in a long oath of allegiance to the Progressives that ended with the words, "All for one, one for all," after the convention had been opened with the singing of "America" and with a prayer by the Rev. A. W. Hill of Florence.

The seven-point program was headed by registration of Negro voters with the intention of voting registration certificates being offered to meet any "schemes" to disqualify Negro enrollment in primaries.

"If necessary, we would take the matter to court to determine if registration certificates would not take precedence over any party rules," McCray said.

Other points were leadership in encouraging primary enrollment and voting; creation of a 46-member steering committee to recommend legal assistance in individual voting cases where primary enrollment or vote was denied; continuation of the Progressives as an advisory organization but absorbing itself into the regular Democratic party; raising $9,200 to finance enrollment and registration efforts; thanks to the NAACP for prosecuting the case that ended in Waring's decision; and creation of a committee to draw up a Progressive party reorganization plan.

Democrats

CIVIL RIGHTS REPORT MAKES DEMO BOLT PARTY

(37d)

Expressing disgust over the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, Manley T. Dunaway, defeated 1946 Democratic Congressional candidate, announced recently in Charlotte, N.C., his intention to run as a Republican next year because "the Democrats are deserting the South." Sat. 11-15-47

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

SOUTH CAROLINA NEGRO DEMOS TO JOIN WHITE ORGANIZATION

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.
Sat-8-2-47

(37d)

Will Retain Old Unit as Policy Forming Group Temporarily

HAVE GUN-SIGHT ON SENATOR MAYBANK

COLUMBIA, S. C. — (ANP) — Jubilant members of the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic party voted here last week to join white Democrats after the adoption of a seven-point political program.

The more than 150 delegates to the special convention agreed to join the state Democratic party but maintain their organization as a guidance group for Negro members entering the formerly exclusive all-white party. Registration of voters is the first item on the seven-point program. Registration certificates will be offered to meet any "schemes" to disqualify Negro enrollment in primaries.

"If necessary, we would take the matter to court to determine if registration certificates would not take precedence over any party rules," said John H. McCray, chairman of the Negro Democratic party.

Other points on the program included leadership in encouraging primary enrollment and voting creation of a 46-member steering committee to recommend legal assistance in individual voting cases where primary enrollment or vote was denied; continuation of the Progressives as an advisory organization but absorbing itself into the regular Democratic party; raising $9,200 to finance enrollment and registration efforts; thanks to the NAACP for prosecuting the case that ended in Judge Waring's favorable decision in the case of George Elmore; and creation of a committee to draw up a Progressive party reorganization plan. Sat-8-2-47

"The greater calamity would be for the (Progressive) party to disclose and leave the 800,000 Negroes and the few whites who have supported us to the mercy and whims of white supremacists," McCray said.

First test of Judge Waring's ruling in opening state primaries to Negro voters will be in the Georgetown city election this fall, said J. M. Hinton, president of the state NAACP chapter, who commented that "white men want office and they want the vote of our people. We will be sought after, but we must be extremely careful who we vote for.

"We will not oppose any man, but we will support our friends," he said. "I have no love in my heart for Sen. Burnet R. Maybank. We think we can get office holders who will represent us. We must make a choice between those who have fought us and those who are our friends . . . whether it be the junior or senior senator from South Carolina or a sheriff who has sought for weeks for a Negro suspect. Sat-8-2-47

(Junior Sen. Olin D. Johnson, former governor of South Carolina, was among those who schemed to maintain white primaries here by repealing all state primary laws in 1944 and converting the Democratic party into a "private organization." Sheriff T. Alex Heise of Richland county has been seeking a Negro suspect on a white woman's claim she was criminally assaulted . . Ed. Note)

Hinton called for 100,000 Negro votes in 1948," saying that "we are not interested in who you vote for, but that you vote." McCray warned against violence and Hinton said that the NAACP would defend "no one creating racial embarrassment."

McCray also predicted "we may expect barriers to be thrown up, such as difficult literary tests, a poll tax, separation of local, state and federal primaries, or even dissolution of the primary system." The Democratic party may accept Judge Waring's ruling, McCray predicted.

Aftermath of "White Primary" Decision

Progressive Democrats Ready To Join Whites

Journal & Guide - Norfolk, Va.

(37d)

By Associated Negro Press

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Jubilant members of the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic Party voted here last week to join white Democrats after the adoption of a seven-point political program. Sat. 8-2-47

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"If necessary, we would take the matter to court to determine if registration certificates would not take precedence over any party rules," said John H. McCray, chairman of the Negro Democratic party.

Other points on the program included leadership in encouraging primary enrollment and voting, creation of a 46-member steering committee to recommend legal assistance in individual voting cases where primary enrollment or vote was denied; continuation c the Progressives as an advisory organization but absorbing itself into the regular Democratic party; raising $9,200 to finance enrollment and registration efforts; thanks to the NAACP for prosecuting the case that ended in Judge Waring's favorable decision in the case of George Elmore; and creation of a committee to draw up a Progressive party reorganization plan.

"The greatest calamity would be for the (Progressive) party to dissolve and leave the 800,000 Negroes and the few whites who have supported us to the mercy and whims of white supremacists," McCray said.

First test of Judge Waring's

ruling in opening state primaries to Negro voters will be in the Georgetown city election this fall, said J. M. Hinton, president of the state NAACP chapter, who commented that "white men want office and they want the vote of our people. We will be sought after, but we must not be extremely careful who we vote for.

Sat. 8-2-47

"We will not oppose any man, but we will support our friends," he said. "I have no love in my heart for Senator Bunrett R. Maybank. We think we can get office holders who will represent us.

"We must make a choice between those who have fought us and those who are our friends . . . whether it be the junior or senior senator from South Carolina, or a sheriff who has sought for weeks for a Negro suspect."

FORMER GOVERNOR AIDED MOVEMENT

(Junior Senator Olin D. Johnston, former governor of South Carolina, was among those who aided in maintaining white primaries here by repealing all state laws in 1944 and converting the Democratic party into a "private organization." Sheriff T. Alex Heise of Richland county has been seeking a Negro suspect on a white woman's claim she was criminally assaulted.—Editor's Note.)

Sat. 8-2-47

Hinton called for "100,000 Negro votes in 1948," saying that "we are not interested in who you vote for, but that you vote." McCray ton said that the NAACP would warned against violence, and Hindefend "no one creating racial embarrassment."

McCray also predicted "we may expect barriers to be thrown up, such as difficult literary tests, a poll tax, separation of local, state and federal primaries, or even dissolution of the primary system."

Politics

Chicago Defender, Chicago, Ill. Sat. 5-3-47

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE is housed in several suites on the second floor of Washington's ultra smart Mayflower hotel. Like most Washington hostelries, the Mayflower management does not look with favor on colored people riding in its elevators. There have been several nasty incidents involving colored visitors to the Democratic headquarters, when the visitors did not take kindly to the suggestion that they walk up or use a designated "freight" elevator.

Sat. 5-3-47

However, we are informed by recent visitors that all is now peaches and cream and courtesy in lobby and elevator. This appears to be evidence that the Democrats have taken matters in hand a step ahead of colored voters who were about to take them in hand.

What? GOP Victory In Georgia! That's What Democrat Predicts

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala., Sun. 10-19-47

ATLANTA, GA., Oct. 18.—(AP)—Disputing factions of Georgia's Democratic Party were warned today that Georgia could be carby the Republican Party in 1948 for the first time in history unless they cease their bickering.

The warning was sounded by a qualified democratic state official, Secretary of State Ben Fortson, Jr., whose duties include certification of party nominees for the general election ballot.

Advertiser

Fortson earlier this week called on both factions to resolve their differences by compromise, and avoid possibility of rival democratic primaries in 1948. Leaders of both groups promptly rejected the suggestion, each insisting theirs was the legal party.

Montgomery, Ala.

Today, Fortson told reporters h foresaw grave consequences in continuation of the split, which began with the death of Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge, and which was fanned by Georgia's dual-governorship dispute last Spring.

Sun. 10-19-47

"Each side says it will conduct its own primary," said Fortson. "I know of nothing to prevent rank-and-file Democrats from voting in one or the other, or even in both. Let us say that 400,000 votes are cast in one primary and 300,000 votes in the other.

Advertiser

"Under Georgia law, I would be compelled to decide which of the rival nominees for governor, for United States Senator, for statehouse offices and so forth were entitled to the Democratic Party label.

Montgomery, Ala.

"One side or the other must lose, under those circumstances, and if their adherents were to vote against the party label in the general election, Georgia's 150,000 Republicans might throw the state into the Republican column for president for the first time in history.

Sun. 10-19-47

One faction of Georgia Democrats is headed by Gov. M. E. Thompson, who became chief executive when the Georgia Supreme Court voided the legislature's attempt to elect Herman Talmadge to his father's term. The Thompson faction has been recognized by the Democratic National Committee.

The opposing group is composed of adherents of the late Eugene Talmadge, who now are backing Herman Talmadge for governor.

The Democrats and the Negro

Sun. 11-9-47

A recent letter from the Rev. John A. Hunter appeared in this column in which he stated that he had always voted Republican. I, too, am a Negro, and am humbly proud of our advancement in the last 15 years. I departed from the strict party line when Franklin Roosevelt became President, and I believe that under his leadership the colored people advanced further in the past 15 years than they did in the half-century before. I am convinced that the Democratic ticket in 1947 in Kentucky offers no threat to our advancement and promises security and protection for all Kentuckians. I am proud of Kentucky and the privilege to vote for the Democratic ticket offered this year. So, Mr. Hunter, your vote is cancelled. Sun. 11-9-47

OLLIE DUNN.

Fulton, Ky.

Courier-Journal

The intelligent Negro will exercise his franchise and remember that he has had enough of the rich man's party. He will remember the friends who have helped him to hold his head high in self-respect in the past 15 years by voting the straight Democratic ticket.

Louisville, Ky.

M. A. ANDERSON.

Louisville.

Ark. Democrats Forming State-Wide Organization

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—(ANP)—A moveto cover every county in the State is made by the Arkansas Negro Democratic Association, according to an announcement last week by Dr. J. M. Robinson, president.

Letters to Arkansas Democrats informed them "we wish to organize the voters of each ward in cities of the first class, and of each township where colored voters reside. Each club will be entitled to one delegate to the State convention for the first fifty members or less, and one additiona delegate for each additional fift members." Sat. 3-8-47

The Arkansas Negro Democratic Association is promoting a func raising campaign, Dr. Robinson said, and every Negro Democrat is urged to contribute $1 to the fund. About 9,000 Negroes voted in the Democratic primary last year, Dr. Robinson revealed, with 3,000 voting in Pulaski County.

Counties already organized by his association include Miller, Jefferson, Ashley, Sebastian, Hot Springs, Jackson, Hampstead, Conway, Faulkner and Pulaski, Dr. Robinson said.

Committeeman

Courier

Virginia Dems Elect Pastor

Pittsburgh, Pa

Sat. 11-29-47

FALLS CHURCH, Va.—Setting a precedent in Virginia's political history, the Rev. W. Earle Costner has been elected one of the forty-nine members of the new Fairfax County Democratic Party Executive Committee.

Democrats Drop Talmadge Faction

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—With the Republican party moving to recapture the colored vote, the Democratic National Committee last Thursday tossed into discord the faction of the Democratic party in Georgia headed by Herman Talmadge which is committed to the barring of colored voters from party primaries there. Sat. 6-14-47

The other faction, headed by Governor Melvin E. Thompson, was extended official recognition. Invitations to officers of the Talmadge faction to attend a meeting of party leaders here June 19 were withdrawn by the committee, and leaders of the Thompson faction were asked to attend.

This move, expected to bolster the Democratic party with colored voters in pivotal States, indicates a determination by the committee to seat delegates elected to the Democratic national convention next summer. Colored voters have indicated an interest in the attitude of the Democratic party to state policies. Sat. 6-14-47

37d 1947

Democratic (Americans for Democratic Action)

Defender Publisher Aids In Forming Liberal Group

Chicago Defender Sat. 4-5-47

37d [illegible]

Chicago, Ill.

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender, was among more than 200 civic, political, and church leaders who met in Washington this week for a two-day conference to establish the permanent organization of Americans for Democratic Action.

The conference elected permanent officers of ADA and adopted a constitution and program on foreign and domestic policy. Mrs. Roosevelt served as chairman of the nominating committee which submitted the slate of officers and nominations for a 25-man executive board. Sat. 4-5-47

In addition to Mrs. Roosevelt, key figures actively participating in the conference included ADA Co-Chairmen Wilson W. Wyatt and Leon Henderson; Mayor Hubert Humphrey, Melvyn Douglas, screen actor; Lillian Smith, author; and Charles Bolte, chairman of the American Veterans Committee, also Paul Porter, recently returned from an inspection trip in Greece for President Truman.

The ADA was formed by a group of liberals several months ago. It is organized along lines which make for the active participation of liberals in progressive movements in America within the democratic framework. It specifically excludes Communists and "fellow-travelers" from membership and participation in the affairs of the organization.

37d 1947

Democratic (Georgia)

Georgia Demo Group Seeking To Destroy 'Rule' Of Talmadge

The News
Birmingham, Ala.

ATLANTA, Feb. 28 —(AP) — A group of Georgia Democrats has set out to "reorganize" the party in the state for one purpose—to destroy the political "rule" of Herman Talmadge and his lieutenants.

Members of the group made it plain they intended to retain the name of Democrats, asserting that the Talmadge faction had "bolted" the party. Fri. 2-28-47

A freshman legislator and newspaper publisher, William C. Morris, of The Augusta Chronicle, who said he was "willing to scrap" for the reorganization, was elected temporary chairman of the group at a meeting Wednesday. Morris was elected to the Legislature last Summer over Roy Harris, now a chief Talmadge councillor.

In a resolution the group said its members viewed with consternation "the efforts of those now in control of the party's machinery to perpetuate their rule by a series of unlawful, unconstitutional and undemocratic actions culminating in the so-called white primary act."

* * *

THE LEGISLATURE PASSED the Talmadge-sponsored white primary law last week to ban Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries which are, in effect, the elections in this traditionally one-party state. The act divorced such balloting from any semblance of state control, leaving the conduct of primaries to party regulations alone.

The reorganization group's resolution asserted that the act "denied to those who participate in such primary the protection of the laws, or recourse to any tribunal except that established by those now in control who, like all tyrants, make the rules, interpret the rules, obey the rules or violate the rules, according to their own whims and interests." Fri. 2-28-47

There was no official announcement, but an informed source indicated Negroes would be allowed to vote in the "reorganaized" party's primaries. The News

* * *

THE GROUP SET UP machinery to issue charters to county units as well as to organizations of women, veterans, students, ministers and teachers.

The party meeting followed closely on that of directors of the Aroused Citizens of Georgia, an organization formed last month to protest Talmadge's election as governor by the Legislature.

Meantime, as an aftermath of the enactment of the "white primary" bill, a schism in Georgia Republican Party ranks was indicated.

A faction headed by Roy Foster, of Wadley, Ga., obtained certificates from the secretary of state preparatory to incorporation under the name of "the Republican Party of Georgia, Inc." Certificates were also received for three other designations.

The action would deny the names to the Republican faction headed by W. R. Tucker, of Dawsonville, which has the recognition of the National Republican Party.

'Democrats' Uprise in Georgia

The News and Courier
Charleston, S.C.

The performance of a "Democratic" party in Georgia by which Herman Talmadge, Esq., and his followers are read out of the "Democracy" is not illogical or inconsistent with the national party now masked under that name.

The national Democratic party the last 14 years has made concession and constant appeal to the colored people and has captured most of them in the Northern cities. (They do not always remain captive.). Our Mr. Byrnes said truly, when he was a senator, "The negroes have come into control of the Democratic party"—and, by the way, Byrnes often has spoken accurately and to the point. Sat. 3-1-47

The Talmadgeans of Georgia are advocates of an exclusive white man's party; hence it is not and cannot be "Democratic". The modern "Democratic" party is also democratic. The Talmadgeans are democratic but must have white skins.

In South Carolina is a white man's party calling itself "Democratic", and in its primaries Republicans, Socialists, "Reds", any of the pale faces, may vote and later vote in the general elections against the standard bearers, nominees for president and vice president, of the national "Democracy".

However, the majority of the white people in South Carolina are unchanged in belief that the party holding white primaries is "Democratic" and nothing else. It is an outlandish, a preposterous belief.

Had the "county unit plan" not prevailed in Georgia the negroes would have nominated the governor of Georgia last year, would have cast the deciding vote.

Georgia's negro population is the largest in the 48 states, though its proportion of negroes to white population is not so large as is that of Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. Sat. 3-1-47

Both Georgia and South Carolina have considerable quantities of raw scalawag material.

Talmadge Is Barred From Georgia Politics In New Demo Setup

Birmingham News
Fri 5-2-47

ATLANTA, May 2—(AP)—Gov. M. E. Thompson was ready today to "adjourn politics" for the time being but one of his chief backers served Herman Talmadge with the flat notice that Talmadge was considered ineligible to run for governor in next year's Democratic primary. Birmingham Ala.

This Talmadge immediately contested with an assertion that the "first principle of democracy" involved the right of the people to "choose or reject their officials."

Former Gov. E. D. Rivers, Thompson adherent and a leader in this week's state Democratic convention which selected an executive committee completely friendly to the governor, voiced the opinion of Talmadge's ineligibility. In an interview with The Atlanta Constitution, he said a party rule against "bolters" would prevent Talmadge from gaining a place on the ballot in any primary called by the new executive committee. Fri 5-2-47 Birmingham Ala.

GOV. THOMPSON HIMSELF, while commenting that the Macon convention on Wednesday was a "complete success," said it was time "to adjourn politics and get down to the job of running the state."

Later on he said, in response to a query on Talmadge's eligibility in the Democratic primary, that "I have not been informed that Talmadge has sought to run in the Democratic primary. I do not believe in shutting the door in anyone's face before they come to the door."

Anti-Talmadge Leaders Widen Party Fissure

Atlanta Constitution

By ALBERT RILEY

Thurs 2-27-47

A threatened split in Georgia's Democratic Party ranks developed into a widening fissure Wednesday as a group of nearly 75 anti-Talmadge leaders from more than a score of counties organized themselves to wrest party control in the State from the forces of Gov. Herman Talmadge and former House Speaker Roy Harris.

Springing from the roots of the month-old "Aroused Citizens of Georgia" movement, the new organization proclaimed itself the real "Democratic Party of Georgia," branded the Talmadge-Harris forces as party bolters and chose as its temporary chairman Rep. William S. Morris, Augusta publisher, who defeated Harris' Cracker Party in Richmond County last Summer.

William S. Morris

As its Executive Secretary the group elected Hoke Smith, young Atlanta attorney and grandson namesake of a famed Georgia political leader of yesteryear. Mrs. H. H. Trotti, of Decatur, was named Treasurer.

Vigorously opposed to the White Primary Bill recently passed by the General Assembly, the new group, in an endeavor to "purge" the Talmadge-Harris faction, will seek recognition from the National Democratic Party and attempt to seat their own delegation to the National Convention.

In adopting a statement of aims as written by Judge Blanton Fortson, of Athens, however, the group debated over a clause as to whether they would participate "in any primary held under the guidance of those now in control." A compromise was reached on the issue when it was agreed to strike the clause for the present, and leave its future retention or elimination to later decision. Thurs 2-27-47

Hoke Smith

Clyde Basham, of Athens, argued against participation in any primary "rigged" by the Talmadge forces, while E. D. Kenyon, of Gainesville, and Smith urged caution against too hastily making binding commitments.

Morris, who left the meeting during the afternoon to return to his duties in the State House, accepted leadership of the group and told them they must organize thoroughly to achieve their aims.

"I know how Roy Harris works and how the Cracker Party was organized in Augusta," said the stocky, black-haired publisher

Declaring the people of his County did not vote "for Bill Morris, but against the Cracker Party to bring the government back to the people," Morris said, "the people of Georgia want to vote against Talmadgeism and all it stands for."

The new organization's Policy Committee, headed by Roy McGinty, editor of The Calhoun Times, recommended to the group that, "We continue and preserve the Democratic Party of Georgia under the same name." The committee further recommended that charters be issued to veterans' groups, women's organizations and others. Rev. George Avent, youthful Macon minister, urged the charters be extended to ministerial and teachers groups.

Opened by Judge Fortson, the session began as a meeting of delegates of the Aroused Citizens of Georgia, but was immediately adjourned into a meeting of "individual citizens" after Fortson read his statement of aims which later was adopted. Fortson was assisted by Mayor Harvey Kennedy, of Barnesville.

The Fortson statement which deplored the "efforts of those now in control of the Party's machinery to perpetuate their rule by a series of unlawful, unconstitutional and undemocratic actions, culminating in the so-called "White Primary Act," said, "We who would preserve the Party and restore it to the people hereby declare that the officials of the Party who have participated in these acts are no longer members of the Democratic Party and have forfeited the right to use its name.

"We repudiate" them, it said, and "call upon all true Democrats in Georgia to join with us in the reorganization of the Party so that it may once again become the respected instrument through which the will of the people may be honestly expressed, and constitutional, democratic government restored to our State."

Tom Johnson, of Macon; W. C. Lowe, of Atlanta; Harry Johnson, Griffin; John Bell, Atlanta, and others spoke, deploring what they termed the "dictatorship" of the Talmadge regime, and Bell, a Pacific war veteran, declared, "We have got to out-rat the rats here in Georgia like we did the Japs in the Pacific." Thurs 2-27-47

Kennedy declared the Talmadge forces are reactionary and long opposed the Democratic Party principles as expressed by the late President Roosevelt.

Betty Ann Wood, Atlanta Girls High School senior, drew applause when she urged the group to organize young voters. "You lead us and we will do the pushing," she declared. "Young boys and girls all over the State are nauseated. Give us a chance and we will give you action!"

Following the meeting, Kennedy said it was decided to continue the "Aroused Citizens of Georgia" organization along with the new Party framework, and that the next step will be to broaden the new set-up with committeemen in each County and each senatorial and congressional district. A State- de executive committee also ll be organized.

Courting Negro Vote

Democrats Outlaw Talmadge Faction

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 6-14-47

WASHINGTON—(NNPA)—With the colored vote in pivotal States uncertain and the Republican party moving to recapture it, the Democratic National Committee made one move last Thursday which will bolster its position with colored voters.

The faction of the Democratic party in Georgia that is headed by Herman Talmadge and is committed to the barring of colored voters from party primaries in that State was tossed into the discard by the Democratic National Committee, it was disclosed last Thursday.

The other faction of the Georgia Democratic party, headed by Gov. Melvin E. Thompson, was extended official recognition.

Invitations to officers of the Talmadge faction to attend a meeting of party leaders here June 19 were withdrawn by the committee, and leaders of the Thompson faction were asked to attend.

This move is expected to bolster the Democratic party with colored voters in pivotal States, because of the attitude of the Talmadge faction to participation by colored voters in the Georgia Democratic primaries, which has attracted nation-wide interest.

Sat. 6-14-47

Colored voters already have indicated an interest in the attitude of the Democratic party to State organizations in the South which are seeking to circumvent de ns of the United States Suprem by barring colored voter participating in Democr maries.

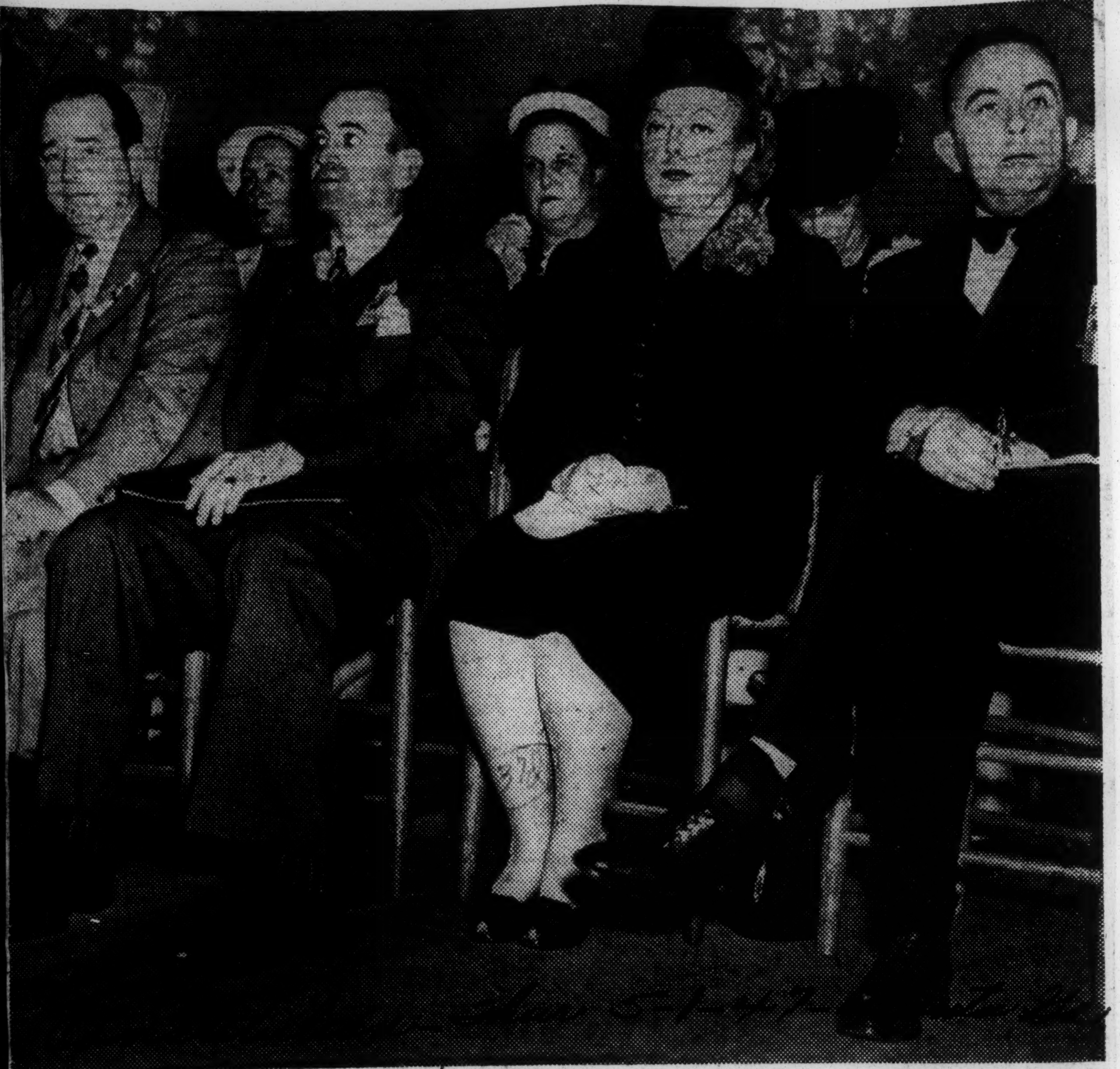

Photo by C. C. Harden

DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AT MACON—Shown seated on the stage in Macon's Municipal Auditorium are, left to right, Rep. William S. Morris, of Augusta, elected Chairman of the new State Democratic Executive Committee; Acting Gov. Thompson, Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, National Committeewoman from Georgia, and former Gov. E. D. Rivers, Georgia's National Committeeman.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Constitution

The Press Looks At Macon Convention

Atlanta, Ga.

First reaction among the newspapers of the State to the State Democratic Convention called by Acting Gov. Thompson is that the convention was a success and that Thompson's group will be recognized as the "official" Democratic party. Some papers denounce the convention as a "bolting" move by Thompson, however. And some others look with distaste on both the Talmadge and Thompson leadership. There is a general tone in all the papers that confusion will reign in Georgia politics in 1948.

Wed. 6-7-47

Two Calhoun editors who served as delegates to different Democratic conventions take different views of the recent convention. Roy McGinty, of the Calhoun Times, predicts that the new committee will be recognized by the National Democratic Committee as the legal party organization in Georgia, "and this will be a tremendous handicap for the Talmadge group to overcome." Harry Wise, of the Gordon County News, admits he wrote-in Herman Talmadge's name, "so that if Gene Tamadge died, the Democratic party ticket could be carried forward." He said if he and the other 674 bolted, "we will bolt again on sufficient grounds—and I feel I speak for all who have been termed bolters by the master bolter of them all—M. E. Thompson."

Some papers note that Thompson is gaining strength. The Thomaston Times says the convention was a surprising success even to Thompson leaders. "Gov. Thompson, like President Truman, has made good since he was inducted into office legally, and doubtless he will grow in political stature as time goes by," the Times says. The Valdosta Times remarks that "sentiment seems to be growing for Thompson and the Macon meeting probably will help along this attitude." The Gainesville News and the Columbus Ledger foresee national recognition for the Thompson group. The News says this will place anti-Thompsonites at a decided disadvantage. The Ledger says it is high time all bandwagon riders climb aboard. The Macon News says critics who predicted 40 or 50 delegates for the convention had a rude awakening when the Municipal Auditorium was packed to the rafters. The Brunswick News contends the Macon convention showed that Thompson will be ready for a political scrap next year.

Back Herman Former State Adj. Gen. Marvin Griffin, in his Bainbridge Post-Searchlight, commends the Decatur County Democratic Committee for refusing to send delegates to this "rump" convention. He challenges the Thompsonites to try to purge this county's committee. The Banks County Journal warns if Herman is prevented from running by those Talmadge haters who realize he could be elected, he can select a friend to be a candidate and the people would elect this friend. The Abbeville Chronicle says "Thompson's "threat to steal the Democratic party and push Herman Talmadge out" reminds the editor that some half-witted upstart always was trying to read Gene Talmadge out of the party, but Gene headed the party when he died.

Leader Needed Georgia wants no political machine, regardless of who is the leader, in the opinion of the Jeff Davis County Ledger. It hits at Talmadge's attempt to seize power and pass a so-called White Primary Bill which would have established a political machine endangering the entire people. And then it remarks that the second Democratic convention, which was legal, also sets up an effective political machine which "in a great many respects has endangered the general welfare of the State and will continue strife among its people."

Explaining Rivers For the benefit of those writers who denounce National Committeeman E. D. Rivers for "popping off" on something that "doesn't concern him" and saying that Herman Talmadge "irrevocably" cannot run in the 1948 Democratic primary, we feel called upon to say what happened in our interview with Rivers which set off such criticism. Rivers did not "pop off." We wanted a question answered. We tried first to get many State leaders to answer it. Then we asked Rivers, in his capacity as National Democratic Committeeman, to give his personal interpretation of what the State convention rule meant. Rivers was reluctant to talk. After an hour's cross-questioning, he finally gave his own ideas. He believed that Herman Talmadge is barred from running in the Democratic primary—but not "irrevocably." He said that the State Democratic Committee has the power to permit Talmadge to enter the primary, if it wishes. He did not wish to be put in the light of saying what the State Committee might or might not do—but, in his opinion, the convention rule until supplemented would ban Talmadge.

Constitution - Thur 5-1-47 - Atlanta, Ga.

Associated Press Photo

THOMPSON DEMOCRATS PACK CONVENTION HALL—Here is a general view of Municipal Auditorium in Macon during the Convention of Georgia Democrats favorable to Acting Gov. Thompson. The Convention indorsed President Truman for election in 1948, and elected new leaders to replace associates of Herman Talmadge.

Thompson Convention Shuts Door On 'Bolters,' Elects New State Leaders, Dares Talmadge

Constitution Thur 5-1-47 - Atlanta Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN,
Constitution Staff Writer.

MACON, April 30—Between 4,000 and 5,000 followers of Acting Gov Thompson in an enthusiastic convention here Wednesday elected new leaders for the State Democratic Party, shut the dor on "party bolters" and pointed an obvious dare at Herman Talmadge to run as an independent candidate against the Democratic nominee for Governor in 1949.

As the convention closed there were speculations that the newly appointed Rules Committee would ban from this Party's 1948 primary, candidates who participate in primaries held by any other group.

If Talmadge carries out his previously announced plans of running in a primary to be ordered by James Peters, of Manchester, whom Wednesday's convention voted to oust as a "bolter," Georgia's Congressional delegation thus would be forced to choose in which primary to run.

There had been some talk that Congressmen might try to run in both primaries. There also has been talk that the Congressmen would hold a primary of their own.

The convention adopted a resolution indorsing President Truman for renomination and giving the newly formed Executive Committee the power to appoint delegates to the National Democratic convention.

Peters, who has said he would hold office as Chairman in the face of Wednesday's convention, recently said his group would call a presidential preferential primary.

Wishing to put the locks on the Democratic Party, the convention voted to continue in effect the 1946 Party rule which forever bars a "bolter" from voting in or being a candidate in a Democratic primary.

As was anticipated, Rep. Bill Morris, of Augusta, was named Chairman to succeed Peters. The Convention voted to oust Peters and other Committeemen for sponsoring Herman Talmadge as an Independent candidate for Governor last November.

The Convention cheered when Thompson, Morris, National Committeeman E. D. Rivers, and keynoter Charles Gowen challenged the "bolters" to run as Independents next year against the Democratic nominees.

The crowd overflowed the Macon Auditorium which Bibb Rep. Horace Vandiver said has a seating capacity of 4,500. Convention planners had anticipated only 4,000. Rivers proudly announced that the meeting drew a larger crowd than did last October's session.

Every County was represented on the floor, leaders said. Chairman L. C. Groves, of Lincolnton, of the Credentials Committee, said that 144 County Democratic Committees certified delegates to the Convention. However, representatives from the other Counties including Fulton and Bibb were seated.

The Convention voted no future sessions of the Democratic Convention until 1950. Its first action was to "adjourn sine die" the "recessed" meeting of last October. Peters had announced plans to summon the Party back into session to call a Presidential primary.

Voting to give women a greater voice in Party affairs the Convention adopted a resolution granting women equal numerical representation with men on all delegations to the Democratic State Conventions, all convention committees and the State Democratic Executive Committee.

It voted to establish a party newspaper, "The Georgia Democrat," to be edited by Dan Magill, of Athens.

Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, of Louisville, National Democratic Committeewoman, nominated Morris for the office of permanent State Chairman.

The bands from Washington High School and Waycross High School paraded through downtown Macon and played at the Convention.

Thur 5-1-47

A Significant Political Development

(ATLANTA DAILY WORLD)

World, Memphis, Tenn.

The Democratic Convention held at Macon April 30th by Gov. M. E. Thompson and his supporters for the purpose of ousting the forces of Herman Talmadge from the party and at the same time setting up another Democratic committee to control the activities of the party is the most important development in recent years in the political life of the state.

This meeting, according to the daily press, was successful beyond the expectations of the most optomistic supporters of Gov. Thompson.

Therefore, unless the Talmadge forces admit defeat and abandon their attempt for political leadership we have at present the prospects of two powerful forces fighting it out next year in two different primaries. The Thompson convention also enforced a rule of last October's convention which bars any bolter of the party from participation in their primaries.

We like the prospects of two primaries because we feel eventually it will lead to a two party system which is the most wholesome setup in a Democratic nation. This will also mean that the real election will be shifted from the primary to the general election where it ought to be.

Tues. 5-6-47

The challenge and opportunity that now confront the Negroes of this state should spur us to seek sufficiently strong voting and political strength as to be able to prevent and faction from depriving us of the right to vote in the future. Unquestionably, the race issue will be the main issue of next year's gubernatioral election.

37d 1947 Democratic (Georgia Convention)

First 60 Named To Democratic Executive Group

Constitution Thurs 5-1-47 Atlanta, Ga.

MACON, April 30—(AP)—Here are the first 60 members of a new State Democratic Executive Committee, elected by the Convention of Democrats favorable to Acting Gov. Thompson. Sixty others will be named later.

FIRST DISTRICT—Albert Cobb, Savannah; Mrs. Jim Fowler, Soperton; Mrs. A. B. McDougall, Statesboro; Paul Sykes, Hinesville; Alvin W. Neely, Waynesboro; Mrs. John Beasley, Reidsville.

2ND DISTRICT—Fred Scott, Thomasville; Adie Durden, Albany; Howard Lagette, Cairo; Mrs. Bartow Gibson, Donalsville; Mrs. A. B. Conger, Bainbridge; Mrs. J. E. Newton, Tifton.

3RD DISTRICT—John Ferguson, Americus; Mrs. W. R. Turner, Cordele; Roscoe Thompson, Columbus; Mrs. Ollie B. Peacock, Eastman; Mrs. W. N. Pate, Hawkinsville; Leon Beddingfield, Vienna.

4TH DISTRICT—John Woodall, Talbotton; Mrs. Stewart Colley, Newnan; Mrs. R. A. Freeman, Thomaston; Mrs. Frank Lynch, McDonough; Harry T. Johnston, Griffin; Joe Gay, Greenville.

5TH DISTRICT—Mrs. W. A. Henson, Conyers; W. T. Dean, Conyers; Mrs. Murdock Equen, 2505 Habersham Rd., N. W. Atlanta; Hoke Smith, Hurt Bldg., Atlanta; H. O. Hubert, 204 Watkins Bldg. Decatur; Mrs. H. H. Trotti, 230 Wilton Dr., Decatur.

6TH DISTRICT—Walter Williams, Gray; Mrs. Rupert Hogan, Dudley; A. T. Land, Allentown; Mrs. Eliza Riley, Milledgeville; J. W. Overstreet, Wadley; Mrs. Lonnie Moye, Davisboro.

7TH DISTRICT — Grover G. Byars, Rome; Mrs. Elizabeth McWaters, Cedartown; Mrs. Stafford Brooke, Dalton; Tom Bryan, Lafayette; Mrs. Joe I. Matthews, Dallas; Roy McGinty, Sr., Calhoun.

8TH DISTRICT—G. T. Register, Lyons; Willie Ryals, Baxley; Ralph Knabb, Moniac; Mrs. Curtis Harper, Jessup; Miss Evelyn Hughes, Berrien County; Mrs. Kontz Bennett, Waycross.

9TH DISTRICT—George Ramsey, Toccoa; Mrs. Ed Williams, Commerce; Mrs. Wesley Ritchie, Demorest; A. J. Kenyon, Gainesville; Mrs. Worth Sharpe, Hiawassee; A. J. Henderson, Canton.

10TH DISTRICT—G. M. Elam, Washington; R. E. Knox, Thompson; Ralph Golucke, Crawfordville; Mrs. Peyton Hawes, Elberton; Mrs. John Preston, Monroe; Mrs. Lowery Hunt, Madison.

Anti-Talmadge Forces Rap 'Bolters' at Macon

Constitution

By ALBERT RILEY,
Constitution Staff Writer.

MACON, April 30—Without once mentioning the names of Herman Talmadge or former House Speaker Roy Harris, leaders of the anti-Talmadge forces roundly denounced them as party bolters in speeches before the State Democratic Convention held here Wednesday.

Approximately 5,000 Georgians overflowing Macon's City Auditorium gave repeated applause as the bolter charges were voiced in turn by Rep. Charley Gowen, of Glynn County, Rep. William Morris, of Richmond County, former Gov. Rivers and Acting Gov. Thompson. Thurs 5-1-47

Given a rousing acclaim as he was introduced while a Washington, Ga. High School band played "Dixie," Thompson also received an ovation at the conclusion of his speech when he called on the convention to adopt a resolution pledging Georgia Democrats' support to President Truman for renomination in 1948. Atlanta, Ga.

Keynoting the Convention, Rivers, Democratic National Committeeman, declared: "We meet not to purge anyone from the party nor to read anyone out of the party," but he went on to charge the forces of Herman Talmadge with deliberately deserting the party when they maneuverd to gain the governorship with write-in votes in last year's general election.

"They became members of 'write-in' party," he said, "and you cannot belong to a 'write-in' party and at the same time be a member of the Democratic Party."

Rivers frequently was applauded as he charged the so-called bolters were "bold and brazen" in their opposition to Thompson as the Party nominee for Lieutenant Governor when they thought they could succeed in "grabbing off the governorship." Thur 5-1-47

The former Governor said the Talmadge forces "not only abandoned and deserted the Party, but sought to kill it off by repealing laws through which it exists."

The State Supreme Court halted them in their machinations, Rivers declared, and he went on to assert that Wednesday's convention proved to the Talmadgeites that control of the Party has been wrested from their leadership by the rank and file Democrats of Georgia. Constitution

Rivers refuted claims of Talmadgeite leaders that Wednesday's convention could not legally be held.

"They are no longer officers of the Democratic Party," he said. "By your action, you are putting the Democratic Party in Georgia back on its feet so that the National Party can work with the State Party. Shortly, the officials you are electing here today will go to Washington to sit in conferences with National Democratic Party leaders." Thurs 5-1-47

In a speech 23 pages long, Acting Gov. Thompson, concluding speaker, charged: "A small group of men, formerly given positions of trust and leadership by the Democrats of this State, have by their acts abandoned and deserted their post within the Democratic Party." He added, however, that the legislators who voted to elect Herman Talmadge as Governor, "were not the authors of the bolt, but were the victims of it."

However, "If somewhere between a party primary or convention and the General Election, members of a group decide to act contrary to the decisions of the Party and run a candidate of their own against the Party candidate, they become bolters," he said.

He explained his veto of the white primary bill, charging it was a "no primary bill" designed as a conspiracy to seize complete political power in Georgia.

Tracing the development of the Party primary in Georgia as an instrument to voice the will of the people, Thompson said he was proud supporters of former Govs. Arnall, Rivers and even the late Eugene Talmadge, had joined him in his fight. Atlanta, Ga.

Elected Permanent Chairman of the Convention, Rep. William S. Morris, Augusta publisher who spearheaded a successful political fight against Roy Harris' Cracker Party in Richmond County last year, said "I have seen democracy destroyed and restored in my county. If it had not been for you true and loyal Democrats gathered here today," he said, "we would have had a Cracker Party controlling our great State."

Rep. Gowen, Temporary Chairman, who opened the convention, said "the thousands here assembled are proof for all time that the plot to seize the Democratic Party has failed." Thurs 5-1-47

Like Morris, who compared Acting Gov. Thompson to Gen. Eisenhower in rising to meet a need, Gowen declared Thompson had measured up to his responsibility.

Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, National Democratic Committeewoman, and Mayor Charles L. Bowden, of Macon, were among the speakers, and guests introduced included Mrs. M. E. Thompson, Mrs. E. D. Rivers, Mrs. William S. Morris, Mayor H. B. Edwards, of Valdosta; Senate President William Dean, State Treasurer George Hamilton, former Chief Justice Charles S. Reid, Phil Landrum, Thompson's Executive Secretary, and others. Atlanta, Ga.

Talmadge Banks On Cities Routing 'Purge'

Constitution - Mon Tues 4-29-47 Atlanta, Ga.

By JOHN COURIC

Herman Talmadge, whose father, Eugene Talmadge, boasted of his lack of support in urban areas, Monday night counted on help from Democratic Executive Committees of three large cities in a move to boycott Wednesday's State Democratic Convention.

At the same time, Sen. R. G. Daniell, of Metter, a spokesman for Acting Gov. Thompson, urged delegates not to be "misled by false claims and statements from bolters of the Democratic Party trying to keep the party from having an organization in this state."

Daniell said "disgruntled minorities in some county committees" are trying to keep "legally certified" convention delegates at home by making it appear these counties have no qualified delegations.

Fulton County's Democratic Executive Committee sided with Talmadge in this Monday when it agreed with his claim that the Macon "purge" convention is illegal, and refused to send delegates. Constitution

The County Executive Committees of Muscogee and Bibb Counties, where Columbus and Macon are located, already have taken such action.

However, Thompson spokesmen said residents of Atlanta, Macon and Columbus will be represented by delegations chosen probably by "mass meetings." The Convention, it was learned, will decide whether to seat these disputed delegates.

The Metter Senator, Thompson's Convention organizer, said "140-odd" delegates had been properly certified and their credentials sent to them. These certifications, he added, are legal and cannot be rescinded.

Talmadge disagreed.

"I haven't heard of any Executive Committee, which met in formal open meeting, certifying one delegate to the Convention," he declared. Talmadge said some 46 County Committees either have refused at meetings or have rescinded certifications made individually by Committee members. Tues 4-29-47

The Convention is being called to reorganize the State Democratic Party which, Thompson says, has been abandoned by Talmadge and his chief lieutenants, including James. S. Peters, of Manchester, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Thompson says these Talmadge leaders bolted when they supported Herman Talmadge as a write-in candidate for Governor against his father, the Democratic nominee. Atlanta, Ga.

Latest counties, listed by Talmadge as having refused to send delegates, besides Fulton, include Upson, Pulaski, Mitchell, Screven, Stewart and Appling.

Many counties remained in the disputed column.

Talmadge Says Macon Meet Is Only To Record 'Ja' Vote

Constitution

Issuing a statement Thursday on the recent Macon convention called by Acting Gov. Thompson to eliminate party "bolters," Herman Talmadge said: Atlanta, Ga.

"This is the first time I ever heard of a Democratic convention held for the sole purpose of cussing a man a year and a half before the primary and apparently trying to fix it where that particular person couldn't run if he desired."

The group that attended the convention, according to Talmadge, were the "lily necked, soft handed crowd that is accustomed to indorsing state checks." He said the Atlanta Journal bragged that there were no farmers or working people there. Fri. 5-9-47

"These deserters of the Democratic Party contend that all who oppose them are bolters," Talmadge continued. "Is James V. Carmichael a bolter because he got some write-in votes? Is M. E. Thompson a bolter because he got some write-in votes? Is Ellis Arnall a bolter because he got some write-in votes? Are members of the General Assembly bolters because they supported the state constitution? Are Judge Walter Hendrix and Judge Bond Almand and Chief Justice Jenkins and Associate Justice Tom Candler bolters because they upheld the law? This little crowd is following the pattern of all totalitarian forms of government. They say that they are not going to let anyone run but their man Thompson. They say the people of Georgia are going to have the opportunity to vote only 'ja.'" Fri 5-9-47

GLADSTONE WILLIAMS

The Constitution

Thompson Accorded Party Recognition

Atlanta Ga.

Thur. 5-8-47

WASHINGTON—After his round of visits with administration officials and party organization heads in Washington, there seems little doubt that Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson, of Georgia, will get the nod of recognition from the Democratic National Convention for his newly organized State Democratic Executive Committee as the official agency of the party in the State.

This presupposes that the Talmadge forces in the State will seek to challenge the legality of the recent Macon convention which deposed the old State Executive Committee, named after the primaries of last year, and set up a new group composed of Thompson followers.

While here Acting Gov. Thompson conferred both with President Truman and with top officials of the Democratic National Committee. No statement on the Georgia situation was forthcoming from either of these sources after his visit, but none was expected.

In all probability, national party headquarters here will not be called upon to act in the Georgia controversy unless and until the issue is presented for settlement.

But the effect of the Thompson visit was to pave the way for the recognition of his group and to foreshadow that development in due course.

constitution

For Truman

Aside from his conferences with party officials, Acting Gov. Thompson brought with him two things which tended to fortify him against any failure to get recognition.

One was the check for more than $50,000 raised through the recent Jefferson Day dinner celebration as Georgia's contribution to the Democratic war chest. This was presented to the Democratic National Committee.

The other was the resolution adopted by the Macon convention pledging the Georgia delegation to the next Democratic National Convention to support President Truman for renomination. A copy of this document was presented to Mr. Truman at the White House.

Georgia is thus committed as the first State to pledge its support of the President in 1948.

There is nothing to indicate that both contributions to the party were not received gratefully.

Atlanta Ga

As a matter of fact, there is sound basis for the contention that the Democratic National Committee has already recognized Acting Gov. Thompson as the titular head of the party in the State. That is held to have come about when the National Committee replaced Edgar B. Dunlap, of Gainesville, a Talmadge appointee, with State Treasurer George Hamilton, a Thompson man, as Chairman of the Jefferson Day Dinner Committee.

Nor was it any disparagement of Herman Talmadge and his friends that the national party organization did this. The National Committee was merely following the mandate of the State Supreme Court in ruling that Thompson was the legal holder of the Governor's office.

If the court decision had been the other way, then the National Committee would undoubtedly have recognized Mr. Talmadge and his State Committee as the official representatives of the party.

Likewise, there was a seeming disposition of the Georgia delegation in Congress to recognize Acting Gov. Thompson while here as the titular head of the party in the State. That came about through a luncheon given by Sen. Walter F. George in honor of Mr. Thompson. All members of the delegation in Washington at the time attended, along with members of the Thompson party—National Committeeman E. D. Rivers, State Treasurer Hamilton, and President Pro Tem of the State Senate, William Dean.

Choice

As most of those familiar with the situation view it, the controversy over which Georgia faction is recognized can come before the National Committee in one of two ways. First, over the delegation to be sent to the next Democratic National Convention. If two competing delegations should be named, it would be within the province of the National Committee to say which should be seated.

Thur. 5-8-47

And second, through some question as to which group was recognized by the national party organization in calling a Democratic primary in the State. It seems likely that in the case of two primaries the national organization would have the right to say which was recognized as official in representing the party.

By being in the saddle, so to speak, the odds favor Acting Gov. Thompson in any issue that may be brought to Washington.

TRUMAN IS BACKED BY GEORGIA FACTION

New York Times

Thur 5-1-47

Ousting Talmadge 'Bolters,' New Body Instructs Delegates to National Convention

New York, N.Y.

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MACON, Ga., April 30—Georgia Democrats received a new party faction today that immediately put in a bid for national political recognition by pledging its delegates to the 1948 Democratic national convention to vote for the nomination of President Harry S. Truman.

While 5,000 Georgians cheered and stomped at the municipal auditorium here, Acting Governor Melvin E. Thompson and E. D. Rivers, Democratic national committeeman and former Governor, formally brought into existence the faction that many predict will make the general election a determining factor in Georgia politics for the first time since Civil War days.

Born of the recent gubernatorial controversy when supporters of Herman Talmadge and Mr. Thompson battled in the Capitol corridors for executive control of the state, the new faction moved swiftly to capture the electorate's allegiance by becoming the first state organization to instruct its national delegates to support Mr. Truman.

When the convention adjourned sine die, Mr. Rivers, smiling and accepting congratulations from a long line of delegates, declared that the convention had followed Georgia traditions.

New York Times

All Actions Unanimous

Without a dissident vote in the three-hour session, the delegates elected half of a state executive committee, named a committee chairman and adopted unanimously a resolution that virtually read Herman Talmadge and his supporters out of their party, although Mr. Talmadge was not mentioned.

Thus, Georgia Democrats now have two state executive committees, each claiming to represent the "true party." It is generally believed that each will call a primary and thereby force the Governorship issue into the general election.

James S. Peters, chairman of the State Executive Committee that was named after the election of the late Eugene Talmadge, said that he and his associates regarded the convention's work here today as "the election of a rump committee headed by Ed Rivers."

The convention opened at 10 A. M., with 5,000 delegates, alternates and spectators attending. John Greer, secretary of the convention, asserted that of Georgia's 159 counties, 143 had sent legally certified delegations and the remaining counties had sent "observer groups" chosen at mass meetings.

Thur 5-1-47

Paradoxically, Bibb County, where Macon is located, and Fulton County, where Atlanta is located, did not certify delegations, although it was the urban areas that expressed the strongest anti-Talmadge sentiment in the last election.

Defense of New Set-Up

Under the rules the convention names sixty members of the state executive committee and its chairman, and later the committee selected another sixty members with the Governor's approval. William S. Morris, Augusta newspaper publisher, was named committee chairman. He and the fifty-nine members chosen today were approved unanimously in a voice vote.

In the principal address Mr. Rivers contended that the convention was legally called to recognize that the state executive committee chosen last fall had "bolted" the party and that their "vacancies must be filled."

By writing in votes for Herman Talmadge the executive committee had forsaken the party's approved candidate, Mr. Rivers argued, and therefore were "bolters." By their battle for Mr. Talmadge in the Capitol corridors, he added, they had openly branded themselves as "bolters."

New York, N.Y.

Thompson's Plea to All

Governor Thompson bid for support of all political groups and shadings when he said he was proud to have the support of "the aroused citizens of Georgia, of Allis Arnall, Ed Rivers, James Carmichael and many supporters of the late Gene Talmadge."

The convention then adopted a resolution that those who "bolt" the party or support independent candidates "shall no longer be entitled to membership in the Democratic party of Georgia or to hereafter become a candidate for the Democratic nomination for any office."

At the end of his speech, Governor Thompson lauded President Truman for his efforts in "stamping out communism in this country and quarantining it internationally," for his effort to "avoid a depression" and "retire the national debt" and establish "harmony between labor and management."

The Governor then declared that the convention "authorizes and directs the State Democratic executive committee, set up by the convention, to name and instruct delegates to the national Democratic convention next year to cast Georgia's votes for the nomination of President Truman."

5-1-47

Thompson Calls Rally; Georgia Democrats Split

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

Atlanta, April 19 (AP)—Georgia's Democratic Party was split in rival factions tonight as Governor M. E. Thompson summoned a Democratic state convention to wrest party leadership from forces of the late Eugene Talmadge. Sun. 4-20-47

The conventon was called for April 30 at Macon—scene of a Talmadge-dominated convention last October which proclaimed a platform of white supremacy for Georgia.

Talmadge Assails Call.

In conflicitng statements, each side called the other "bolter." Herman Talmadge, son of the red-gallused white-supremacy champion, said Talmadge forces would ignore the convention. Talmadge, additionally, accused Thompson of seeking to split the Democratic Party so that next year's election of a Governor will be forced into the general election for the first time since the Civil War.

Traditionally, nomination in Georgia's Democratic primary is equivalent to election. Talmadge, with a strong rural following, enjoyed an advantage because of Georgia's unique county-unit system in which the leading candidate in each county claims all of its unit votes. Eugene Talmadge won the Governorship in 1946 on unit votes, although he trailed his principal opponent in popular votes.

Rivers Joins Thompson Call.

In the general election, popular votes are the basis of decision. Talmadge charges that Thompson would be heavily backed by Negroes in Georgia's urban areas. In a primary, the county-unit system would void this plurality.

Thompson was joined in his call of the convention by former Governor E. D. Rivers, Democratic national committeeman for Georgia, and by Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, Democratic national committeewoman.

It declared that representative Democrats from every county in Georgia, in assemblies, had "petitioned, requested, and demanded" that a convention be called to organize new leadership.

Says Committee Is Void.

The call declared that the State Democratic Executive Committee set up last October by the Talmadge convention "no longer exists," because its chairman and members either "directly bolted the party and/or acquiesced therein, and supported the candidacy of an independent candidate." 4-20-47

Eugene Talmadge, the unopposed Democratic nominee for Governor, died three weeks before he was to have been inaugurated. Sun.

Herman Talmadge claimed the Governorship by legislative election, and occupied the office for six weeks, only to be ousted by the Georgia Supreme Court. Thompson, elected lieutenant governor, serves as "acting Governor" until a special election in 1948.

Georgia Calls State Meeting Of Democrats

~~Advertiser~~
~~Montgomery~~
~~Alabama~~

'Solid' Party Split By Action Of Thompson In Planning Convention

Sun. 4-20-47

ATLANTA, April 19.—(AP)—Georgia's "solid" Democratic Party was split in rival factions tonight as Gov. M. E. Thompson summoned a Democratic state convention to wrest party leadership from forces of the late Eugene Talmadge.

The convention was called for April 30 at Macon—scene of a Talmadge-dominated convention last October which proclaimed a platform of white supremacy for Georgia.

In conflicting statements, each side called the other "bolter," and Herman Talmadge, son of the red-gallused white supremacy champion, said Talmadge forces would ignore the convention. Talmadge, additionally, accused Thompson of seeking to split the Democratic Party so that next year's election of a governor will be forced into the general election for the first time since the War Between the States.

Talmadge Held Advantage

Traditionally, nomination in Georgia's Democratic primary is equivalent to election. Talmadge, with a strong rural following, enjoyed an advantage because of Georgia's unique county-unit system in which the leading candidate in each county claims all of its "unit votes." Eugene Talmadge won the governorship in 1946 on unit votes, although he trailed his principal opponent in popular votes.

In the general election, popular votes are the basis of decision, and Talmadge charges that Thompson would be heavily backed by Negroes in Georgia's urban areas. In a primary, the county-unit system would void this plurality, since 50,000 votes in a city county are worth no more unit votes than 2,000 votes in three, sparsely-populated rural counties.

Thompson was joined in his call of the convention by former Gov. E. D. Rivers, Democratic national committeeman for Georgia, and by Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, Democratic national committeewoman.

It declared that Representative Democrats from every county in Georgia, in assemblies, had "petitioned, requested and demanded" that a convention be called to organize new leadership. The call declared that the State Democratic Executive Committee set up last October by the Talmadge convention "no longer exists," because its chairman and members either "directly bolted the party and-or acquiesced therein, and supported the candidacy of an independent candidate."

There was no reference by name to Talmadge or to James S. Peters of Manchester, chairman of the Talmadge-aligned Democratic State Executive Committee. However, Thompson previously had charged the Talmadge leadership with "deserting" the party when Talmadge lieutenants engineered 675 write-in votes for Herman as governor when it appeared that death might claim his father. Eugene Talmadge, the unopposed Democratic nominee for governor, died three weeks before he was to have been inaugurated.

Georgia Lawmakers Mum On Convention

WASHINGTON, April 19.—(AP)—Georgia congressmen expressed interest today in Governor M. E. Thompson's call for a special convention of Democrats to remove Herman Talmadge from control of the Democratic state executive committee but did not commit themselves.

Neither Georgia senator was available. Senator George is home in Vienna, Ga. Senator Russell is in the Bethesda, Md., Naval Hospital recovering from an appendectomy.

Comments from Georgia house members (all Democrats) who were available included:

Preston: "While Congress is in session I feel it is my duty to remain here."

Cox: "I don't know enough about it at the moment to make a staement."

Camp: "I have not been officially informed of the matter. I am not a delegate to the convention and therefore will not attend."

Davis: "I don't know anything about it, and therefore don't have any comment."

Vinson: "It will be impossible for me to go to the convention. My legislative duties will keep me in Washington."

Lanham: "I have no comment to make other than that I am not planning to go. We are very busy here."

Moves To Scuttle Unit Vote Charged

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Chairman James S. Peters, of the State Democratic Executive Committee, Monday accused Acting Gov. Thompson and former Gov. Rivers of attempting to create two Democratic Parties in Georgia in order to make the General Election the decisive contest in the election of State officers.

This, Peters asserted, would "do away with the County Unit System and the Democratic White Primary."

Peters' blast came as a reply to Thompson's announced plan to call another State Democratic Convention in Macon April 30 to purge "bolters" from the Party and replace Peters and his Committee with members who refused to support Herman Talmadge's gubernatorial claim. Tues.

Thompson has charged Peters and other Talmadge lieutenants with Party bolting because they supported Herman Talmadge who was a write-in candidate against his father, Eugene Talmadge, the Democratic nominee in the last General Election. 4-22-47

"I hope that the County Committees will stand by their former action and ignore the efforts of Rivers and Thompson," Peters declared. "The Convention will be called again into session before the Primary next year to deal with the situation and to preserve the Democratic Primary and the County Unit System in Georgia.

"The 7,000 delegates will again be called to meet in Macon, Ga., and will constitute the only legal governing authority of the real Democratic Party in Georgia."

Peters said both Thompson and Rivers attended the last Democratic State Convention when he was chosen Executive Committee Chairman "and approved of its action and admitted its legality."

Thompson Backed at Savannah

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

By M. L. ST. JOHN
Constitution Staff Writer

SAVANNAH, April 21—While politically reticent about "going out on a limb," many members of the Georgia Association of County Commissioners think M. E. Thompson has made a good start as Acting Governor, and there is much sentiment in favor of the Thompson-called convention in Macon next week to "purge bolters" from the Democratic Party. Tues.

This reaction was obtained in spot interviews among Commissioners here Monday for the County Commissioners' Convention. 4-22-47

Some friends of Herman Talmadge as well as supporters of Thompson said they think Thompson "is doing all right so far" in his administration of State affairs.

Both friends and opponents of Thompson believe it is too early to determine whether he will make a strong Governor, or a winning candidate in next Summer's election. How he handles the financial and political affairs of State for the next six or 10 months will be the determining factor, they say.

Sentiment is divided over calling of a second Democratic State Convention for the purpose of eliminating from posts of leadership men who sponsored Herman Talmadge, "write-in" candidate. Most of those contacted in scattered interviews favored the convention. Many did not.

Thompson himself, who held hotel room conferences with many Commissioners here, said the sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of setting up a new Democratic Executive Committee to replace the "party bolters." Many County Committees already have named delegates, Thompson said.

This was not the word from Herman Talmadge, who is being entertained by Savannah leaders and Shriners while here to address the Junior Order of American Mechanics. 4-22-47

"I haven't heard of anyone planning to join Thompson in deserting the Democratic Party," he said. The Constitution

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No 'Political Roads,' Commissioners Told

SAVANNAH, April 21—Georgia's County Road Commissioners were told Monday by Acting Gov. Thompson that the State is not going to build any "political roads." The Constitution

"We are not going to build pet roads," Thompson told the County Commissioners' Association of Georgia. "We are going to build roads for the people who need them." Atlanta, Ga.

The Acting Governor declared that the State's essential services will be maintained, despite a shortage of funds. However, he warned that waste and "pet projects" would be ruthlessly eliminated. Tues. 4-22-47

Thompson expressed regret that he could not tell the County Com-

Commenting on the potential candidacy of young Talmadge for the governorship, Commissioners generally agreed he is "not as strong a candidate as Ole Gene."

Scott Candler, of DeKalb, President of the Commissioners' Association, lashed at Thompson's plans to call a new convention, declaring "we must not split the Democratic Party" on Thompson's record as Acting Governor.

cism. Thompson, Candler said,

citicism. Thompson, Candler said, is one of the best-trained men ever to hold the office. If he doesn't play "petty politics" he can be a great Governor, Candler added.

C. W. Matthews, of Woodland, Past President was all-out in support of Thompson. He liked his Administration. He avored establishing a "true" Democratic Committee, and he disliked the way Herman Talmadge and Roy Harris

"tried to take the Governorship."

missioners that the State Government would go ahead with a road-building program that "amounts to something more than completing the primary system piecemeal and maintaining what we now have." He said he would like to tell them the State would aid the Counties in their financial problems. Tues. 4-22-47

"I cannot tell you this today," Thompson continued. "I can tell you that we are going to do our best with the limited resources at our command. With the limited funds at our disposal, we will build roads as rapidly and as economically as we can." Atlanta, Ga.

Thompson pledged the matching of all Federal funds for road-building, and the adequate maintenance of existing State roads. He reminded the Commissioners that Georgia is short $38,00,000 of the amount needed for adequate public services, however, and asked assistance of the Counties in solving the problem. Atlanta, Ga.

Thompson recalled that as Revenue Commissioner he had recommended that the Legislature abandon ad valorem taxation for State purposes and leave this source of revenue solely to cities and counties. He regretted that the Legislature pigeon-holed this recommendation.

Three Georgians Loom As New Committee Heads

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Three prominent Georgians are under discussion for chairman of a new Democratic State Executive Committee which will be elected in a convention of Thompson backers in Macon April 30.

Mentioned as most likely to head the committee are: Tues.

Rep. William S. Morris, of Richmond County, Publisher of the Augusta Chronicle. Morris was named temporary chairman of the anti-Talmadge Democratic party setup established last February under auspices of the Aroused Citizens of Georgia before the Supreme Court recognized Thompson as Governor. 4-22-47

Rep. Walter Harrison, of Jenkins County, long-time Mayor of Millen and strong supporter of Thompson.

Stonewall Dyer, Newnan attorney and erstwhile law partner of former Governor Arnall.

'Talmadge' Counties Certify Delegates

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

More than 20 staunch Talmadge counties certified delegates to the Democratic State Convention Tuesday even as Acting Gov. Thompson indicated he would purge County Executive Committees refusing to carry out this Party function.

Thompson said he did not anticipat any County would fail to have representation at the convention in Macon April 30, but implied he would, if necessary, purge committees refusing to send delegates. The Convention is designed to wrest party control from Herman Talmadge and his lieutenants.

Commenting on the action of Bibb County's Executive Committee which Monday declined to name delegates, Thompson declared: Wed. 4-23-47

"I'm expecting a full delegation from all Counties, including Bibb. I'm not expecting any Executive Committee to fail to perform its duties. However, when a County Executive Committee, or any other official of the Party, State or local unit, refuses to perform its duties, by their action, they have abandoned their offices."

Approximately 50 Counties had certified delegates before Thompson made his statement The Acting Governor pointed out Party officials had requested the lists be put in the mails Tuesday night, and the early action was spontaneous.

Among the more than 20 Talmadge Counties already sending the certified lists were such strongholds as Twiggs, Wilkinson, Taylor, Fayette. Terrell, Evans, Clinch, Franklin, Wilkes and Dodge Counties.

Thompson is basing his stand for a State Convention on the charge that Herman Talmadge and his lieutenants bolted the Party by supporting the younger Talmadge for Governor on a write-in ticket.

Herman Talmadge received write-in votes in the last General Election against his father, the late Eugene Talmadge, the Democratic nominee.

In rare good humor during an interview in Savannah, Talmadge declared:

"I will not be purged from the Democratic Party. Georgia's Congressmen will not leave the Democratic Party. Only a few carefully selected friends of M. E. Thompson and a group of State employees will attend Thompson's Convention at Macon next week. The great majority of Democrats will not join Thompson in deserting the Party."

"I will be running in the Democratic Party's primary. I will not be purged. Thompson may leave the Party if he likes."

Talmadge said it might be necessary for the State Democratic Convention, "recessed" last October, to be summoned into session to change its rules in order to comply with primary laws. The rules were adopted in anticipation the White Primary Bill would become law. Thompson's veto might make it necessary to bring back the Convention to re-open the primary to Negro voters, Talmadge said.

Meanwhile, Comp. Gen. Zack Cravey hit at a statement he said Thompson made in listing him for the "purge." Cravey declared he was a loyal Democrat, and was supporting that Party when "Ed Rivers and his puppet government were campaigning for Hoover."

National Party Silent On State Squabble

While Democratic leaders simmered in Georgia, The Constitution learned through its Washington Bureau Tuesday that officials of the Democratic National Committee would decline at least temporarily, to be drawn into the controversy.

Efforts to obtain a statement as to which group would be recognized brought no comment from Democratic National Headquarters.

"We won't cross that bridge until we get to it," George Killion, Treasurer of the National organization, said.

Meanwhile, Washington sources said Acting Gov. Thompson, accompanied by National Committeeman Rivers, planned to visit Washington the first week in May, and would confer with National Committee officials on the State situation.

They would go to Washington, it said, primarily for the purpose of presenting to the National Committee a check for funds realized at the recent Jeffersan Day Dinner in Georgia, but they were expected to discuss Georgia's political situation.

A Sad Day Indeed

Constitution

Editor Constitution: Yes, indeed Mr. P. R. McDonald, it would have been a sad day for the United States if Ellis Arnall had had his way at the last National Convention by having Henry Wallace nominated on the ticket with Roosevelt. And it is now a sad day to us true Georgians to have at the helm of the State a man who on last October approved and admitted the actions of the real Democratic Convention as to its legality, who now is trying to bolt it by setting up another party. If he succeeds in this move, the true white Georgians will label it as the Mulatto Party, and will defeat it with an old-fashioned Democratic landslide. Atlanta, Ga.

M. A. KENIMER.

Toccoa.

Smoke Screen

Constitution

Editor Constitution: I just want to know what good can be accomplished by calling another State Democratic Convention. Fri 4-25-47

In my opinion it will create strife and discord and bring about a wider division between the two factions. The supporters of this rump convention are trying to deceive the people and make them believe that there is an upheaval in the State and the only way to save the Democratic Party is to bolt themselves. In my opinion a large majority of the rural sections are opposed to this scheme. Atlanta, Ga.

This is a smoke screen aimed at Herman Talmadge, and is a slap in the face to the thousands of white men and white women who supported his illustrious father.

T. J. ENTREKIN.

Tifton.

Bibb Democrats Reject State Convention Call

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Constitution State News Service.

MACON, April 21—Bibb County's Democratic Executive Committee Monday unanimously opposed a State Democratic Convention here April 30 and delivered a stinging slap to both factions of the party. Tues. 4-22-47

The Committee charged that Acting Gov. Thompson's request for delegates to a new State Convention is part of a 'struggle betwee two factions of the Democratic Party" to name the Georgia delegation to the National Democratic Convention in 1948.

As a step toward Party unity, the Bibb Committee proposed a presidential preferential primary to permit delegates to the National Convention to represent the Party as a whole.

Opposition to the State Convention came when the Bibb Committee met in response to requests for it to name six delegates and alternates as official representatives to the State Convention. Charles Bloch, prominent Macon attorney, presided.

The County Committee adopted a resolution declining to name any such group. The resolution declared the State Convention, Oct. 9, 1946, took care of all necessary party procedure.

Basis of a request for a new Convention, the resolution stated, is a claim that members of the present State Executive Committee bolted the Party when they supported Herman Talmadge, a write-in candidate for Governor.

There is no proof of this, the Bibb Committee asserted. Even if there were such proof, the Bibb Committee continued, there is no known rule providing for a new convention or new delegates.

The Committee added, however, that it would be glad to consider the matter further if such a rule is produced. 4-22-47

"We are of the opinion," the resolution stated, "that this struggle between two factions of the Democratic Party is nothing more or less than a contest as to whom shall name the next delegation from Georgia to the Democratic National Convention in 1948.

"We are of the opinion," the resolution continued, "that neither the Talmadge-Harris-Peters faction nor the Rivers-Price-Thompson faction nor any other single faction should hand-pick a delegation to be sent to the National Convention. . . . Such delegates should be chosen and selected by the Democrats of Georgia in a Presidential preferential priamry."

Following this, the Bibb Committee unanimously adopted a second resolution calling on party leaders to organize such a primary.

Notice of the Committee's action is being sent to Chairman James S. Peters, of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and to former Gov. Rivers, National Committeeman, and Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, National Committeewoman.

Officers Elected At Party Meet

Constitution

Constitution State News Service.

MACON, April 30 — Officers elected at the State Democratic Convention called by Acting Gov. Thompson, National Committeeman Rivers and National Committeewoman Price: Thur. 5-1-47

State Rep. William Morris, of Augusta, Chairman; Stonewall Dyer, of Newnan, First Vice Chairman; State Sen. R. G. Daniell, of Metter, Executive Vice Chairman and Director; Mrs. J. W. Oglesby, of Quitman, Second Vice Chairman; Rep. James Evitt, Jr., of Ringgold, Third Vice Chairman; State Rep. John W. Greer, of Lakeland, Secretary; Mrs. Sarah Giles, Secretary to Thompson, Assistant Secretary; Mrs. Schley Thompson, of Atlanta, Treasurer, and Dan MaGill, of Athens, Director of Publicity. Atlanta, Ga.

MET Afraid?

The Constitution

Editor Constitution: Is our Acting Governor, M. E. Thompson, afraid Herman Talmadge will be elected in 1948? Frankly, I think he is afraid or he wouldn't stoop so low as to take the action he did at the recent Georgia Democratic Screwball Convention. Personally, your screwballs and Negro Democrats will fall far short of success at the polls in 1948 if Herman Talmadge even thinks about running. 5-5-47

Mon. EVERETT LEE PHILLIPS.

Rome, Ga.

37d 1947 Democratic (Georgia Convention)

Associated Press Wirephoto

THOMPSON PRESENTS CHECK—Gov. Thompson, left, presents a check for $50,017.21 to George Killion, Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, for the Committee's 1948 campaign chest. In presenting the check the Georgia Democratic faction, headed by Thompson, pledged its support to President Truman in 1948.

Thompson Turns Over $50,000 to U. S. Party

Tues 5-6-47

Alanta, Ga.

By LORRAINE NELSON,

Constitution Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 5—Acting Gov. Thompson Monday pledged President Truman the support of Georgia Democrats at the 1948 national party convention, and turned over a check for $50,000 to the Democratic National Committee.

Thompson told newsmen the recent Macon convention, which instructed the Democratic delegates to the national convention to cast the "regular Democratic votes from Georgia" for the nomination of Mr. Truman, had not committed itself on a candidate for Vice President.

So that no change can be made in this action, the State convention was adjourned "sine die," he pointed out.

Thompson commented that acceptance by the National Committee of the large contribution and other acts of the Committee appeared "very significant," as it indicated national recognition of the new Georgia Democratic Executive Committee, named at last week's Macon convention, as official representatives of the Party in the State.

"Everything they (the Committee) has asked us to do, we have been happy to do, and everything we have asked them to do, they have done," the Acting Governor added. Tues 5-6-47

Spokesmen for the National Committee said the check had been presented by National Committeeman E. D. Rivers, who was considered the official representative of the Democratic Party in Georgia, and that any group he chose to deal with in the State constituted the accepted Party officials. Constitution

Georgia's chief executive earlier met the President at the White House at 11 a. m.

Emerging from the presidential offices, the Governor was met by a battery of Washington reporters and correspondents who queried him for about 15 minutes, during which he revealed he had urged President Truman to accept an invitation to come to Georgia June 25 to dedicate the Little White House, home of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Warm Springs. Tues 5-6-47

Basil O'Connor, Chairman of the National Infantile Paralysis Foundation, first tendered the invitation some time ago, it was revealed, though the President recently denied he knew anything about it. Alanta Ga.

"He said he would try to come," Thompson reported, adding that "from the twinkle I saw in his eye, it looked to me like he meant he would come." Tues 5-6-47

Thompson said he showed the President a copy of the resolution adopted by the Macon Convention, pledging him Georgia support in 1948. Constitution

Truman's reaction, the Governor said, "was to begin talking immediately about international and domestic problems." Tues 5-6-47

"But he was obviously pleased," Thompson averred. Alanta Ga.

The Macon Convention

Constitution

Macon's Municipal Auditorium contains 4,500 seats.

Yesterday they were filled for the convention called by Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson.

There were, in addition, a hundred or so persons standing and about 100 on the stage. The attendance actually was in the neighborhood of 5,000 persons.

That this surprised equally the Talmadge and Thompson factions safely may be assumed. Thur 5-1-47

The convention was called on a technical point, namely, that the Talmadge convention of last October, in an effort to prevent party bolting, set up rules banning from the State party any who might run as an independent and those party officials who might support any who participated in a primary and later ran as independents. Alanta, Ga.

The technically legal, from party rule standpoint, position taken by the Thompson forces was that Herman Talmadge, by running as an independent candidate and by receiving votes as an independent candidate in the election which saw his father run as the party nominee, had in effect bolted the party. Therefore, according to the Thompson factional ruling, Herman Talmadge and those who supported him had, by their own convention rules, placed themselves outside the party.

Whatever its merits, this was the position.

It is similar in purpose, if not in substance, to the Talmadge use of a legal technicality in the State Constitution.

Both had as their purpose the seizing of political power.

The impressive numerical success of the Thompson convention, and its actions, however contested, will be followed by an appeal to the National Democratic Committee.

This Committee will hardly deviate from the precedent of recognizing the authority of the administration actually in office. It can hardly be expected to go outside the established, legal head of a State administration and accept other representation. Constitution

Therefore, the next move is squarely up to the Talmadge faction. Upon its decision will depend the course of Georgia politics in the future.

If the Talmadge faction insists upon its own primary, the inevitable result will be to throw the governorship into the general election, not merely for 1948, but for a good many years to come. Its position is the more difficult since the Thompson convention indorsed President Truman as the Democratic nominee and the Talmadge faction can hardly bolt him.

Insistence upon a second primary would mean additional court fights and chaos involving the congressional candidates. Thur 5-1-47

If the Talmadge faction grits its teeth and swallows its pride enough to accept the anticipated National Committee's acceptance of the Thompson position, it can throw its full strength into one primary.

and avoid the general election contest.

The Atlanta Constitution, which long has wished for a two-party system in Georgia, would be gratified if it could say that the end result of the present factional fight would be just that. It is not entirely impossible, but it is most improbable. The late Eugene Talmadge privately condemned the "bolter" action by the October convention, which he could not attend because of illness and predicted it would mean trouble.

It already has. But it will hardly produce two parties.

The Atlanta Constitution urges every citizen of the State to read and measure the news, to keep well informed, so that when the time comes to participate in the balloting informed action may be possible.

Keep your political lamps trimmed and burning.

Alanta, Ga,

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Another Quiet Political Essay

Sun 4-27-47

Alanta, Ga,

Georgia's political shore, dimly seen, begins to move more surely into view as the Thompson convention at Macon on April 30 nears.

It is interesting, in passing, to note that former Gov. Ellis Arnall apparently has not the slightest connection with it and has, as far as the best-informed can determine, had no part in its planning.

The basis for the convention is, somewhat ironically, an action of the Talmadge convention of last Autumn.

In an attempt to thwart the plans of Helen Douglas Mankin to run as an independent, and in an effort to call attention to the fact she actually had bolted the official Democratic Party and set up her own, the Macon convention ordered all such to be read out of the party.

At the time this happened, Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge was recuperating in a Jacksonville hospital from the first phase of his subsequent fatal illness. It is known that he "raised hell," to put it as reported, with those responsible for this phase of the convention action, as being a mistake. But it had been done and there was no recalling it. The facts are, however, there was never any party attempt to enforce it.

Tongue in Cheek

Now, with tongue in cheek, the Thompson supporters point out that Herman Talmadge himself was an independent write-in candidate, and that those who supported the "bolting" did in effect bolt the party and, according to the rules of the October Talmadge convention, are not legally party members by their own definition and their own regulations.

This procedure, solemnly put, is, of course, a screen, but nevertheless one with a technical, legal basis. The Talmadge procedure in putting forward a portion of the State Constitution as the legal basis for the Legislature to elect Herman Talmadge was a somewhat similar screen. It had more legal substance and many persons, including some members of the court, believed the Legislature to have such a right under the existing circumstances. It seemed so to me, incidentally. Now, while the movement is strictly one of expedience, the Talmadge faction did supply the wood for this particular Thompson bonfire.

Basic

Most of this is, of course, window dressing. The convention itself comes under that definition.

Keep in mind the old, undisputed axiom that politics basically is a struggle for power. The Talmadge faction struggled for it in January, the Thompson faction seeks it now.

The convention is inescapable, from the Thompson viewpoint, but it is by no means the final action.

It is necessary, in the Thompson plan, to set up delegates to the national convention and county organizations. Here again, somewhat ironically, it was an act of the Talmadge convention which made possible the county appointment of delegates. The old rule was changed.

Constitution

Steps

Once the convention is held one may be sure the committee will go to Washington, taking with it the money raised at the recent Jefferson Day Dinner. This was really a quite remarkable job of money-raising.

The committee will then say, in effect, "Here we are and here is the money. Do you want us?"

It is customary for the National Committee to accept the delegates representing the administration in office. So, if precedent is followed, the Thompson delegates will be accepted.

This will not be all.

One more step will be necessary. And, in the final analysis, it is the really vital one.

The law requires the Secretary of State officially to confirm the official party nominees and delegates. Those to whom he gives the certificates will be seated at the national convention.

These, in brief, are the steps.

Sun 4-27-47

Confusion

Two primaries would throw the result into the general election. Two primaries would greatly complicate the problem of the congressional candidates and of Sen. Richard B. Russell, who will be up for re-election.

They hope for one primary, quite understandably.

If the Thompson forces are successful in the steps which they have initiated, and which the Macon convention will accelerate, the Talmadge faction will then face a momentous decision. It will be one calling for cool heads.

They must, in the event of a Thompson success with the National Committee, decide whether to hold their own primary or grit their teeth and swallow the blow to their pride and throw all they have into the one primary held under the committees selected by the Thompson convention. Certainly one primary is greatly to be desired. The possibility of two would not mean a two-party system, but a long period of chaos and court fights.

Cloudy

The State Constitution's contradictions make for more confusion.

Alanta, Ga.

It says the term of office for Governor shall be four years. But it also says that at the end of a term the Governor must wait four years before being again eligible.

What is a term? It is possible the two-year term, for which Acting Gov. Thompson will contest, and for which Herman Talmadge has announced, may be called a term and therefore the winner, either Thompson or Talmadge, would be ineligible two years later. Or the courts might hold it not to be a term under the State Constitution and the winner in 1948 therefore eligible for a succeeding four-year term. We desperately need a declaratory judgment to clarify this problem. If the winner in 1948 be not eligible in 1950 for the four-year term, would Herman Talmadge and his faction prefer to run someone else in 1948 for the two-year "term"?

Again, we need legal clarification. Again, the State Constitution needs amending.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Constitution

Political Key Seen in Macon Meet

Sun 4-27-47

Alanta, Ga.

SAVANNAH—The two greatest rivals for State funds met in conventions here this week and adopted resolutions asking for more money. The County Commissioners cited the deplorable conditions of roads and asked funds to improve them. The school teachers cited Georgia's low rank in education and requested money to improve schools. The Commissioners suggested a special session of the Legislature to obtain money immediately. The teachers followed suit, but they felt that the badly split Legislature should pledge itself in advance to voting the necessary funds.

Money was the theme song of the formal meetings of the Commissioners and teachers. Money to build a greater Georgia by improving roads and schools.

But when the local political and educational leaders got away from the formal sessions and into bull sessions, their talk centered around the things uppermost in Georgia's political mind—next week's political convention at Macon and next year's gubernatorial campaign. Some of the Commissioners and educational leaders who have vital interests in the State's political future looked to the "purging" Democratic convention called by Acting Gov. Thompson to furnish a key to politics in 1948.

Constitution

Watch Attendance

If the County Democratic Committees join pretty wholeheartedly in sending delegations to the Thompson convention, Herman Talmadge might decide against holding his own primary. If, on the other hand, the convention proves to be a flop, Thompson might decide against holding his own primary. Some Thompson supporters say that in the first eventuality, Talmadge would drop out of the picture entirely and would not be a candidate for Governor in 1948. Some Talmadge backers predict that in the second eventuality Thompson would pull in his sails and not seek an indorsement next year. The conversation here generally agreed that the attendance at the Macon convention would decide whether Gorgia has two "Democratic" primaries next year, and also would give some indication of the political future of Thompson and Talmadge.

Thompson and Talmadge both were in Savannah this week. Thompson enthusiastically claimed next week's convention would be a success. Talmadge gleefully predicted it would be a failure. Behind the public claims of the two principals, however, is a note of worry from supporters of both. Some Talmadge backers are

nervous lest Thompson be successful in his efforts to "purge" the State Democratic Executive Committee. They concede that the National Democratic Committee will recognize Thompson, who has the backing of National Committeeman Ed Rivers, and they believe Sec. of State Ben Fortson will recognize Thompson's faction when the general election ballot is published with party labels attached. So some Talmadge men are jittery today. The nervousness is not confined to the Talmadge side, however.

Some Thompson leaders are suffering the jitters, too. They think Thompson blundered in not leaving the State Democratic Committee as it is, and running in a primary even if it is supervised by Talmadge friends. They are having nightmares of the Macon convention drawing only a handful of delegates. All eyes wiii be on Macon next Wednesday.

Sun 4-27-47

Russell Coasting

U. S. Sen. Russell, who comes up for re-election next year, will be on a spot if Georgia's two factions divide into two parties (as some Commissioners and educators hope they will). At present, however, it looks like gia's two factions divide into two parties (as some commissioners teachers' meeting had heard of any opposition candidate. State Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder and former Gov. Arnall were mentioned tentatively, but friends of Linder said he was interested in retaining his present job and friends of Arnall said he had no interest in the Senatorship.

Alanta, Ga.

Politics in Season

As the Commissioners and teachers discussed the political fates of Thompson Talmadge, Arnall, Rivers, Russell and others; as they mulled over the hectic days of the recent legislative session when Georgia had two Governors, and as they puzzled over what is in store for Georgia in the future, they all expressed this hope: That politics would cool down until the Summer of 1948. Politics, in season, are entertaining, they agreed, but enough is enough. Instead of a bitter campaign from now until November, 1948, all factions should lay aside their swords and work for the improvement of the State.

So believed the builders of county roads and schools.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

A Quiet Political Essay

Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 4-22-47

In Washington there is a saying there are three parties always in the town, the Democratic party, the Republican party and the cocktail party.

Georgia's turbulent political conditions may find the State with three primaries in 1948. Sen. Richard B. Russell, who will be up for re-election in that year, and the Congressmen, cannot submit themselves to a dubious primary should both Talmadge and Thompson factions hold them. They would, out of necessity, be forced to hold a Federal primary in which only the Federal candidates would enter.

Indeed, neither the Thompson nor Talmadge forces could be ruthless enough to insist that any of the candidates for Federal office participate in either of their primaries.

The Congressmen and Sen. Russell may be considered as prayerfully hoping that some order comes to the State's political system before the primary season comes upon us.

Recognition

The Thompson convention at Macon is a bold move and one which the Talmadge faction has feared. Talmadge members are protesting its legality and there are loud cries of double-crossing. One may be sure that whatever happens in the primary elections, the courts will again be called upon to rule—if there should be two gubernatorial primaries.

Defeat of the so-called white primary bill retains all the laws guarding elections and they will be invoked where possible.

There can be no mystery about the Thompson maneuver. The convention obviously will produce a delegation to go to Washington and ask for recognition from the National Committee.

Delegates

If the National Committee follows precedent it will recognize the Thompson convention and, subsequently, the Thompson delegates to the national convention. The National Committee always recognizes the delegates of the Governor in office and Thompson will be in office in 1948. This would give the Secretary of State a precedent.

Once the Thompson convention is over, the Talmadge faction will have to put on its thinking cap and do some deep and important thinking.

4-22-47

If it resists the action of the Thompson convention, and the anticipated recognition of the Thompson committee, it can do so effectively only by holding its own primary and entering a set of candidates in the general election.

Danger

This would be dangerous and the Talmadge faction cannot be too happy about the prospect. The County unit system does not apply to general elections. It would be a very hazardous political venture and the price of stubbornness would, or could, be great.

So, there is a very real chance that the Talmadge faction, however much its members may be boiling inside or seething like the well-known inferno, would, in such a circumstance, swallow its pride and bow to the National Committee and participate in the one primary staged by the Thompson State Executive Committee.

It may be assumed its leaders have not yet made up their minds as to the course to be followed. It is a difficult choice and the fact that the Talmadge faction is in a state of mind which would enable its members to bite nails in two with as much ease as the ordinary citizen munches his breakfast cereal doesnt' make the choosing any easier.

If the decision is for a Talmadge primary, then certainly there will be three, as the Federal candidates would be forced to hold their own.

Candidates

Both Thompson and Talmadge have announced their candidacies for 1948. How many others will attempt to run remains for the future. Should there be a Talmadge and a Thompson primary, it would make it very difficult for a third candidate to offer.

Tues.

In the Senate race, no opposition has shown a hand. Tom Linder, in a recent article in the Market Bulletin, seemed to be saying that he thought Georgia had two fine Senators and that he, Linder, would devote his time to building up the Department of Agriculture. He has been the most-discussed possibility as a senatorial candidate.

The Constitution

Sen. Russell has a stable support in the State. It is never very vocal until he runs. Many persons who support him never interest themselves in politics until he runs for office.

4-23-47

In the gubernatorial field one may be sure of but one thing—wounds have been made which will be a long time healing. Two primaries would tear the State's political fabric as it has never been torn before. This is another reason, plus the one of wishing to avoid two sets of candidates in the November election, why the Talmadge faction may accept as final the will of the National Committee.

Atlanta, Ga.

Convention Success 'Is Assured,' Thompson Says as 100 Counties Act

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 4-24-47

By JOHN COURIC

Success of the State Democratic Convention in Macon "already is assured," Acting Gov. Thompson declared Wednesday, following the certification of delegates from more than 100 Counties.

Despite new opposition from Seminole County and open defiance from the Bibb County Democratic Executive Committee, Thompson confidently predicted all 159 Counties would be represented at the Democratic State Convention, April 30. At this meeting, Thompson's faction will attempt to wrest control of the Party from Herman Talmadge's group.

Meanwhile, a drive to organize backers of Talmadge into White Primary Clubs was reported under way.

Thurs. 4-24-47

The Macon News said Clubs had been established in 51 Counties with a minimum membership of 500 Talmadge supporters. Latest target of the drive, the News related, was Baldwin County.

Charles J. Block, Chairman of the Bibb County Executive Committee, which Monday refused to certify delegates, defied Thompson's implied threat of a purge if the Committee does not act.

"We were elected by the people," Bloch asserted, "and neither Gov. Thompson nor ex-Gov. Rivers, nor any other individual has the authority to remove us."

Thompson had declared he would consider Committee posts abandoned if Committeemen refused to certify delegates.

Bloch said the Bibb Committee would stand on its action but added that "further consideration" of its action would be taken by the Committee Friday if a Party rule is produced authorizing delegates to "such a convention."

The News said prospective members of the White Primary Clubs were asked to sign an application card which states in part:

"My political disposition is that of an aroused white citizen of Georgia, which means that I breathe no ill winds of hatred against any race, color or religious creed, but believe that . . . the rule of our government should be left entirely in the hands of white citizens.

Atlanta, Ga

"I agree to uplight the Negro to be of all general assistance to him that I can, but never to permit him to vote or elect his color to our public offices in this State unless by law I am forced to do so."

Acting Gov. Thompson Wednesday announced the selection of Rep. Charles Gowen, of Brunswick, as Temporary Chairman and keynote speaker for the Macon Convention, and the appointment of Senate President Pro Tempore William T. Dean as Chairman of the Rules Committee.

The Constitution

Usually the outgoing Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee presides at the opening of a Convention, but Thompson has charged Chairman James S. Peters, of Manchester, bolted the Party because he supported Herman Talmadge's claim to the Governorship. Talmadge was a write-in candidate in the last General Election.

"I never heard of an Independent or a Republican presiding at a Democratic Convention," Thompson commented.

Other committee appointments announced by Thompson were those of Asst. Atty. Gen. L. C. Grove, of Lincoln County, as Chairman of the Credentials Committee, and Sen. Everett Millican, of Atlanta, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

Atlanta, Ga.

Thompson declined to speculate as to who would become the new Chairman of the State Executive Committee, other than to say: "Bill Morris (Rep. William S. Morris, of Richmond County) helped run the Cracker Party out of Augusta; wouldn't it be poetic justice if he helped run the Cracker Party out of Georgia?"

Morris, a newspaper publisher, defeated Roy Harris, Talmadge's No. 1 lieutenant for the Legislature when the Cracker machine was overthrown in Augusta.

Stonewall Dyer, of Newnan, and Rep. Walter Harrison, of Jenkins County, also have been mentioned. Thompson said he considered Harrison out of the picture because Harrison would be unable to attend the Convention.

The Acting Governor explained that prior to the calling of the convention Harrison had promised to attend a rural electrification meeting on the West Coast.

At the same time, Bibb County's Democratic Executive Committee stood by its challenge of the legality of the Thompson-called Macon Convention, and defied the authority of Thompson or any other person to remove members from office.

Thurs. 4-24-47

Bibb Democratic Committee Chairman Charles G. Bloch said he had noted press reports that the Bibb Committee must join the "purge Party or be purged," and replied:

The Constitution

"Neither Acting Gov. Thompson, nor ex-Governor Rivers nor any other individual has the authority to remove us. That authority rests in the people who chose us."

Atlanta, Ga.

Bloch said, however, that a Committee meeting had been scheduled for noon Friday, and "if there is produced a rule of the Party which would permit us to name delegates to a Convention, such as that to be held on April 30, we will give further consideration to the question of whether we will select delegates."

Talmadge Men Rallying To Stall Thompson

Constitution Fri 4-25-47

Atlanta, Ga.

By JOHN COURIC

A counter-offensive to Acting Gov. Thompson's drive to reorganize the leadership of the State Democratic Party began shaping Thursday in the home counties of powerful leaders of theTalmadge organization.

At the same time, it was learned that James S. Peters, Chairman of the Talmadge-allied State Democratic Executive Committee, will speak over Radio Station WSB at 7:30 p. m. today in opposition to Thompson.

These developments are efforts to block the certification of delegates to the Thompson-called State Democratic Convention in Macon, April 29, where forces of the Acting Governor will attempt to purge Herman Talmadge and close lieutenants from the Democratic Party.

TALMADGE CLAIM

Talmadge sources said at least seven County Executive Committees had refused to participate in the certification of delegates and one other had rescinded its approval.

Thompson declined comment on this except to say all 159 Counties will be represented. His associates, however, claimed certification of delegates from 137 Counties.

Constitution

The Acting Governor has charged that Peters and his associates have forfeited their right to lead the Party in Georgia because they "bolted" the Party in soliciting write-in votes for Herman Talmadge against his late father, Eugene Talmadge, the unopposed Democratic nominee for Governor. Peters and Talmadge claim the Thompson-called convention is illegal and insist that the present Executive Coittee will speak for the Party until 1950.

LIST OF COUNTIES

Talmadge sources listed the Counties rebuffing Thompson as Bibb, Decatur, Dooly, Emanuel, Jeff Davis, Muscogee and Seminole. Baker County, home of Benton Odom, Executive Secretary to Herman Talmadge while he occupied the Governor's chair, reconsidered its certification and voted to poycott the Convention.

Bibb is the home of State Sen. A. H. S. Weaver, Talmadge stalwart, while Rep. Robert Elliott, Talmadge Floor Leader in the House of Representatives, lives in Muscogee. Emanuel is the home of Rep. George L. Smith, II, Talmadge - sponsored Speaker Pro Tempore of the House.

S. Marvin Griffin, weekly newspaper publisher and radio station owner in Decatur County, served as Adjutant General while Herman Talmadge held the Governorship.

Fri 4-25-47

HAND'S ANNOUNCEMENT

House Speaker Fred Hand, of Mitchell County, another Talmadge adherent, said the Democratic Executive Committee would meet Monday to "reconsider its action and refuse to send delegates."

Another Talmadge source said Wilkinson County will meet today to reconsider its participation, while Burke and Hall Counties will meet for reconsideration Saturday.

The Bibb Committee is scheduled to meet again today to discuss its refusal to certify delegates.

A Thompson spokesman said the situation in Hall County is confused since "the duly elected" Executive Committee was ousted by the Talmadge-dominated State Convention last October, leaving two rival groups. The same spokesman said Dooly County's delegates were certified and Seminole's certification also was on record.

In Jeff Davis County a struggle was reported between pro-Talmadge- and pro-Thompson forces with pro-Thompson committeemen naming new members to fill the places of "retiring" Talmadge adherents.

Atlanta Ga.

And in Dougherty County, Rep. Adie N. Durdon announced he had accepted floor leadership of the new convention.

'Can't Oppose' M. E. Thompson

Constitution

Fri 5-2-47

By M. L. ST. JOHN

National Democratic Committeeman E. D. Rivers declared Thursday night that Herman Talmadge is ineligible to run in the Democratic primary next year against M. E. Thompson for Governor.

Atlanta Ga.

Talmadge quickly replied that Rivers and Thompson soon will find out they cannot refuse the people a right to vote for whom they see fit. James Peters, of Manchester, State Democratic Chairman "purged" by the Thompson convention, has announced he will hold a Democratic primary in 1948, and Talmadge is expected to run in that primary.

Rivers' and Talmadge's statements came as The Constitution sought interpretations by political leaders of the action taken by the Macon convention. The convention refrained from mentioning Talmadge's name as it removed his friends from leadership posts for sponsoring him as an Independent candidate last November.

"In my opinion," Rivers commented, "the party's rule against bolting will ban Herman Talmadge from participating in a Democratic primary until rules are formulated for permitting bolters to repent and come back into the party. The State Democratic Executive Committee has the power to adopt a rule regarding the re-entrance into the party of persons who left it, but who may desire to repent. Of course, Talmadge can run in the General Election as an Independent again."

Acting Gov. Thompson was asked if the convention action eliminating "bolters" from party membership means Talmadge cannot run in a primary called by the Thompson-led Democratic committee.

Constitution

"I have not been informed that Talmadge has sought to run in the Democratic primary of 1949 yet," Thompson replied. "I do not believe in shutting the door in anyone's face before they come to the door."

William S. Morris, of Augusta, chosen State Chairman at the Macon meeting; Thompson, Rivers and Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, National Committeewoman, will be in Washington Monday to talk with President Truman and to turn over to National Democratic Party leaders $50,000 raised by Georgians in the Jefferson Day dinner. The Georgia convention was the first in the nation to instruct delegates to the national convention to vote for Truman for renomination.

Fri 5-2-47

Following the Washington trip, politics are expected to quiet down in Georgia for the Summer. Both Thompson and Talmadge said Thursday that they were concerning themselves with their jobs, instead of politics.

"Politics are adjourned in so far as I am concerned," Thompson said. "I will devote my time to trying to make a good Governor."

Talmadge, seated in his Atlanta law offices, parried a reporter's political questions by talking about the effect of the rain on his farm crops in Henry County.

He did make this statement, however:

Atlanta Ga.

"This country went to war in 1941 to preserve democracy at home and abroad. Millions of us went overseas to do this. The first principle of democracy is to give people a right to choose or reject their officials. Hitler found he couldn't refuse the people a right to vote for whom they saw fit. Two bankrupt politicians in Georgia, Rivers and Thompson, soon will find out the same thing."

Party In Georgia Endorses Truman

Montgomery Advertiser - Thurs 5-1-47

Talmadge Stalwarts Ignore Thompson-Called Parley

Montgomery Ala

MACON, GA., April 30.—(AP)—Georgia Democrats favorable to Gov. M. E. Thompson endorsed President Truman in convention today for reelection in 1948 and elected new leadership in place of those Thompson calls "bolting" adherents of the late Eugene Talmadge.

A throng estimated by party spokesmen as exceeding 5,000 filled Macon's Municipal Auditorium. Convention Secretary John Greer said 143 of Georgia's 159 counties were represented by delegates approved by a majority of county Democratic executive committees. Greer said other counties had sent delegates named at mass meetings.

Followers of Eugene Talmadge's son, Herman, ignored the convention. They have insisted today's meeting had no legal standing.

Thurs 5-1-47

Speakers at the convention said it was not summoned to "purge" followers of Herman Talmadge, but some observers contended the question had been raised whether Talmadge might be rejected as a candidate in next year's Democratic race for governor if he seeks to run in a Thompson-controlled primary.

'Dictators Meet'

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I see where the dictators have had their little meeting down at Macon. They met to try to dictate to me and others who they would let run and who they would not let run for Governor. Herman Talmadge is my choice for Governor and they seem to think they have eliminated him so I cannot vote for him. Did Hitler ever do worse? Why is this little man, Thompson, so afraid of Herman Talmadge? Herman Talmadge challenged him to meet at the polls and he showed his color, then by not accepting the challenge. Now he has stooped a little lower and pulled this farce at Macon.

Mon 5-5-47

I am so glad that Herman Talmadge never had to stoop this low and so glad that he never committed an ungentlemanly act while he was in office.

Atlanta, Ga.

So let's wait till election time rolls around and I will bet Mr. Thompson Herman will be in the race, and little boy Thompson is going to have a hard time explaining to the old age pensioners why he raised the school teachers 50 percent and let them make out the best they could.

RALPH DICKINSON.

Conley.

Constitution

Washy-Washy

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Why is Ed Rivers' stooge, Acting Governor, Thompson, trying to keep Herman Talmadge from running against him in the 1948 primary?

The answer is very simple. He is afraid of Talmadge's popularity with the people of Georgia. Even a school boy knows that M. E. Thompson hasn't a chance against Talmadge in a Democratic primary. I doubt if he would carry 25 counties. Talmadge offered to run against Thompson during the recent "Battle of Governors." He refused then.

Ed Rivers, knowing Thompson's weakness as a candidate, is trying to force Talmadge to have his own primary and then have the [illegible] race in the general electi

the Negro vote in a strictly popular vote election, Thompson might have a chance. He's kidding himself. Thompson (because of his "wishy-washy" ways) will be beaten overwhelmingly. He has about as much chance as Hoke Willis. I wonder if he can win his "own primary."

Mon 5-5-47

D. LEON TURNER.

Atlanta.

37d 1947

Democratic (Mississippi)

MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRATS ADOPT 18-POINT "WHITE SUPREMACY" CODE

(37) Black Dispatch

Opposed to Lynching and Mob Rule But Don't Think Federal Government Should Meddle in State Affairs

Oklahoma ~~City, Okla.~~

DON'T WANT FEPC

Sat. 6-7-47

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — An 18-point code, designed to safeguard white supremacy at the ballot in Mississippi and also to allegedly protect all qualified voters, regardless of race or creed, from being barred from participation in the Aug. 5 primary, was issued here Wednesday by the Democratic state executive committee.

The code was promulgated at the behest of the 1947 legislative session, which asked a strengthening of the party through the setting up of definite eligibility requirements for voters.

One of the outstanding provisions of the code dealt with the granting of "equal opportunities for all, with special privileges to none," while another prevision declared that "we are opposed to any legislation, federal or state, setting up what is known as Fair Employment Practices committee, commonly known as FEPC."

Opposition to lynching, mob rule and other forms of violence was stated also, and in addition, the code rapped any proposed federal anti-lynching bill as a usurpation of state powers.

"We are opposed to lynching, mob and other forms of violence and lawlessness," principle 13 reads, "and favor adequate state laws to deal with and suppress such crimes, but we are opposed to any so-called federal anti-lynching law as being an attempt to usurp the sovereign powers of the state to regulate and govern their internal affairs."

Another provision stated, "We believe in the time-honored and cherished traditions of the south and oppose any legislation, movement or police which would do violence to or destroy them."

On the issue of minority groups vs. majority groups, the code said, "We favor just and adequate laws to protect the general public from abuses by majority or minority groups."

Labor came in for mention when the committee asked for "fair and just labor laws" to enable the public, employe and employer to be "adequately and equally protected." Sat. 6-7-47

As for voting, two provisions were cited to cover this angle. One said, "We hold as a prerequisite to voting in this Democratic primary that the voter has thereby repudiated his affiliation with any other party whatsoever and affirmed his allegiance to the Democratic party."

The other provision declared "We are opposed to the enactment by the congress of the United States of the so-called anti-poll tax measure as being in violation of the rights of the states to fix the qualifications of electors, and in violation of the provisions of the constitution of the United States. We favor the poll tax and are opposed to any attempt to abolish it, either by federal or state legislation."

37d 1947

General

THOMAS L. STOKES

The Constitution

Democratic Split Aids GOP Resurgence

Atlanta, Ga.

Tues. 1-7-47

WASHINGTON—Now that the smoke and stench of the Bilbo fight has cleared away at least temporarily and Republicans have organized the new Congress, there begins to emerge in clearer perspective the political pattern that will be significant for the next two years.

Republicans have exhibited remarkable unity despite preliminary squabbles over posts of influence natural to a party coming back to power after long absence, and despite the conflict between conservative and progressive elements. The conflict, which will affect issues and candidates for the 1948 nomination, will show itself later, from time to time.

THE ASPECT of unity was helped by the GOP decision--and it was skillful as well as fundamentally just—to raise at the outset the appealing issue of public morals and civic liberties involved in the Bilbo case. This was something upon which the party could unite. It was something which, at the same time, would show the disunity within the Democratic minority. Tues. 1-7-47

DEMOCRATS plainly got off to a bad start in this Congress. In the shabby Bilbo spectacle, as well as in other events prior to and incident to the convening of Congress, they laid bare the dissension and confusion that was so apparent in the election campaign.

The split in the party in Congress was revealed in various ways in the opening proceedings. It appeared when Sen. Taylor, Democrat, Idaho, rose to steal the show on behalf of the handful of Eastern and Western Democrats who wanted to oust Sen. Bilbo, Democrat, Mississippi, on one hand, and, on the other, by Sen. Overton, Democrat, Louisiana, who rose as champion of the South to protect the Mississippian.

Outside of Congress, likewise, a division within progressive and liberal groups, largely Democratic, was disclosed. In New York there was created a new organization, Progressive Citizens of America, about Henry Wallace as symbol and champion. Subsequently, last weekend, there was organized here the Americans for Democratic Action which includes many prominent former New Deal figures and labor representatives. It bars admission of Communists in contrast to the PCA which declined to draw the line. 1-7-47 Tues.

THUS there broke into the open within the progressive movement the fight over Communists which became such an issue in the campaign in Democratic and allied organizations in big cities Atlanta Ga.

Established precedents point to capture of the White House by Republicans in 1948. Democrats have countered hopefully that perhaps they can recoup in the next two years by Republican mistakes. But it hardly seems possible that Republicans can make enough mistakes to offset Democratic ineptitude caused by the various schisms within their ranks, and their failure to find a common program upon which a large body of the party can unite. The Constitution

THE PROGRESSIVE WING of the Democratic party is handicapped in Congress by the whittling down of its strength. Southern conservatives hold the whip hand. This will give Republicans the opportunity to embarrass and split the Democrats constantly. On such issues as the Bilbo case and the anti-poll tax bill, which they expect to bring up in time, they will attract progressive Democrats and isolate the Southerners, and on economic issues they will attract the Southerners and isolate the progressives. This will offer the constant spectacle of Democratic confusion and disunity. Tues 1-7-47

The Negro and the Democrats

COURIER-JOURNAL

Last week a Negro minister, Rev. John A. Hunt of Hopkinsville, wrote a letter to your newspaper in which he said he felt it was his duty to urge Negroes to support the Republican ticket in Kentucky, qualifying himself by saying his vote has always been cast for the G.O.P. The reverend gentleman, who, I understand, left Alabama about a year ago, feels amply qualified to advise Negroes how to vote in Kentucky. Louisville, Ky. Sun.

Now, I am a minister of the gospel also, as well as president of the Third District Colored Democratic Club of Louisville and Jefferson County. Ordinarily I would hesitate to use my ministerial background in an attempt to prove a partisan political point. Rev. Hunter mentions Talmadge in asserting that he could not understand how any Negro could support the Democratic ticket. How he could mention Talmadge and not think of the progressive and liberal Ellis Arnall seems a deliberate oversight. Taft's repudiation of the Fair Employment Practice plank in the Republican party's 1944 platform seems to escape his memory also. The destruction of the O.P.A. and the subsequent high price of food, admittedly a Republican move directly affecting those very people he feels should not think of voting the Democratic ticket, is ignored by the Reverend.

Last, but surely not least, the Republicans here have openly boasted that they will buy up all the Negro votes on election day for the pittance of ten dollars a throw. It seems to me that Negroes in slavery brought a more profitable price. I am opposed to selling my vote to either the Republicans or Democrats, believing all thinking Negroes are of the same opinion. It took a Roosevelt and Truman to give the colored people the first chance at real citizenship they have ever had in this country, in spite of the fact the party Rev. Hunter carries a brief for, has had more Presidents and been in power more than any other political party. Rev. J. A. Moran.

Louisville. 11-2-47

37d 1947

PCA (Progressive Citizens of America)

Wallace's Baltimore Visit

Daily Worker

N.Y. N.Y.

By Ralph Izard

WASHINGTON

Appearance of Henry Agard Wallace in Baltimore under ths auspices of the Progressive Citizen's of America shattered a number of long-standing precedents in that border city of the Mason-Dixon line.

PAC

Veteran political reporters called the crowd of 8000 "something new in Baltimore political life." All of them agreed that such political interest among Baltimore's 227,000 people had never before been evinced in a non-Presidential year.

"This political awakening is something both Democrats and Republicans in Baltimore will have to reckon with, if it continues," was the way one press table habitue summed it up.

New York, N.Y.

CRACKS JIMCROW

But the Negro people will remember even longer the PCA luncheon at the Hotel Sheraton-Belvedere, where Wallace had his city headquarters. A rigid exclusion policy had been long practiced against the Negro people by the hotel management. The luncheon marked their first welcome into this sancta sanctorum of the city's color-conscious upper crust.

This "concession" was wrung from the management through PCA pressure. Snide retaliation seems to have been practiced by this same management in assigning Wallace a parlor for his press conference.

Tues.

They gave him the Red Room.

After his press conference, Wallace was whisked out to the Enon Baptist Church where he addessed an intent and friendly audience of nearly 400. The meeting, arranged by the Rev. J. Arthur Payne, one of Baltimore's progressive ministers, was told by Wallace:

"The movement for full equality for all the American people cannot be separated from the campaign for an end to red-baiting, the abolition of anti-Semitism, and the fight for peace and understanding with the Russians."

10-31-47

But his Enon church audience reserved their loudest applause for his emphatic words:

"We don't want war!"

Fervent applause was also given his reference to "the tendency of reactionary capitalism to cut its own throat."

500 STUDENTS HEAR HIM

Wallace attracted almost 2500 students from Johns Hopkins and Goucher College for Women, whom he addressed from the public thoroughfare just off the campus, via loudspeakers. The eagerness and interest of the students, among whom were many veterans, was marked as Wallace indicted the national administration for its domination by a coalition of generals and reactionary capitalists.

His address had been originally scheduled for John Hopkins's Levering Hall, the college YMCA. However, he was officially banned from the campus or any of its buildings shortly before noon, the the scheduled hour.

The grass-covered, natural amphitheater was selected through student action, as it gave Wallace the opportunity of addressing them without trespassing.

Wallace predicted that should Gen. Eisenhower and Harold E. Stassen be nominated by the Republicans for the two top posts on the ticket, there was the possibility they might "continue in office for 16 years." He admitted himself deeply impressed by what he knew personally of the general. He added that if Eisenhower shared the social thinking of his brother, Milton Eisenhower, president of Kansas University, the general would make great contributions to American progress.

'KISS OF DEATH'

Laughing, he added, that this might be interpreted as a "political kiss of death," coming from him.

The applause which followed his demands that the U. S. follow a peace plan, rather than a war plan, proved the anxiety created on the Johns Hopkins campus by recent pro-war statements of its president, Dr. Isaiah Bowman. Several days before Wallace appeared in Baltimore. Dr. Bowman had demanded immediate war against the Russians.

Parenthetically, this is the same Dr. Bowman whose name appears among the list of educators who endorsed unanimously the so-called Air University at Maxwell Field, Ala. The "war-now-with-Russia" doctrines taught there were first published by G. R. Johnston, former public relations officer at Maxwell Field.

HENRY WALLACE

From this same Dr. Bowman probably came the impetus that filled the morning press conference with student newsmen, editors and publishers. Wallace's answers to their needling questions constituted a course in the ABCs of political life. To a question as to what we 'should do about the Russians,' Wallace replied:

"I know the high esteem in which Franklin D. Roosevelt held Stalin, and I think we can get along with him."

"Do you believe we should attempt appeasement of Russia?" He pointed out that the question was maliciously framed to connote a similarity which did not exist between Hitler and Nazi Germany and Stalin and the Soviet Union.

As for the recent Soviet statements in the United Nations charging certain forces in the U. S. with war-mongering, he defined them as merely "the Truman Doctrine belching back at us."

Tues.

EXPLAINS CP STAND

Another student journalist asked:

"Does the Communist Party believe in and advocate the overthrow of the U. S. government?"

"No," Wallace replied.

Then he added that while Secretary of Commerce he had become interested in that very quetion upon learning of the nomination of a Wisconsin Communist for Congress. Doubting that such a nominee could be paid if elected, because of the rider to the 1946-47 appropriation bill that forbids payment of public monies to anyone advocating the "overthrow of the government by force and violence," he had consulted the constitution of the Communist Party.

"There I found," he told the college lad, "that the Communist Party constitution rules out membership for those who advocate such overthrow."

He was also asked if he considered "the revival of the Comintern a threat to the U. S."

9-PARTY PARLEY

Wallace replied that he took it his questioner referred to the "Cominform" that had been announced from Warsaw. He said he saw the formation of the new nine-party Belgrade conter as merely another reaction to the Truman Doctrine.

Passing to another phase of Russian-American relations, he emphasized that many of the present members of the Russian government had participated in the defense of Russia against the "white" armies of Denikin and Kolchak in 1919. Thus they were hightly sensitive to any threat, implied or actual, to the Soviet state.

At that time he informed his questioner, William Bullitt, now known as an anti-Soviet and pro-war pamphleteer, had secured from Lenin agreement to the surrender of Territory already occupied by the "white" armies.

"However, this did not suit Churchill, to whom Bullitt conveyed the information," Wallace said. "Consequently he urged Denikin and Kolchak to continue the attack, since he wanted nothing less than total overthrow of the Soviet government.

"So the Churchill speech at Fulton was interpreted correctly by the Russians."

PCA PICKS WALLACE AS CANDIDATE IN '48

Times

New York

37

Group Here Calls on Leader to Head Third Party Ticket—Menace to Truman Seen

By WARREN MOSCOW

The candidacy of Henry A. Wallace for President on a third-party ticket in 1948 appeared yesterday to have passed from the possible to the probable stage, as the most important group of his supporters, the Progressive Citizens of America, announced here that it was urging Mr. Wallace to make the race.

The action was taken by the executive committee of the PCA at a meeting late Monday night. It is scheduled to be ratified by the board of directors of the group at a meeting in Chicago on Jan. 16 and by the national convention of the PCA Jan. 17 and 18.

After that a call is expected to be issued by the PCA for a national nominating convention of a "Progressive" party, if that is the name finally selected. While Mr. Wallace still can decline to make the race, and has several months to announce his decision, the fact that he just finished touring upstate New York under PCA auspices links his attitude closely to the action announced yesterday.

The probability of a Wallace candidacy was viewed as having effects on the 1948 Presidential outlook. While no one, not even the most enthusiastic Wallace supporters, contends that the former Vice President would stand much chance of election to the Presidency, virtually everybody admits that it would wreck whatever chances President Truman would have for election, and it also would increase the chances of the nomination, on the Republican ticket, of Robert A. Taft, Senator from Ohio.

The PCA is the result of the merger of the National Citizens Political Action Committee formed to supplement the PAC of the Congress of Industrial Organization in the 1944 campaign, merged with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. It is regarded generally as being well to the left of the political spectrum, and if it follows the third party path, will go into the 1948 campaign without the support of the CIO and other union groups that backed the Roosevelt candidacy in 1944.

In New York State, it was learned, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, headed by the late Sidney Hillman, has recided to pull out of the American Labor party without a fight, as soon as the Wallace candidacy becomes a reality, turning over the party, which would be the Wallace vehicle in New York State, to the left-wing and Communist elements within it. Amalgamated leaders, headed by Hyman Blumberg, State chairman of the ALP, expect the Wallace candidacy to become a reality, and have made their plans accordingly.

Times

Dr. Frank Kingdon, co-chairman of the PCA, with Robert A. Kenny of California, resigned from the position as soon as the group took its third party stand. Dr. Kingdon, while a Wallace supporter, was reported to have opposed the race. He is a candidate, on his own, for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senatorship in New Jersey.

Slates Seen in 46 States

The Wallace supporters assert their intention to put up a third party slate in every state possible, which would mean forty-six of the forty-eight, Florida and Georgia excluded. Even if they failed in this, they would be on the ballot in enough of the key industrial states, including New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and California, to prevent Democrats from capturing their electoral votes.

New York???

In New York, for example, the Democratic chances of carrying the state against a strong Republican nominee of the type of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Governor Dewey, Senator Arthur H. Van[illegible]nberg or Harold E. Stassen have never been considered good, even in a two-party race. With Wallace running on a "peace" ticket, the Democratic chances would disappear in the opinion of political and labor leaders.

Wed. 12-17-4

On the Republican side, the chances of a nominee being picked on his vote-getting ability, such as General Eisenhower, would be lessened as the party's delegates would regard victory as certain in a three-party race, and would increase the chances of a nominee being picked on the basis of party regularity, of which Senator Taft if a leading exponent.

The chances of organized labor supporting a third party movement were diminished with the passage of the Taft-Hartley act, as union chief after union chief, previously sympathetic, moved back into the Truman column. Organized labor's chief concern is not in getting the law repealed through the 1948 campaign—something regarded by many leaders as impossible—but in winning the election for a President and a sufficient number of "labor-minded" candidates to Congress to pervent the law from being made more "anti-labor" by amendments. Labor leaders who hold this point of view are expected to support the Truman ticket regardless of the Wallace movement.

However, Mr. Wallace said last week upstate—and later denied that he meant it seriously—that he would prefer the election of a conservative like Mr. Taft to that of Mr. Truman in the 1948 campaign. The Wallace attitude toward Mr. Truman is believed to be conditioned by the latter's dismissal of Mr. Wallace from the Cabinet for the delivery of a foreign affairs speech that Wallave supporters still contend the President approved in advance of its delivery.

In New York State, while the Amalgamated Clothing Workers would pull out of the American Labor party when it moved to support the Wallace candidacy, the Amalgamated group has no intention of joining forces with the Liberal party, the original right-wing off-shoot of the ALP. The differences between the Amalgamated and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the latter being the chief union in the Liberal party, are considered too great to permit that alliance. It probably means the Amalgamated's disappearance as an active political group. Barring a turn to the left in political sentiment in the country, it would mean also the gradual diminution in importance of the American Labor party.

Statement Issued by PCA

The PCA, in announcing its decision, issued the following statement:

"The executive committee of PCA have voted overwhelmingly late Monday night to urge Henry A. Wallace to run as an independent candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

"The committee announced that its action grew out of the conviction of PCA state chapters who had expressed their support for this position and had urged the national organization to action.

"Finding himself in disagreement, PCA Co-chairman Dr. Frank Kingdon, who cast the sole dissenting vote, resigned from the organization. His resignation was accepted with regret.

"At the last meeting of the PCA board of directors in Philadelphia Oct. 4, PCA's board of directors declared:

" 'The democratic administration under the leadership of President Truman has betrayed the principals of Franklin Roosevelt. The various forces which formed the Roosevelt coalition cannot hope for the regeneration of the Democratic party under the Truman leadership.

" 'Moreover, the continuance of that leadership will lead to the disastrous defeat of the Democratic party in 1948 and victory for the Republican party, the main arm of reaction.

" 'As the experience of 1946 fully confirmed, the Democratic party has been successful only when it presented a progressive program and andidate and secured the support of independent voters who in default of a progressive alternative have stayed away from the polls."

"Since the Truman leadership of the Democratic party have forfeited any remaining hope that they would alter their course, the international situation has become even more critical. Prices have risen still further unchecked. Civil liberties have even been more sharply curtailed.

"Millions of Americans will stay away from the polls if they are confronted with only a choice between two brands of reaction. Those millions of Americans must not be disenfranchised. They must have a choice. Only if Mr. Wallace runs as an independent candidate will they have a choice.

"Only if these millions are stimulated to come to the polls will the election of progressive Congressmen be assured.

"Mr. Wallace has clearly shown the road to peace.

"Mr. Wallace has sharply outlined the measures essential to halt inflation and make this a land of prosperity.

"Mr. Wallace has spoken up boldly for freedom in a time our civil liberties are imperiled.

"Mr. Wallace has been and is the outstanding spokesman for the only economic and foreign policy program which will save us from war and depression."

37d 1947

PCA (Progressive Citizens of America)

Man To Man

By Harold L. Ickes

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Mon. 1-6-47

Liberals Need New Faces For Old Rather Than Merely A New Name

A new "liberal" simulacrum was on display recently at the Commodore Hotel in New York which was fulsomely baptized "Progressive Citizens of America." The names of those sponsoring this foundling are already familiar to the American people as active members of NC-PAC and-or the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. In short, there was little new about this organization except the substitution of a fresh title for two stale ones. However, among those prominently present was Mr. Henry A. Wallace, who, when last heard from, had been proclaiming that the only sure road to liberalism lay through the corrupt city machines and the poll-tax states of the Democratic Party. Apparently, Mr. Wallace has abandoned the theory, which never was a tenable one, that the liberal movement can live, breathe, and have its being only in the noxious exhalations from the Democratic machine. The Advertiser Mon. 1-6-47

I would be the last man in the country to speak disparagingly of any liberal movement that had any chance of success. But as I contemplate the tea leaves in the cup, I cannot see any future for the so fulsomely dominated "Progressive Citizens of America." What was needed was an exchange of "new faces for old."

More Generals Than Privates

One newspaper put this enthusiastic headline over its story of the proceedings: "Liberals Launch Grass Roots Organization." But there are no "grass roots" to the "critter" unless it was the grass roots upturned by the plow and left a prey to early destruction. There were the same names and the same faces that, under ever-changing labels, have offered themselves, time without number, as volunteer leaders of the liberals. Montgomery, Ala.

The appointment of two co-chairmen, supported by all of 30 vice-chairmen (count them!), and a national board of directors of 200, gives an impression of weakness and not of strength. Any army is not impressive that has more generals than privates.

Moreover, no liberal movement can prosper that, from its very start, will be called upon to defend against the charge of communistic taint. The cornerstone of the organization should have been a stern injunction that no communist or sympathizer with communism would be admitted to membership. A strong buttress would have been a statement that if a communist slipped in through the back door, he would be promptly expelled. The rest of a progressive platform could have been taken for granted, especially since it is already more than a twice-told tale.

Dr. Frank Kingdon, one of the co-chairmen, attempted to meet the issue of communism, according to the newspapers, a few weeks ago. Mon. 1-6-47 He announced in advance that the new organization would not defend on this question, because if it did, it would then be called upon to defend on other "minorities." In saying this, Dr. Kingdon was merely playing with words, without his usual dexterity. In the first place, necessarily he and his organization will have to defend on any issue that may legitimately be raised. And the necessity for a vigorous defense will be in proportion to the public's conviction that any charge is a well-founded one. Communism is not a "minority" in the same sense as a racial or a religious minority. Communism is a non-assimilable political ideology. A Negro, a Jew, or a Catholic has an unquestioned right to affiliate himself with any political group, regardless of race or religious faith. He might properly join a political group to work for its objectives. He would be assimilable. But a Communist would seek to join this old organization of the lifted face not because he believed in its principles and wanted to advance them, but for the sole purpose of causing confusion. [illegible] futility resulting Mon. 1-6-47

The Only Road

At an earlier conference, Mr. Phil Murray, president of the CIO, made it perfectly clear that PAC wanted to retain its labor identity. The retention of a particular identity in the social field, especially when it represents only one, although a strong, faction of labor, may be consistent with cooperation but not with amalgamation. Here we have another contradiction in terms which is an obstacle to the attainment of the advertised object.

It is high time that the progressives of America organized themselves independently of either of the two major parties for the purpose of supporting those candidates and policies which are truly liberal both in scope and intent. This is the only true road for progressive feet to tread at this time. 1-6-47

(C) 1947, N. Y. Post Corp.

HENRY WALLACE'S SPEECH AT THE MERGER convention of the National Citizens' P. A. C. and the Independent Citizens' Committee in New York last week-end set a keynote for the short-range activities of the new organization which has come out of the union—the Progressive Citizens of America. He urged sharper definition of the liberal and conservative positions and insisted on the need for making the issues clear to the whole country. More specifically, he advocated a drive by progressives to prevent the "Republican Congress and the laissez faire big business men from leading us down the highroad of boom, bust, and war," and a simultaneous effort to capture the Democratic Party. The further objectives he outlined were general, indeed rather vague, wrapped up in the slogan "world peace, world prosperity, and world freedom." Whether the new committee can accomplish even his immediate aims and those laid down—also rather broadly—in its own program depends upon the amount of local vitality it can draw upon. It is a good omen that delegates came from all parts of the country and that the spirited discussion at the working sessions revealed plenty of independent thinking and little partisan control. The desire of the delegates to build the organization on a regional basis and from the ground up was expressed over and over. If this spirit can dominate the activities of the Progressive Citizens, the merger will be an important move toward drawing together the shattered left in America. If it lapses into a campaign and lobbying committee run from headquarters in New York, the merger will mean little. We should feel more optimistic on this point if the two national chairmen, Frank Kingdon and Jo Davidson, were not both New Yorkers.

The Nation New York, N.Y. Sat. 1-4-47

PCA

25,000 Hear Wallace Urge Laws to End Segregation

Baltimore, Md.

Afro-American

NEW YORK—Before an overflow crowd of 25,000 cheering listeners at Madison Sq. Garden, Henry A. Wallace last Thursday lashed out at discrimination against racial minorities and called for "legislation ending jim crow in our nation once and for all."

The former Vice President was joined in his attack on prejudice by Lena Horne, Paul Robeson and Aubrey Williams, former head of the National Youth Administration.

All were speakers at a "Progressive Counter-attack" rally sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America.

Citizen, Not Entertainer

Miss Horne, who is a member of PCA's theatre division, said she chose to appear as a citizen rather than "in the role of entertainer."

She praised the fight made by Actor's Equity against jim crowism in Washington theatres and said it is evidence of the fact "that the American people will respond to justice and fair play."

Williams, a member of PCA's board of directors and publisher of "The Southern Farmer," warned liberals against being misled into support of reactionaries in either of the major parties.

He charged that the same men and groups responsible for anti-labor legislation and inflationary economic policies also lead the attack on the civil liberties of minorities. 9-20-47

"End Lip Service"

With a capacity audience of 19,000 in the Garden and 6,000 listening to loud speakers in the street, Wallace challenged Government officials to end mere "lip service" to the principle of equality and to abolish discrimination by law. Sat.

He referred to the "Freedom Train," which this week is beginning to tour America under the sponsorship of Attorney General Tom Clark and demanded that the ideas of the documents it carries be put into practice.

"Viewing them in air conditioned showcases," said Wallace, "is not enough. We must work for the day when colored persons in the South leaving a Freedom Train won't step forth into the reality of jim crowism."

PCA

"Must" Additions Listed

Freedom Train, he said, should carry these additional documents

"A bill embodying a permanent FEPC, a bill abolishing the poll tax, an act establishing the inalienable right of every American child to equal educational opportunities; Baltimore, Md.

"Legislation ending jim crowism in our nation once and for all a magna carta for labor, and side by side with the Bill of Rights drafted by our forefathers, the Economic Bill of Rights proclaimed by Franklin D. Roosevelt."

In his speech, which centered its fire on the Truman Administration's foreign policy, Wallace asked the Garden audience to pledge itself to work for those laws.

Condemns Witch Hunt

The former Commerce Secretary attacked those who try to make communism an issue in the U.S. and said:

"The only practical question is whether we are going to continue to strengthen the hands of the witch-hunting, labor-hating reactionaries who will be responsible for World War III, or whether we shall join hands and plan definitely and precisely—both politically and economically—for the peace and abundance without which no freedom can long remain."

All in Alabama Held Equal

Williams, whose "Southern Farmer" is published in Montgomery, Ala., also condemned the failure of Government officials to take action against discrimination. Sat.

"I believe," said Williams, "the colored peoples of the world—and I include those who are my fellow Alabamians—should have the same economic, social, political rights and privileges as I do." 9-20-47

A feature of the PCA meeting was a tribute to the late Brig. Gen. Evans Carlson of the famed Marine Raiders. It was written by Carlson's biographer, Michael Blankfort, and read by Broadway Actor Canada Lee.

Langston Hughes,

Wallace Speaks

AT PCA'S MADISON SQUARE GARDEN meeting in New York, I saw Henry Wallace for the first time. From the press row only a few feet from the stage, I got a good view of the man. He looks like a good man with a simple honest midwestern face. And he makes a good speech. He touched upon a number of subjects that interested me greatly because they affect me personally.

Henry Wallace condemned our accepting the "bankrupt and bankrupting British policies in Greece and Turkey." He spoke against that "large segment of our press propagandizing our people for war in the hope of scaring Russia." And he denounced "war-with-Russia talk as criminal foolishness." This portion of his speech certainly affected me because, like millions of other people in the world, I am tired of war and war-talk. And secondly because I have been to Russia and I have a warm spot in my heart for the Soviet peoples and for their land—the one land where ALL the means of production belong to the people, and where racial problems have been solved in complete equality for all. I would hate to see our America gang up for war against a people who draw no color lines. Afl. 9-20-47

Wants Full Employment

HENRY WALLACE ALSO SPOKE in favor of a full employment program in our country, a program to "save the sixty millions jobs we have today without the artificial stimulus of war threats, heavy munition programs, and a plan for universal military training." This certainly touches me because I remember vividly many relatives and friends near to me who were out of work and despondent during our recent depression period. I remember well relief rations, the WPA, and the CCC camp. I would rather those days did not come back again.

Wallace said that he is against universal military training. So am I. I think it would be better to spend all those millions for schools to teach the people democracy and peace, and to seek ways of working for peace, rather than for guns, uniforms, and military camps. And I am against it because in our country the military's separate and segregated units only spread, solidly and give official sanction to our undemocratic Jim Crowisms. Universal military training could only mean universal military Jim Crow for Americans of Negro blood. Not many young Negroes who knew the horrors of Southern army camps wish to experience them again, or have their sons or younger brothers go through a period of training in Georgia or Alabama or Mississippi.

Wallace spoke against the return of the Jews to Germany by the British—back "to the nation which massacred them by the millions." Many of my friends in the publishing and theatrical world are Jewish. Kurt Weill, the composer with whom I recently wrote the songs for STREET SCENE has just come back from a visit with is father in Palestine. What happens to the relatives and friends of my American Jewish friends affect me deeply. In fact, what happens to any brow-beaten minority in the world affects me as a member of a minority here. So when Wallace spoke up for the mistreated Jews of Europe, he spoke for me.

Wallace denounced the Thomas-Rankin House Un-American Committee, stating that "today it appears that the advocacy of any Christian or democratic principle is proof of communism. It is reaction's purpose to frighten us into silence for fear of a red label. The distortion is becoming so pronounced that we are heading into a time when it will be . . . un-American to practice and preach brotherhood and Christianity." As he spoke I thought of the long list of Negro leaders linked with the "reds" by Rankin's Un-American Committee last week, from Dr. DuBois and Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop of New York to the presidents of Bennett, Atlanta University, and Palmer. Everybody in God's world (except the House Un-American Committee) knows Dr. David D. Jones and Dr. Rufus E. Clement are not reds. Wallace said, "The red-baiting of reactionaries stems, as I have said before, not from fear of communism, but from fear of democracy." Sat. 9-20-47

Mentions Freedom Train

NEAR THE CLOSE of his speech, Wallace spoke of the Freedom Train that begins its tour of American this week bearing for public view the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation, and many more great American documents. "Magnificent milestones of progress," Wallace called them, continuing, "But viewing them in air-conditioned showcase is not enough. Paying lip service to their principles is not enough. We must rededicate ourselves to making them a reality. We must work for the day when Negroes in the South leaving a Freedom Train won't step forth into the reality of Jim Crowism." With which I certainly agree.

Appearing on the same platform was Miss Lena Horne who made a fine speech and looked like an angel. All the other speakers and singers were good, too.

PAC IN ACTION

C I O News.

37d

Dayton, O.

Washington, D.C.

A record off-year registration of approximately 21,000 since the Dayton primary elections has pushed the number of those eligible to vote November 4 in the City Commission race to 104,000.

This record registration comes close to the 118,000 who were registered to vote in 1944, and exceeds off-year registration figures by almost 20,000 eligible voters.

Political observers attributed the high registration to the drive of the CIO to elect its candidates, Charles E. Sims, president of the Montgomery County Industrial Union Council, and C. Josef McLin, businessman, to the City Commission. Sims placed first in the primaries with the highest vote ever achieved by a commission candidate, and McLin placed third, 50 votes out of second place.

Leading in registration were the sixth and seventh wards on the West Side, where 5,000 more are now registred than have even been in the city's history, and the second, third, tenth and eleventh wards, which are labor strongholds in the city. 10-20-47

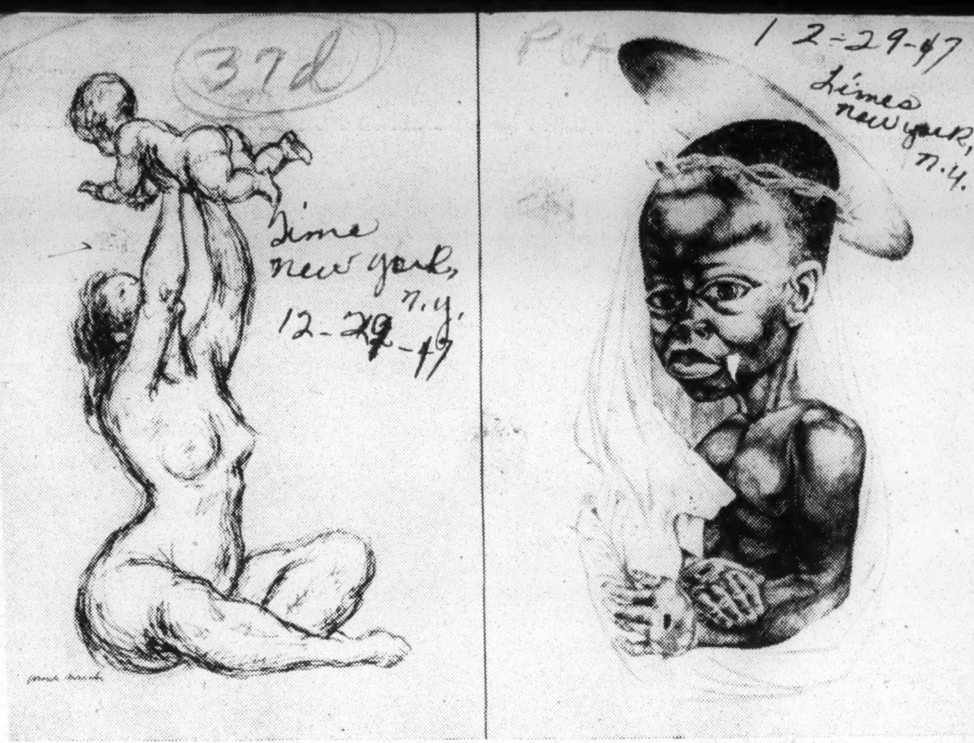
As soon as the tremendous registration began, a so-called "citizens' committee" of 11 people was formed with the blessings of the three Dayton newspapers.

They announced that their goal was to keep the city "free from the domination of any group of self-seeking interests," referring to the CIO and Negro groups in the city. They are rumored to be raising a fund of $50,000.

Rev. Ira Wilbert has submitted his registration from the committee, stating that his participation was erroneously solicited, and that the facts were misrepresented to him. Mon.

The committee never met in a formal meeting to draw up their statement which was released to the press, but rather it was read to the individuals over the 'phone by C. J. Brenner.

37d



Acme

Blasphemous?" "Obscene?" The K. of C. blasted PCA's Christmas cards

Merry Christmas to Some

37d Times

Apparently, the Progressive Citizens of America couldn't even say "Merry Christmas" without stirring up controversy. The Knights of Columbus denounced the PCA's way of saying it last week as "blasphemous . . . sacrilegious and obscene." What made the Knights so irate were six Christmas cards which PCA had printed for sale to its members, containing a message from Henry Wallace: "I hear no armies marching. I hear only a world crying out for peace." One, by artist Joseph Hirsch, showed a plump nude holding a baby over her head; another, by Milton Wynne, showed a sad little Negro boy with pierced hands, a crown of thorns, and a halo.

New York N.Y.

12-29-47

As the Catholic organization saw it, the cards were "an attack on those who believe in the nativity of our Lord." PCA's retort: the nude "joyously captures the spirit of the holiday"; the Negro boy is "appropriate to a holiday calling for good-will to all men"; PCA had no intention of withdrawing them.

Wallace, Canada Lee Speak in Pittsburgh

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

37d

PITTSBURGH—Approximately 5,000 enthusiastic Pittsburghers cheered as former Vice President Henry A. Wallace lashed out at the statesmen who "cloak our foreign policy in the language of freedom, justice and democracy," but tolerate poll tax, jim crow and lynchings at home.

11-22-47

Speaking at a meeting sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America here on Nov. 10, Mr. Wallace advocated abolition of the poll tax, a permanent FEPC, low cost housing and a comprehensive health program. Sat. 11-22-47

Actor Canada Lee, starred on the program, threw his support behind Henry A. Wallace and PCA by calling upon the American people to fight the danger of fascism now. Both Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee spoke at Carnegie Hall on the following day.

Robeson Says Clerics Fought Against Rally

37d

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. 11-22-47

ST. LOUIS (NNPA)—Paul Robeson charged local ministers with trying to discourage residents from attending a political rally sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America at Kiel Auditorium, Nov. 9. Sat.

Despite their efforts, 7,500 people turned out to hear Mr. Robeson and former Vice President Henry Wallace. Robeson stoutly maintained the rights of colored people to be conservative or radical if necessary.

37d 1947

Republican

No Jim-Crow at GOP Nat'l Committee Meet

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa.

(37d)

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—(ANP) — Traditional jim-crow practices against Negroes here flew out the window last week during the two-day Republican National Committee meeting at Hotel Muehlebach.

Contrary to a prediction made by Perry Howard, one of Mississippi's two Negro members of the GOP National Committee, prior to the meeting here, Robert R. (Bob) Church of Memphis, attended all the luncheons and dinners held during the committee's stay. He was accepted as a guest at the Muehlebach Hotel and occupied Room 737.

"I was treated just like any other Republican visitor," Church said.

Sat. 3-8-47

Howard made his prediction on his jim-crow reception at the Muehlebach Hotel in 1928, when he recalled that the hotel management even refused to allow Negroes to ride in the passenger elevators. Howard declined to attend the meeting because of the race prejudice he expected.

During the meeting, Negro newsmen shared the press facilities along with other accommodations. The next GOP National Committee meeting will be held at Philadelphia in 1948.

Oklahoma Republicans 100 Per Cent Wrong

(37d)

~~Black dispatch.~~

Recently in these columns we called attention to the September issue of the Southern Patriot, in which Dr. James Dombrowski, editor, has compiled the voting record of all U. S. senators and members of the House of Representatives on liberal questions that came before the 80th Congress.

Of course, what Dr. Dombrowski calls liberal and important questions might not be so classified by you, but the Black Dispatch thinks the Patriot editor has keen insight as to what is important in the realm of federal legislation, and he has tabulated accurately the voting records of each one of the members of Congress on these questions, and we consider it so important that voters have this record we are asking our readers who do not take the Patriot, to write at once to the following address, enclosing ten cents:

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Southern Patriot
808 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, La.

Sat. 10-25-47

It will be interesting to note that 14 out of 25 Southern senators voted with Republican Leader Taft fifty per cent of the time on 18 important roll calls, which should cause Negroes who allege they were born Republicans, to examine what these questions are, and what their passage or nonpassage would mean in terms of citizenship to black folk.

It will be observed also that Oklahoma's Republican Senator Ed Moore is charged with voting wrong, according to the standard set by the Patriot, fourteen times, right three times, and was absent on one important roll call.

Senator Thomas, of Oklahoma, is credited with voting right twelve times and voting wrong four times, while being absent on one essential roll call. It will be important to study the questions these men faced and the position they took on these vital issues before the next election. We talked with a Republican leader this week and when we called his attention to Dombrowski's charge that Oklahoma's two Republican representatives in the lower house had voted 14 times wrong on the 14 important issues presented to that body, his head seemingly went into a tailspin. The Patriot record shows that Ross Rizley voted wrong 14 times and that George Schwabe voted wrong 13 times and was absent on one roll call. Sat. 10-25-47

Now what were those questions that were presented to the Senate? We are going to list them here so that you may determine for yourself whether they are in your judgment important, and in a later editorial we will discuss the vote these men took on them. You should know whether they voted "yea" or "nay." on these issues. Do not let anybody do your thinking. Be guided in these conclusions by your own sober judgment.

Here are the eighteen Senate questions: Seat Bilbo; Save OPA; 60c Minimum Rider; Portal Pay; Reed Bulwilkle Bill; Extend Sugar Controls; Confirmation of David Lilienthal; Taft-Hartley Bill; Override Taft-Hartley Bill; Cut Foreign Relief; Income Tax Cut; Raise Tax Exemptions; Override Tax Veto Bill; Rent Control; Vets Job Training Pay; Home for Paralyzed Vets; Wool Tariff; Reorganization of Labor Department.

The fourteen questions that came before the House, listed by Dr. Dombrowski, follow: School Lunch; Land Reclamation; Labor Department; Rent Control; Poll Tax; Natural Gas Regulation; Loyalty Bill; Veteran Housing; Wool Bill; Wages and Hours; Cut Foreign Relief; Taft-Hartley Bill; Overriding Taft-Hartley Veto; Overriding Tax Veto.

In the next edition of the Black Dispatch we are publishing Dr. Dombrowski's digest of each one of these bills so that if you are not familiar with the legislation you can understand the purpose of the enactment. We want you to study the intent and purpose of this legislation and next week we will publish the action taken by our Oklahoma congressmen and senators in connection with same. If you desire the entire list covering the House and Senate you can secure same by writing to the address given above.

We believe every Negro who wishes to intelligently cast his ballot in 1948 should be armed with factual information regarding the action of his legislators. It is very stupid of Negroes to shout that all Republicans are for the Negroes' rights and all Democrats are opposed to civil liberties and progressive legislation for the blacks, when the record made by these representatives of the people might prove something entirely different. Let's take sentiment out of our politics and permit it to be a cold-blooded approach to citizenship as it should be. Your ballot should purchase you something in the market of democracy every time you enter the polling place, and you should enter the polling place under no obligation to anything but determination to secure more ideal government.

Urges That People Force Fulfillment Of GOP's Promises

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier
Sat. 6-21-47

PHILADELPHIA—(ANP)—A warning that Republican leaders of Congress "will stand convicted of a new attempt to deceive the American people unless quick and decisive action" is taken to pass the Federal anti-lynching bill currently before both Houses, was issued here last week by Donald Henderson, president of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union, CIO.

In a letter to Sen. Alexander Wiley, (R, Wis.) and Rep. Earl Michener (R., Mich.) respective chairmen of the Senate and House Judiciary committees, Henderson called upon Republican leadership to "halt its crusade against labor and start and finish a crusade against lynching."

GOP PROMISED ACTION

"The Republican Party leadership promised in 1946 that a victory for their party in November would bring quick Federal action to stop the crime of lynching. It is now June 1947, and the Federal anti-lynching bills (HR 3834, S 1352) are only now in committee. Congress is required by law to adjourn July 30.

"Unless quick and decisive action is taken to bring these bills upon the floor and to secure their passage through Congress, the Republican Party leadership will stand convicted of a new attempt to deceive the American people," the letter declared.

Pointing out that the "brutal murder of Willie Earle and the freeing of his confessed murderers are a death threat to all workers against whom lynch violence is invariably directed," Henderson said. "It is time that the workers and common people had some help from their Government in stopping lynching. Sat. 6-21-47

CALLED WORKERS STRUGGLE

"The struggle of the workers, especially in the South, against low wages and living conditions, is constantly menaced by lynch violence. Only the discipline and good sense of the workers have prevented many other such crimes. The Republican leadership should halt the crusade against labor and start and finish a crusade against lynching.

"Only in this way can Republican election pledges be at least partially fulfilled."

Order Protects Mississippi GOP

Norfolk, Va.
Sat. 8/9/47 Journal & Guide

JACKSON, Miss.—S. D. Redmond, prominent attorney and chairman of the Mississippi Republican State Executive Committee, has just obtained an order from the State of Mississippi protecting the regular Republican party of Mississippi in the use of its name, and restraining any and all other political organizations or associations from using the name "Republican," or any modification of the words "Republican" or Republican Party in the State of Mississippi. Journal & Guide

Sat. 8-9-47

This protects the regular Republican organization of this state in the use of its name against any prefix or suffix to the term Republican by what is known as the Independent Republican Party of this state, led by ex-Governor George L. Sheldon, and commonly known as the "Lily-White" Republicans of Mississippi. Norfolk Va.

Here-to-fore, there has been for many years much contention between the regular Republican organization of Mississippi and the "Lily-Whites."

Newsweek - Dayton, Ohio

GOP Bid for Negro Vote

Mon. 7-14-47

House Speaker Martin is anxious to have some Negro Republicans elected to the next Congress to help hold doubtful Negro voters in the Republican column. The two Negro members in the present Congress—Adam C. Powell Jr. of New York and William L. Dawson of Chicago—are both Democrats. In this connection, the Republican National Committee is expected to back a Negro candidate in California against Democratic incumbent Helen Gahagan Douglas in 1948.

Courier-Journal Photo.

CHARLES W. ANDERSON, JR.

Negro Lawyer Is Named To G.O.P. Post

Courier Journal
Louisville, Ky

Jefferson County's first Negro assistant Commonwealth's attorney, Charles W. Anderson, Jr., yesterday was named state campaign chairman of the colored division of the Republican Campaign Committee. Sat. 9-20-47

Anderson, 602 W. Walnut, is a former member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, being sent to Frankfort for six consecutive two-year terms, from what is now the 42d District.

For two terms Anderson served as president of the National Negro Bar Association. He is a director of the Southern Bar Association, holds a doctor of laws from Wilberforce University, is a member of the national legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a director of the National Urban League.

LENA HORNE TALKS ABOUT JIMCROW WASHINGTON

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
37d

(Following is the text of the speech by actress and singer Lena Horne at the Madison Square Garden meeting last Thursday night sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America.)

Sat. 9-13-47

LIKE MY COLLEAGUES here tonight, I want to talk about the 80th Congress. But I shall leave it to them to tell you about the quiet pressures, the understanding

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THE IDEALISM OF LINCOLN

Chicago Defender

Lincoln today as he emerges from a maze of contradictory legends — some historical, others romantic fantasies— is still a central figure in American history. Chicago, Ill.

The Republican Party of today, however, has lost much of the vitality and luminous statesmanship that Lincoln's leadership had provided it. It has lost the Lincolnian compassion for the suffering of the people. It is more concerned with power politics than with social and economic justice.

Negro rights are being sacrificed on the altar of political expediency. As a pattern of political action it has seriously retarded the development of American democracy all along the line.

The Republican Party got its impetus from the Negro issue: the right to citizenship with voting as a natural corollary. The Republican Party of 1860 opposed states' rights as incompatible with our national interest. Sat. Lincoln did not compromise with the Confederacy. He sought to unify the nation through a federal constitution applicable to all the states of the union. His party stood firm on the question of a federally centralized government, it opposed the South, and fought slavery.

There is considerable evidence that honest Abe saw the Civil War as a struggle between two concepts of labor — free and slave — and became most alarmed at the extreme southern doctrine that slavery was the natural condition of the working class. To the common man today Lincoln is the rail-splitter, the labor sympathizer, the ragged boy who rose to be President, the great Emancipator who in the end suffered martyrdom.

In recent years Wendell Willkie was the only Republican who sought a return to the ideals and faith of the Party. He challenged the South and all its outmoded traditions. He championed the cause of the common man with great zeal and rhetoric. But Willkie is dead. Since his death no voice has arisen in the Republican ranks to challenge the South. 2-15-47

Nineteen hundred forty-seven Republicans seem inclined to evade their party's historic responsibility. Yet with their overwhelming strength in Congress, they have a challenging opportunity to recapture the lost affection of the Negro. To do so, they must pass an effective fair employment bill—an anti-lynching bill, and other measures needed to complement an otherwise abbreviated citizenship.

There is no better time to take such a resolve than on this Lincoln's birthday. For without nationalistic idolatry he associated his nation with a moral idea. America had been "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Slavery had made this seem a mockery. Democracy, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence was Lincoln's guiding principle, and proved in the end sufficiently powerful to bring about the liberation of the Negro.

The Republican Party of today must resolve the insistent dilemma posed by racial segregation and systematic denial of rights. These are stumbling blocks to the wider dissemination of the democratic teachings. Sat.

They must remember the idealism of Lincoln, and hold on to the great spiritual forces which have swept America along the course of her history. It is the idealism of which Lincoln dreamed and for which he died. 2-15-47

Dixie GOP Leader Balks At Jim Crow Convention

37d

Chicago Defender Illinois Sat. 4-19-47

Chicago Defender, Ill.

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Perry W. Howard, Republican national committeeman for Mississippi, has balked at attending the meeting of the Republican national committee to be held in Kansas City, April 21.

Sat. 4-19-47

Perry Howard

In a letter to Edward Bacher, business executive of the Republican national committee, Howard said he would not attend the meeting because "Kansas City is strictly a Jim Crow town."

"I regret exceedingly, so far as colored Republican voters are concerned," Howard wrote, "that some other western city like St. Louis, Topeka, Kan., or Kansas City, Kan., could not have been selected."

He said the meeting is to be held in the Muelhbach Hotel where accommodations are not open to the entire committee "without regard to racial identity," and added that in 1928, when the Republican national convention was held in Kansas City, the Muelhbach Hotel did not allow colored persons to ride its passenger elevators and said that as far as he knows the same thing is still true of it.

"If I appeared there as a member of the committee and was segregated, and if colored Republicans were insulted by the hotel management with respect to the elevators and other facilities," Mr. Howard said, "I would be ridiculed and castigated, along with the national committee, by the Negro press as well as Negro civil rights organizations of this country.

37d

SEN. IRVING M. IVES — The Harlem Division of the Women's auxiliary of the New York Republican committee will be the first Negro group to break the ice in honoring a white legislator, when their testimonial dinner for Sen. Irving M. Ives is held, September 24, at the Colonnades room of Essex house. Ruth Logan Roberts, Harlem division chairman, will preside at the community-wide affair. 9-20-47

Negro GOP Leaders Split Over Bypass Of Race Aid Laws

37d

defender

Chicago Ill.

WASHINGTON—That some top Negro leaders in the Republican party have reached "the parting of the ways" was revealed recently at a meeting of the Republican-American Committee in Philadelphia when Perry W. Howard refused to join 23 nationally known GOP leaders in a protest of party sidestepping of legislation involving the welfare of the race. Sun. 9-27-47

Also missing from among signers of the protest were J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, and Joseph Baker of Philadelphia. An unequivocal statement against present Republican "dilly-dallying" on race issues was drawn up by Robert R. Church, Republican National Committeeman from Tennessee, and carried the names of 23 of the nation's colored GOP leaders. Sun. 9-27-47

Howard charged that many whose names were affixed to the document were not present. National committeeman from Mississippi, Howard said he had refused to attend the meeting and that if he wished to criticize his party he would do it to the party, not publicly. Howard has previously been accused of bypassing legislation which would benefit the race.

Calling on the GOP

Pittsburgh Courier, Pa.

Several colored Republicans met recently in Philadelphia and drew up a resolution bemoaning the "failure of the first Republican-controlled Congress in sixteen years to take ultimate action on problems of transcending importance affecting the civil rights and economic welfare of large segments of the population in spite of the solemn and unequivocal party platforms in respect to these issues": i. e., FEPC, the anti-lynching bill and the anti-poll tax bill.

These Republican stalwarts urged the Republican majority in Congress to place this legislation on its "MUST CALENDAR" at the beginning of the next session and to make its passage "a matter of party responsibility," and advised Negro Republicans to mobilize their forces on State and community levels to bring the necessary pressure to bear to compel passage of the desired laws.

37d

The resolution is signed by nationally known colored Republicans and its language indicates that these stalwarts are greatly disturbed, as indeed they have a right to be, because the prospect for the passage of this legislation, no matter how desirable it may be, is not good. Sat.

The colored Republicans know that unless this legislation is passed before the 1948 campaign, they are not going to have much to sell to the Negro voters. 10-11-47

On the other hand, the colored Democrats are in no better position because the leaders of their party in Congress are responsible for killing this legislation on several occasions, and will do so again if and when it comes to a vote.

Students of American politics have long since discerned the understanding which seems to exist between the two major parties on legislation of this kind.

The Republicans and the non-Southern Democrats support these bills and thus win Negro votes, while the Southern Democrats who do not have to worry about Negro votes, invariably vote against or filibuster against such legislation, which proves satisfactory to all concerned except the colored Americans. 10-11-47

The Republican Negro leaders now urge the party moguls to make some public statement which will indicate that the party is not "insensate to the hopes, aspirations, desires and rights of its largest single minority, and that it will take whatever steps necessary to guarantee the passage of the legislation enumerated herein."

But if we accurately recall, the GOP placed just such statements in their last platform and so far have not lived up to them nor made any sincere effort to do so. On the other hand the Democrats' platform did not mention this legislation at all. Sat.

With this political squeeze play going on year after year, what is the alternative of the Negro voters who are dissatisfied with the perennial runaround?

There is no third party anywhere near strong enough to make a Negro trek in that direction worth while, so there is no place for the Negro voter to go.

However, the Negro vote can be made more effective in Congressional elections both North and South, by greater registration which is not now sufficient to break up the political squeeze play but can be made so IMMEDIATELY in all but a handful of States.

This is why it is so important to break up the Southern white primary and to eliminate all obstacles to complete Negro suffrage in the South which is the key to the whole problem.

While a Federal anti-lynching law and an anti-poll tax law are important, they are not as much so as a Fair Employment Practices law nor can they get as much support from white voters and legislators, and therefore it is probably a tactical error to group them all together.

It is all very well for the colored Republicans to call upon their party to carry out their will but they should not attend undue importance to mere pronouncements.

37d 1947 Republicans (Georgia)

4 Party Names Tied Up By 'White' GOP Action

The Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

The "white" Republicans of Georgia have followed the example of the "Anti-White Democratic Primary Bill" Democrats in tying up the party name in the Secretary of State's office.

Meanwhile, leaders of "The Aroused Citizens of Georgia" planned to undertake Wednesday to reorganize Georgia's Democratic Party and purge it of the political faction led by Herman Talmadge and Roy Harris.

Wed. 2-26-47

Leaders of "The Aroused Citizens," which meet in Atlanta today said the 75-member Executive Committee would be asked to read Talmadge and his leadership out of the Democratic Party. Talmadge will be accused of "bolting" the party when he became a "write-in" candidate against his father, the Democratic nominee, in the November election prior to Eugene Talmadge's death.

2-26-47

Tuesday, the Republican faction headed by Roy Foster, of Wadley, obtained certificates preparatory to chartering a political party under the name of "The Republican Party of Georgia, Inc." It also tied up the names of "The Republican Executive Committee, Inc.," "The Republican Central Committee" and the "Republican Women's Club of Georgia, Inc."

This left the Republican faction headed by W. R. Tucker, of Dawsonville, to seek a different name if the Foster group goes through with its incorporation plans.

The Tucker faction, which includes many Negroes as well as whites, already has recognition as the official Republican Party of Georgia by the National Republican Party. However, the Foster faction has said it plans to contest this in the next national convention. The Foster faction's delegates were placed on the state ballot in preference to the Tucker group's delegates by the late Secretary of State John B. Wilson.

A. L. Bailey, of 522 Grant Street, S. E., Atlanta, assistant secretary of the Foster faction, obtained certificates from Secretary of State Ben Fortson, Jr., toward incorporating a party under the name of the Republican Party of Georgia, Inc., and also the Republican State Central Committee, Inc., and Republican Executive Committee.

Mrs. E. Stewart, of 645 Kentucky Avenue, S. W., Atlanta, obtained a certificate to incorporate a party under the name of "Republican Women's Club of Georgia, Inc.", as a branch of the Foster faction.

2-26-47

Leaders of both factions say a good opportunity to place candidates in the State races in the future, with the Democratic party being split into several factions because of the present gubernatorial dispute and White Primary Bill passage.

The State has abolished its law which required all but the Democratic party to present a petition signed by 5 percent of the registered voters before they could be placed on the general election ballot. The ballot now is wide open to any candidate or party.

Jim Peters, of Manchester, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, said Tuesday he was not worried about the move toward establishing new political parties in Georgia.

He said he didn't think a move by Reps. George Ramsey, of Stephens County, and Richard Kenyon, of Hall County, to take the name of "Democratic Party" away from the present group headed by Peters would "amount to anything."

2-26-47

Kenyon and Ramsey recently obtained certificates for "unnamed clients" from the Secretary of State to incorporate a party under the name "Georgia Democratic Party, Inc.," or "The Democratic Party of Georgia, Inc.," or "The Democratic Party."

Atlanta

Should anti-Talmadge Democrats achieve a reorganization, they would be certain of considerable support in the party's national councils. Democratic National Committeeman for Georgia is E. D. Rivers, former Governor, who split with Talmadge and backed Lt.-Gov. Thompson. National Committeewoman is Mrs. Virginia Polhill Price, long a political associate of Rivers.

A party schism, and possible recognition of the anti-Talmadge group by the national party, could have significant reprecussions in the 1948 national convention, at whch former Gov. Ellis Arnall may be a candidate for Vice President.

Constitution

In the Georgia Republican picture, the National Committeeman, Wilson Williams has supported the bi-racial faction headed by Tucker instead of the "lily white" faction headed by Foster. The National Republican Party recognized the Tucker faction.

37d 1947

The South

Martin Asks Bi-Party Vote For South

Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va.
Sun 2-16-47

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C., Feb. 15—(AP)—House Speaker Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, urged North Carolina today to take the lead in a movement "to lift the South to greater influence in the nation" by establishing "two strong political parties."

"The South has long been retarded because of its one-party monopoly," he told a Lincoln Day meeting arranged by --orth aCrolina Republicans. "You of North Carolina have a rare opportunity to lead the movement to lift the South to greater influence in the nation."

Establishment of two strong parties, Martin said, rather than continuance of the traditional Democratic single-party system in the South, would contribute not only to the welfare of this part of the country "but to the national good as well."

The Republican congressional leader eulogized North Carolina's former Governor, O. Max Gardner, who died last week after having been appointed ambassador to Great Britain, as "an outstanding American who devoted many years of his life to public service.'

The Southern

Republicans and the South

Fletcher Davis in The Hondo (Texas) Anvil Herald

Weekly

Dallas, Texas

If its source is correctly remembered, it was Georgia's inimitable evangelist, Sam Jones, who voiced the complaint that: "Every time the Republicans act the rascal the Democrats act the fool." Sat. 1-4-47

Could he be here now and review the didoes of the New Dealers over the past fourteen years, he would doubtless agree that the bunch in power have over-played both games of rascality and folly.

And now it looks like the Republicans, in the flush of their ascendency, are about to pursue the devious course of their late unlamented predecessors.

Just as the long-cherished idea of many Southerners that they could improve matters by dividing into two parties over national policies and at the same time still run their own State affairs in their own way began to take on tangible form, the Republicans must raise the ghost of negro domination to frighten the whites of the entire black belt into solid opposition.

Their attack upon Bilbo, Mississippi's recently re-elected choice for United States Senator may be good politics in places where the balance of power held by a block of negro voters may control the fate of Republican candidates, but it will neither help the negroes of Mississippi nor encourage independent voting among Southern whites anywhere.

It was Grant whom the Republicans honored in his day—who stopped most of the disturbance incident to reconstruction days with the remark that the country was tired of the recurring election disturbances in the South. Why can not the party that honored him honor his example and cease meddling with a problem peculiarly not theirs—but the South's very own?

The South And The Two Major Parties

Advertiser, Montgomery.

ELSEWHERE in this issue we reprint an editorial from The Savannah (Ga.) Morning News, replying to comment by The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser on our proposal that Southern conservative Democrats should vote the Republican national ticket in 1948. The News editorial speaks for itself in the usual forthright fashion of that newspaper. Mon. 10-27-47

However, the comment of The Advertiser is pretty much of a kind that the Southern guardians of strict party regularity under the one-party system have been making since the days of Reconstruction.

The argument is that the South just can't vote the Republican ticket. Why? The Advertiser gives the stock answer. "In the eyes of the South," it says, "the Republican Party is The Enemy. Its historic role in the South has been that of an outside force seeking to destroy us. It carries the stigma of Reconstruction days, not merely the memory of past wrongs, but of economic and other discriminations that have lasted to this day."

•

ON THE other hand, the South, according to this line of argument, must stick to the Democratic Party. Why? Again The Advertiser gives the stock answer. "In the eyes of the South," it says, "the Democratic Party still is the symbol of our cherished autonomy, and still conveys the comfortable feeling of having a friend at court." Mon. 10-27-47

We suppose there are still people in the South who can be affected by such arguments. And, of coures, there was a time when such arguments were valid. There was a Republican Party once that was the enemy of the South, and there used to be a Democratic Party that was the true friend of the South. But very few people alive today can remember the time when the Republican Party was really the enemy. And the Democratic Party that was a friend of the South is no more. There is a party that still calls itself the Democratic Party, but that name is the only thing about it that resembles the historic Democratic Party.

The historic Democratic Party stood for a Federal Government of strictly limited powers which were defined definitely and precisely in the Constitution of the United States. It held that all other powers were reserved to the States and to the people. It held that included in these reserved powers was exclusive authority over all local matters, and, incidentally, among such local matters was everything connected with the relations between the Negro and white races. It stood for the principle of equal rights to all and special privileges to none. It was against subsidies and Government paternalism. Above all, it held that Federal taxes should be levied only to raise revenue for the support of the Government, economically administered. And finally, it regarded the Bill of Rights, which was added to the Constitution chiefly through the influence of those Virginians who later founded the Democratic Party, as the chief safeguard of our liberties against encroachment by the Federal Government.

THE party that bears the Democratic name today stands for a highly centralized Federal Government of undefined powers, which may be indefinitely expanded through loose and "liberal" construction of the Constitution. It holds that there are no reserved powers of the States which the Federal Government need respect, and it contends that there are no purely local matters over which Congress and the Federal Government may not assume jurisdiction. Incidentally, it applies this contention under which anyone may be employed within the various States, but also to defining the qualifications of voters within the States and to regulating arbitrarily the relations between the Negro and white races. It stands for special privileges for favored groups, for subsidies, and it seeks to establish an elaborate system of Government paternalism. It advocates the levying of confiscatory Federal taxes, not merely to raise revenue, but to bring about what it calls " a more equitable redistribution of the national income." As for the Bill of Rights, the responsible spokesmen of the party have declared it to be outmoded and behind the times and have advocated a so-called "Economic Bill of Rights," under which the Federal Government would guarantee to every citizen a permanent and remunerative job and general all-around economic security from the cradle to the grave.

In accordance with these new "principles" of the so-called Democratic Party, the Truman administration has recently sought and obtained from the Supreme Court of the United States (in the California tidelands case) the enunciation of an unprecedented and unique doctrine under which the Federal Government is held to possess rights and powers over State-owned property, superior to the rights of what the Court calls "a mere property owner." This doctrine would establish Federal supremacy over the States of a more sweeping character than anything advocated by the most extreme Radical of the Reconstruction Congress immediately after the War for Southern Independence. And it can be interpreted as applying to the private property of the individual as well, thus nullifying two of the most fundamental principles of the Bill of Rights—that no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law and that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

A political party is not an abstract thing apart from the persons who control it, and those who control the so-called Democratic Party today have demonstrated by their acts and their public utterances that its principles and its program are such as are here set forth. Southern Democrats, whose State organizations and whose representatives in Congress, for the most part, still adhere to the original principles and program of the historic Democratic Party, are such a woeful minority of the party by any test—whether popular vote, electoral vote, or votes in the Democratic National Convention—that they are powerless to affect its policies in any degree. And the habit of the people of the South of voting the Democratic national ticket blindly regardless of everything perpetuates this condition.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, can The Montgomery Advertiser seriously contend that a party with such "principles" and such a program as we have outlined "still the the symbol of our cherished autonomy?" Not in all the 146 years between the adoption of the Constitution and 1933 was that "cherished autonomy" invaded and encroached upon nearly so grievously as during the 14 years since the latter date. And if the so-called Democratic Party should be perpetuated in power beyond 1948, the process of centralization and enhancement of the power of the Federal Government will continue until our "cherished autonomy" has been completely destroyed. Advertiser

It was the votes of Southerners in Congress, in coalition with Republicans, that blocked the "Democratic" administration's legislative program to "implement" the so-called Economic Bill of Rights. The Southerners and the Republicans voted together because they believe in the same kind of government and because they are opposed to the "Democratic" program for the establishment of a politically managed collectivist economy. In the light of this, isn't it the sheerest buncombe still to speak of the Republican Party in relation to the South as "The Enemy" or as "an outside force seeking to destroy us?" We give our fellow Southerners credit for a greater measure of common sense and a more genuine brand of self-respect to believe it is anything else. Montgomery, Ala.

As for the "comfortable feeling of having a friend at court," all we can say is that if such a feeling still persists in the South, it is a pathetic instance of the insidious power of self-deception. The South today has no "friend" at court, and its habit of party regularity under the one-party system is not calculated to win friends or to influence the shrewd gentlemen who map the strategy of the two major political parties. Neither party has any reason to be a friend of the South, and the so-called Democratic 'Party couldn't be the South's friend if its leaders sincerely wanted it to be. Its rabid left-wing haters of the South, the exact counterparts today of the Radicals of the Reconstruction Congress, wouldn't let it.

37d 1947 Third Party (Henry A. Wallace)

MR. WALLACE'S CANDIDACY

Times, New York, N.Y. Dec. 30-47

About a year and a half ago, speaking at the tenth anniversary dinner of the American Labor party in this city, Henry A. Wallace warned against the formation of a national third party on the ground that this would split the progressive vote. Mr. Wallace is now ready to ignore his own warning. To the best of his ability he is ready to split the progressive vote. He is ready to do precisely the thing which eighteen months ago he said would "guarantee a reactionary victory." He is ready to run for President on a third ticket, and he is not deterred by the thought that this action may chiefly injure the party which twice honored him with Cabinet office and once elected him to the Vice Presidency.

It has already been made clear that in this undertaking Mr. Wallace will not have the support even of a united Labor party. The rumblings of his approaching candidacy have split that organization. Its largest single constituency, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has given notice that it will have no part in this adventure. Mr. Wallace will therefore begin his campaign with no visible organized support save that which can be found on the left wing of the Labor party and in the ranks of the Communists, who now applaud him in the pages of the Daily Worker. Such additional support as he receives in this new undertaking must be won primarily through his ability to persuade independent voters of the soundness of his claim that he alone, in contrast to the present leadership and the likely nominees of both major political parties in this country, can keep the United States at peace with Russia. 11-30-47

Mr. Wallace's formula for keeping peace with Russia seems to us to be essentially the formula which Mr. Chamberlain employed in the hope of keeping peace with Germany. It is to purchase a temporary good-will at the price of a surrender of both principle and position. This has been made clear in the course of all three stages in the development of our post-war relations with the Soviets.

Our first major post-war problems arose in the area of Eastern Europe—an area which Russia has openly sought to dominate and in which our own interests were directly and specifically involved by the promises of "democratic government" and "free elections" made in the Atlantic Charter and the Yalta Declaration, and agreed to there by Russia. It was Mr. Wallace's opinion, stated in the Madison Square Garden speech which resulted in President Truman's request for his resignation from the Cabinet, that we in this country "should recognize that we have no more business in the political affairs of Eastern Europe than Russia has in the political affairs of Latin America, Western Europe and the United States." Mr. Wallace thus proposed to annul, in the states on Russia's frontier, the pledges of political freedom given to the peoples of those states by President Roosevelt in the name of the American people.

The second principal area of post-war disagreement has turned on the question of the atomic bomb. Mr. Wallace has dismissed as "unnecessary" the Baruch plan—which is the official American plan, and also the official majority United Nations plan—for the abolition of the veto in matters relating to the control of atomic energy. He has called for the discontinuance of the production and stock-piling of atomic bombs by this country, even in advance of the establishment of an effective system of international control. He has proposed to accelerate the process by which Russia comes into full possession of our knowledge of the manufacture of this weapon.

In the third chief area of our disagreement with Russia—the area comprising Western Europe and the Middle East—Mr. Wallace has denounced the Truman Doctrine, which extended American aid to Greece and Turkey in defense against the threat of Russo-Communist aggression. Last night he declared himself against the Marshall Plan, "as applied," and described the foreign policy of the Truman Administration as dominated by a "Wall Street-military team that is leading us to war." Dec. 11-30-47

It is easy to see why Mr. Wallace's position in these matters delights the Communists. It is more difficult to see how it can reassure any thoughtful American who remembers the circumstances and the consequences of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Munich in September, 1938.

Declares Democrats Rejected Him

Courier

Journal

From Wire Dispatches.

Chicago, Dec. 29.—Henry A. Wallace tonight announced he would be an independent candidate for President on a platform advocating "peace and prosperity." Louisville, Ky.

The former Vice-President and erstwhile Cabinet member, in an address prepared for broadcast over the Mutual network, struck out at both major parties with the declaration: Dec.

"There is no real fight between a Truman and a Republican. Both stand for a policy which opens the door to war in our lifetime and makes war certain for our children." 12-30-47

Says Menace Greater Now.

Maintaining that the menace to peace is greater than ever before, the man who left the Republican ranks and now has bolted the Democrats as well, told his audience:

"That menace can be met and overcome only by a new political alignment in America which requires the organization of a new political party. To that end I announce tonight that I shall run as an independent candidate for President of the United States in 1948."

Text of Wallace's address is on Page 9.

He said "thousands of people" had asked him to "engage in this great fight." Suggestions that he enter the race had come from the Progressive Citizens of America and the new Progressive Party of Chicago. A spokesman for the new candidate told reporters that a similar request was put before Wallace this afternoon by persons from 18 states and the District of Columbia.

100,000 Urge Him to Run.

The spokesman said the delegations, largely labor-union officials, met with the former Vice-President in closed session.

Prior to the closed meeting, which was sponsored by the Progressive Party, the Illinois delegation handed Wallace a list of 100,000 signatures urging the Iowan to run for President.

Attending the meeting were delegates from Indiana, Georgia, Illinois, New York, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, California, Kentucky, North Dakota, Connecticut, Washington, Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Missouri, and the District of Columbia.

Kenney Is Chairman.

The cheering, shouting, and speeches of delegates pledging support and urging Wallace to run could be heard outside the meeting room. Robert W. Kenney, former attorney general of California and head of the "Democrats" for Wallace in the state, presided as chairman.

The delegates included Hugh W. Bryson, chairman of the C.I.O.-Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, and Elmer A. Benson, former Governor and U. S. senator from Minnesota and a member of the executive committee of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota.

The decision to run cast Wallace in a new role at the age of 59. He served as Secretary of Agriculture in two Roosevelt terms, put in four years as Vice-President, and served for a shorter period as Secretary of Commerce. Dec. 12-30-47

Resigned Truman Cabinet.

He resigned from the latter post, at President Truman's request, after he spoke out last year against a "get-tough-with-Russia" policy while Secretary of State James F. Byrnes was urging a firm hand in dealing with the Soviet Union.

Wallace parted company with the Democrats with these words:

"To those who have come to me asking the conditions of my adherence to the present Democratic Administration, I have said, 'Let the Administration repudiate universal military training and rid itself of the Wall Street-military team that is leading us toward war.'

"My terms to the Democratic high command have been well known. By their actions and finally by their words, they have said: 'Henry Wallace, we welcome your support, but we will not change our policies.'

"In answering me, the Democratic leadership also gave its answer to the millions of Americans who demand the right to vote for peace and prosperity. . . . The leadership of the Democratic Party would deprive the American people of their rightful opportunity to choose between progress and reaction in 1948.

"So far as the Republican Party is concerned, there is no hope—as George Norris, Fiorello La Guardia, and Wendell Willkie long ago found out."

Wallace said "lukewarm liberals" would ask: "Why throw away your vote?" His reply was this:

"The bigger the peace vote in 1948, the more definitely the world will know that the United States is not behind the bipartisan, reactionary war policy which is dividing the whole world into two armed camps and making inevitable the day when American soldiers will be lying in their arctic suits in the Russian snow."

Party Name Uncertain.

He expressed the belief newspaper headlines showed a connection between one-dollar butter and 95-cent eggs and "fantastic appropriations . . . for military adventures in Greece, Turkey, China, and billions for armaments at home."

A New Party (Wallace's script capitalized it without making clear whether that would be its name) must "fight war makers," he said. Wallace promised to combat universal military training and espouse a "peace program of abundance and security." He added: 12-30-47

"I fight the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan as applied because they divide Europe into two warring camps. Those whom we buy politically with our food will soon desert us.

"We are restoring western Europe and Germany . . . because we want to hem Russia in. We are acting in the same way as France and England after the last war, and the end result will be the same—confusion, depression, and war."

Dec. 12-30-47

Denies He's for Russia.

Wallace said the United States would not be fully secure until there is a "real peace" between this nation and Russia and until there is an international police force stronger than any country's military force.

Speaking of tagging people as "Russian tools," Wallace asserted:

"We are not for Russia and we are not for communism, but we recognize Hitlerite methods when we see them in our own land, and we denounce the men who engage in such name calling as enemies of the human race who would rather have World War III than put forth a genuine effort to bring about a peaceful settlement of differences."

Wallace Quits Post As Magazine Editor

New York, Dec. 29 (AP)—The New Republic announced tonight that Henry A. Wallace had resigned as editor of the magazine.

Wallace will become a contributing editor of the publication and will write a weekly page, The New Republic said.

Michael Straight, now publisher, will take over the editorship of the magazine, and Daniel Mebane, treasurer, will become publisher.

OPINION REVIEW

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Granger Unearths Material Which Friends and Foes of Wallace Might Desire.

LESTER GRANGER, ebullient and wise leader of the National Urban League, possesses a memory for details which, as a columnists, he has been using to compute a somewhat mathematical estimate of Henry Wallace (in the light of the latter's political significance).

Mr. Granger's research into his own memory store has uncovered material which both the friends and foes of Mr. Wallace might wish for their scrap books and, for that reason, most of what Mr. Granger has written for The AMSTERDAM NEWS is being herewith reproduced:

Courier

I am concerned with the role which Henry Wallace plays as a fighter against racial discrimination and a defender of the in-

terests of underprivileged minorities such as the Negro. My distrust of the Great Commoner is based on the obvious discrepancy between his past record in office when he was able to do some of the things which he expresses as a candidate for office. (For make no mistake about it, Mr. Wallace is now campaigning for the presidency in 1952)

Pittsburgh Pa.

"I cannot forget the fact that as Secretary of Agriculture, Henry Wallace was the creator and titular head of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. AAA's collusion with white landlords of the cotton South who robbed their Negro tenant farmers of AAA "parity checks" was notorious during the depression years and is still bitterly remembered by the Negro victims. There is no space to describe the parity check arrangement.

"It is sufficient to say that through maladministration of AAA, Negro farmers who reduced their crop acreage by one-third in accordance with AAA requirements, frequently found the Government checks which were supposed to reimburse them for reduced cultivation going to the white landlords instead of the farmers. Thus, the landlords got rich and the Negroes were impoverished by one-third of their previous starvation income.

I am bitterly mindful of the fact that though organizations like the National Urban League, and even Mr. Wallace's own Farm Security Administrator, called his attention to these abuses time and again, the Secretary of Agriculture did precisely nothing. Mr. Alexander is quoted as declaring that the Secretary shied away from one specific corrective proposal on the ground that it would be 'contrary to Southern custom.'

"I remember also the celebrated case in Virginia of Odell Waller, the Negro victim of a legal frame-up, who was electrocuted on charges of murdering his white landlord. When a delegation, including Dr. Channing Tobias and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, went to Washington to seek presidential intervention, they saw not the President, but Vice President Wallace. Many of Dr. Tobias' friends will recall with me his indignation over the cavalier treatment given by Mr. Wallace to the delegation, and especially to Mrs. Bethune, a grand lady old enough to have been Mr. Wallace's mother.

12-27-47

"I recall that as Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Wallace found the Bureau of Census, which was under his jurisdiction, a 'hot-bed' of racial discrimination and popularly described as 'Alcatraz on the Potomac.' The bureau is still a hot-bed and still called Alcatraz. I remember, also, the disappointment of thousands of Negroes over Mr. Wallace's mild comment on the Detroit race riot in 1943, when not long after the riot he addressed a mammoth labor rally in Detroit's Cadillac Square. His utterances on the subject might have been quotations from a speech of the Governor of Texas.

"These are only a few of the sidelights on the official career of Mr. Wallace that leave me cold to his impassioned condemnation, as a private citizen, of racial injustice and intolerance in our national life. It is nice to know that as a candidate he is against sin, but I'm much more interested in knowing whe he did about sin when he had a chance during three successive appointments as a ranking member of the President's Cabinet.

Bowles Says Liberals Must Lead Democrats

37d UDA

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala. Sat. 1-4-47

Progressives Rap Reactionary Tub-Thumping' Of GOP; Communist Influence Disavowed

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3.—(AP)—Chester Bowles tonight called on American liberals to organize a progressive front, divorced from Communist influence, to work through the Democratic Party "with all its faults."

The Advertiser

"We should not harbor any illusions about a third party," the wartime price administrator declared in a speech prepared for a dinner meeting of the Union for Democratic Action. The UDA tomorrow opens an all-day conference with the aim of organizing a "progressive" program for the nation.

Montgomery, Ala.

"We cannot blink the fact that the party of Roosevelt is also the party of Bilbo and Rankin," Bowles said. "But the fact remains that we have no practical alternative. All our efforts, all our ingenuity, must be thrown into the struggle to establish liberal control of the Democratic Party in 1948."

Sat. 1-4-47

Two Roosevelts — the President's widow and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.—heard Bowles denounce the "reactionary tub-thumping leadership of the Republican Party" in whose hands, he said, reposes "our political, economic and social destiny for the next two years at least."

Since Nov. 5, he observed "the air has been filled with reaction." For "labor baiters, tax reducers, budget cutters, tariff raisers and big stick wavers," he said, "the big day has finally arrived—this noon for the first time in 18 years Congress met with a Republican majority in both houses."

The Republicans will make mistakes, he asserted, because "they have so little inherent understanding or respect for the great masses of our people . . . (and) because they fail to understand the workings of our democratic economy."

"The future months are packed full of danger for all of us who believe in a free, prosperous and democratic America. The situation is equally critical for the millions throughout the world who are looking to us for the proof that personal freedom and economic security can exist side by side in our modern world."

Leaders of the UDA, which ruled out Communist participation by a "non-totalitarian" platform, made little effort to discuss their hope of capturing leadership of this country's "liberal" element.

The Advertiser

If it rejects the third-party idea, as Bowles recommended, it will distinguish itself from the "Progressive Citizens" of America, which came into being in New York last Monday by the merger of 10 groups including the National Citizens Political Action Committee (NC-PAC) and the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, better known as ICCASP. The "Progressive Citizens" approved a resolution saying it could not "rule out the possibility of a new political party."

Montgomery, Ala. Sat. 1-4-47

37d UDA

Whereas Henry A. Wallace addressed the "Progressive Citizens" meeting, a galaxy of other New Deal disciples including Leon Henderson and Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, attended the UDA dinner here and planned to participate in tomorrow's closed session over which Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, UDA chairman, will preside.

The Advertiser

In forging unity, Bowles warned, it must be unity "on democratic principles." Too often, he said, the appeal for unity has been used to create "an artificial front through which undemocratic forces operate.

Montgomery, Ala.

"We must be prepared to defend the right of American Communists to propagate their views through their own organizations, but we must make it crystal clear that there is no place in the American liberal movement for those who would compromise the principles of individual liberty."

Sat. 1-4-47

37e 1947

South Carolina 'Club'

Newsweek Dayton Ohio

Mon. 7-21-47

When the Supreme Court early in 1944 ruled that Negroes could not be excluded from Democratic party primaries, South Carolina Democrats thought they had a way out for themselves and their fellow Southerners. Repealing all state primary laws, they reorganized the party into what they deemed a private club, with the right to bar its membership to all but "white Democrats." Last week, a Federal court in Charleston held that the dodge was illegal and that Negroes still were entitled to cast primary votes. The claim of South Carolina Democrats that there was a "material difference" in the party since 1944 was, the judge ruled, "pure sophistry."

TO AVOID CONFUSION

Columbia, S.C.

United States District Judge George Bell Timmerman's order granting a temporary stay and writ of supersedeas in the Negro voting case works no substantial injustice.

It simply maintains the status quo until the case may be heard and decided by the circuit court of appeals.

The Columbia Record

The case was brought by George Elmore, Columbia Negro, against the Richland county Democratic executive committee and the injunction granted by Judge J. Waties Waring applies only to the defendants named in the action. His interpretation of the law, which he held to require that the Democratic primaries in South Carolina be opened to all qualified Negroes as well as whites, applies only in the Eastern district. Another case, as Judge Timmerman pointed out, would have to be brought in the Western district and heard by a judge in that district, who might or might not come to the same decision as Judge Waring did, to make the decision applicable to the Western district, allowing, of course, that the Western district judge agreed with Judge Waring. District judges and even circuit courts of appeals do not always agree with each other, Judge Timmerman said.

Wed. 8-20-47

There is, of course, no state-wide primary scheduled for the immediate future. There may be held, however, municipal primaries and special county primaries to fill vacancies in the General Assembly. It would simply promote confusion to have some of these primaries conducted under one interpretation of the law and the others under another. This Judge Timmerman's order avoids. The decision of the circuit court of appeals will be binding upon both districts in South Carolina.

The Record still believes that the Democratic party of South Carolina ought to have the common sense to admit Negro Democrats to its primaries, setting up the qualifications for voting without regard for race. But if the party prefers to rest its cause with the courts then the appeal should be prosecuted with due regard for order and orderly processes, which means that the status quo should be maintained until the issue is settled.

Wed. 8-20-47

Wed 8-20-47

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala
Wed. 10-29-47

ENOUGH OF THAT

The Advertiser, like the responsible leaders of this state, considers it a duty to do its journalistic best to abate the Folsom Follies. It does not feel that the cause is advanced by such ungainly and intemperate utterances as those of Speaker of the House Bill Beck and Rep. Walter Givhan of Dallas.

37e Ala

Addressing the convention of the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation in Birmingham, Rep. Givhan said:

"Every Negro in Alabama voted for Folsom. That is the way (Aubrey) Williams and (Gould) Beech want it and the more Negroes we allow to vote the more Negroes Williams and Beech can count upon.

"It is time for the farmers of Alabama who represent the backbone of Alabama to find themselves and declare themselves. The extreme leftists, or reds, are going about trying to dominate us and they will, unless the farmers do their part. . . ."

Whereupon, Speaker Beck asserted:

"Givhan is right. The white people of Alabama must look to their interests. Gov. Folsom has swung to Aubrey Williams and Gould Beech, and that threatens white supremacy and orderly government in Alabama."

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala

"Orderly government" in Alabama is truly menaced, but it has nothing to do with radicalism. Goat Hill disorder exists through the fabulous incompetency of the Governor of Alabama, the legendary mediocrity of his appointees and the headlong greed of the pennyweight political opportunists who are the political associates of His Excellency the "Big Bad Booger."

In other words, Speaker Beck and Rep. Givhan are drawing red herrings across the trail when they speak of Folsom's "redness." They had better save those wolf cries for a real occasion.

Wed. 10-29-47

It is awry to comment that all Negro voters were for Folsom. We are under the impression that this is true. But considering that Alabama has an infinitesimal number of Negro electors, it is unfair—nay, unwholesome—to suggest that this accounts for Folsom's victory. The fact is, of course, about 205,000 white electors sent Folsom to the Capitol.

Ala,

White Supremacy in Alabama is threatened to the same extent today as the United States is threatened by the atomic weapons of the Republic of Liberia.

As for the sinister and dominating influence on Folsom of Beech and Williams, we regard that as wide of the mark. We are under the impression that Folsom and Williams have but a casual relationship. It is probably true that Beech, of all men in Alabama, and from start to finish, has been the most potent of Folsom's advisers. He is a yo-yo leftist who is ever assiduous in seeing that his label is always on right. But Beech spends a good deal of his time desparing because it is almost impossible to keep Folsom on a given track. And whatever the case, Speaker Beck knew about Beech at the time he was leaning upon Folsom to become Speaker of the House.

Alabama's Folsom problem is remote indeed from one of political radicalism, etc. That never was part of Folsom's appeal to the voters: He was simply a "turn the rascals out" phenomenon. Alabama's Folsom problem is to keep its state government functioning according to law and custom.

That endeavor is not facilitated by the extravagant, fanciful utterances of such figures as Beck and Givhan.

37e Ala

Folsom Feels Way Along Pinkish Pike

Advertiser

He's Offering Challenge To Alabama's Whites, Farm Bureau Is Told

Montgomery, Ala

Ed O'Neal Speaks

Tue. 10-28-47

Confirms Retirement Plan; Luther Patrick To Seek Battle's Retirement, Too

By ATTICUS MULLIN

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Oct. 27. —A stunned but finally a rousing Farm Bureau audience from every county in Alabama heard Representative Walter Givhan, of Dallas County, point out from the platform in the city auditorium here Monday that the course of Gov. Jim Folsom was a red course and that his advisers were red and that he offered a challenge to the white people of Alabama.

Tue. 10-28-47

Representative Givhan challenged Gov. Folsom to meet him on the stump in Alabama and defend his administration and at the same time defend his opposition to the proposal that the Legislature have the right to meet when three-fourths of its members want to meet as provided in the amendment that the people will vote upon in December.

Following the speech of Representative Givhan to the Farm Bureau audience I interviewed Speaker Bill Beck, of DeKalb County. "Givhan is right," he said. "The white people of Alabama must look to their interests. Gov. Folsom has swung to Aubrey Williams and Gould Beech and that threatens white supremacy and orderly government in Alabama."

10-28-47

Among His Vetoes

Folsom, according to Representative Givhan, vetoed the message which would have provided for an appointment of Senate and House committee members of a legislative body to consider Alabama's elective and registration laws to take care of any decision the Supreme Court may make.

"Every Negro in Alabama," said Givhan, "voted for Folsom. That is the way Williams and Beech want it and the more Negroes we allow to vote the more Negroes Williams and Beech can count upon.

"It is time," he said, "for the farmers of Alabama who represent the backbone of Alabama to find themselves and declare themselves. The extreme leftists, or reds, are going about trying to dominate us and they will, unless the farmers do their part. The farmers constitute the bed rock of the state and they must take their political part.

Race Vote in Alabama Tilts Local Issue

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.
37e
Sat. 11-29-47

(From The Courier's Birmingham Correspondent)

BESSEMER, Ala.—The Negro vote is believed to have been the tilting factor in the Nov. 13, balloting that retained the ten-month old City Commission form of municipal government here by 188 votes.

One civic leader estimated that 98 per cent of the approximately 300 Negro votes were cast in favor of the city commission form of rule as against the Mayor-Aldermanic pattern which had held sway fifty-nine years prior to the adoption of the current political mode.

A bitter word war had been waged by Commission President Joe F. Lewis who favored continuation of the commission and Public Safety Commission Herman Thompson who desired to go back to the Mayoralty form.

Chief Negro opposition to Commission Thompson, this political leader said, grew out of his backing of Police Chief Lacey Alexander whose administration, they claim, was spotted with police mistreatment of Negro citizens. They had catalogued a long series of grievances against the present police administration and indicated that they felt that Commissioner Thompson had not moved to relieve the situation.

11-29-47

This leader who did not care to be identified said that Negro voters were generally interested in the civic issues and the progressive nature of the implications of a city commission form of government.

There were 1,200 for retention against 1,012 opposed with sixteen absent ballots untabulated.

A majority of the 22,826 Bessemer citizens, according to the 1940 U. S. census, are Negroes.

Negro's Suit Balks Macon County Vote Registry

37e

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Dec. 18—No new voters have been registered or qualified in Macon County in the past 18 months.

No registration board has existed in this county since June, 1946, when the last two board members resigned.

Spokesmen for both races blame the breakdown of legal registration machinery on a Negro's $5,000 damage suit against two former registrars.

Birmingham,

William P. Mitchell, Negro, charged in his suit he was denied the right to vote in 1945 solely because of his race. The suit was dismissed recently after it was brought out Mitchell had been registered, but never notified of it.

Ala.

NEGROES OUTNUMBER whites four to one in this county. Negroes, many of them with college degrees, are demanding the right to vote. Only a few of the 22,000 Negroes in this county are registered.

Probate Judge William Varner estimates the number at 250 to 300. Charles G. Gomillion, education deans at Tuskegee Institute, says the number is 110.

Thu.

Gov. Folsom has written Gomillion saying it is "almost impossible" to find three citizens who will perform the public service of serving as registrars.

Gomillion explained the problem this way:

12-18-47

"I THINK THE FEELING WAS THAT if members served on the board and did not register any more Negroes than were registered by Mr. Guthrie and Mrs. Wright (the former registrars named in Mitchell's suit), they might find themselves facing suits."

Agriculture Commissioner Haygood Paterson and State Auditor Dan Thomas, members of the registrar-appointing board with Gov. Folsom, said they have been unable to get anyone to serve as registrar in Macon County.

They blamed the litigation here. "In view of the suit, nobody wants to take such a risk for so small a stipend," Mr. Paterson said. Registrars receive $7.50 a day while in session.

12-18-47

Alabama Uses "Voucher" System To Curb Race Vote

37e

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 1-5-47

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—The effect of the state's "voucher" system as a threat to Negro voters was felt here last week when U. S. Judge Charles B. Kennamer dismissed a damage suit against two white Macon county registrars for denying a Negro the right to vote "solely because of race and color."

Judge Kennamer's ruling marked the second setback he has handed William Mitchell, a Tuskegee resident, in Mitchell's effort to challenge violations of Negro voting rights in accord with the U. S. Supreme court's "white primary" decision a few years ago. Kennamer dismissed the case when it was first filed in August, 1945, on a motion of the state of Alabama that Mitchell had not exhausted his rights in the state courts.

Judge Kennamer recently decided that Mitchell failed to show the registrars had discriminated against him as an individual, although he indicated that discrimination against Negroes generally by the defendants, Mrs. George Wright and Virgil Guthrie, had been shown by the evidence. He would have ruled for the plaintiff if this were a class action, he stated.

TWO "VOUCHERS"

Under the "voucher" system, a new voter is required to give the name of two persons who will vouch for him. Evidence, brought out by testimony, revealed that any one was permitted to vouch for a white applicant, but the registration board insisted that all Negroes know the person who vouched for them, a factor that constituted a technicality for the dismissal of Mitchell's damage suit.

Mitchell had a white and Negro voucher. W. A. Campbell, a white merchant, testified that he did not know how it happened that his name was carried as a Mitchell voucher but he vouched for him. G. W. A. Johnson, a purchasing agent for Tuskegee institute for the last 25 years, testified he did not know Mitchell well enough to vouch for him. Johnson, said Mitchell, did vouch for him but was challenged by the registrars after they began asking questions about the new voter.

Evidence showed that 93 Negroes and seven whites presented themselves to the registrars and were registered. Ten Negroes were registered, 23 failed outright, and application blanks for the remaining 60 who attempted to vote were certified as qualified by Mrs. Wright, chairman of the registration board, the NAACP revealed. 1-5-47

SOME RESENTED

Mrs. Wright and Guthrie failed to place these 60 Negroes on the registration roll on the excuse that they had failed to produce the necessary persons to vouch for them. Vouchers for some of these applicants had presented themselves to the board but were not permitted to vouch for the Negro applicants, evidence disclosed.

E. C. Boswell, author of the Boswell amendment to the Alabama constitution, regarded as a legal instrument to further block Negro voting, was counsel for the defense. Arthur Shores, Birmingham, and R. L. Carter, NAACP counsel, served as lawyers for Mitchell.

Plaintiff's lawyers entered into a proposition two weeks ago to drop the $5,000 damages in the original suit for nominal damages provided the defendants were not given a jury trial. Mitchell's lawyers made no revelation on whether the case will be appealed to the supreme court. Sun. 1-5-47

Hosey Replaces Vines As County Registrar

The News Birmingham, Ala

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 26—Appointment of John G. Hosey as chairman of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars was announced here yesterday by Gov. James E. Folsom. 37e Wed 2-26-47

Mr. Hosey, presently employed by the Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham, succeeds Dr. J. B. Vines.

Mr. Hosey for more than 15 years was a supervisor for the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Company; he is well known in labor circles.

Dr. Vines served as chairman of the Board of Registrars for the past four years. He resigned several months ago, during the Boswell amendment campaign, in protest against "undue pressure" from organizations seeking to have many Negroes placed on the qualified voting lists. He reconsidered this action on request of Gov. Chancey Sparks.

NEGRO VOTE BATTLE LOOMS IN ALABAMA

Times New York, N.Y.

But Liberals Under Gov. Folsom Are Confident They Can Block Restrictions at Primaries

Mon. 3-4-47

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 2—The Deep South controversy on restricting registration of Negro voters, ranging from the strict interpretation of existing laws to the rescinding of all laws on the subject, is expected to develop along several lines when this State's biennial legislative session convenes in May.

37e Ala

One legislator has already threatened to introduce a bill callin upon the State to follow the s called South Carolina plan of wiping out all primary laws and thereby transforming the Democratic party into a private organization that can "legally" bar Negroes from primary voting.

However, there is a strong feeling here that Alabama liberals have obtained a potent voice in the State Government under the new Governor, James E. Folsam, and that a move as drastic as the "South Carolina plan" could be blocked.

Governor Folsom announced during his campaign his opposition to the Alabama constitutional amendment, known as the Boswell Amendment, which is designed to restrict registration of Negro voters, and it is believed that he would veto a "white primary" bill.

The Governor has called a special session of the Legislature for tomorrow to confirm appointments and consider a constitutional convention.

Dealing With "the Educated"

The legislator who has said he would seek "white primary" legislation at the regular session is said to feel that restrictions imposed under present laws are not sufficient "protection" against educated Negroes.

He is said to argue that in Macon County, where Tuskegee Institute is located, the population division is 80 per cent Negro and that "educated" Negroes there could pass the stiff qualification tests in sufficient numbers to wield a balance of power at the polls.

Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, is seeking changes in the Boswell Amendment, whichwas adopted last fall at the general elections after it had been approved by the 1945 Legislature with little opposition.

The Boswell Amendment sets up as qualification the ability to "read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States," it also requires the registrants to be "of good character" and to "understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

Mr. McCorvey would delete the requirement to explain any article of the Constlution. He is said to feel that the other restrictions meet "all necessary requirements." Mon. 3-4-47

Opposition to Restrictions

Most of the State's large newspapers opposed the Boswell Amendment. Resolutions calling for its defeat were adopted by the State Republican Convention, the Political Action Committee and the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Comerce.

37e Ala

Many opponents of the amendment have declared that a requirement to "explain any article of the Constitution" could result in bafflement of most voters and a good many of those sitting on the Boards of Registry. Some assert that "a political clique" could disenfranchise almost any voter in the State by strict application of the amendment's provisions.

It is expected that at the next registration period, when the new law is applicable, several test cases will be prepared by Negroes and organizations interested in promoting their rights. Unedr the law the registration boards must now meet twice a month for service men, but there are no reports of disputes over Negro cases.

It is reported that one county, with a large Negro population, has not had a Board of Registers in existence since alst October. The three-member boards are named by the Governor and two constitutional officers.

SKEGEE IN RECORDS

Poll Tax Bill F[illegible]s Folsom [illegible]r It---But

Montgomery, Ala. Advertiser

He Prefers Ousting All To Only Part Of It, As Howell Plan Proposes

Much Else Eyed

Tues. 7-22-47

Anti-Red And Labor Ideas, Horse Racing And Gas Among Proposals Up

37e(1)

By G. C. LONG, JR.

A poll tax bill in the Alabama legislature took on added interest yesterday as the House of Representatives in Washington passed and sent to the Senate a bill abolishing the levy as a requirement for voting in any election where a federal official is involved.

Awaiting committee action here Wednesday at 2 p.m., is a bill by Rep. J. W. Howell, of Calhoun County, that would abolish all but two years of the cumulative feature of Alabama's $1.50 annual levy. Tues. 7-22-47

In a press conference yesterday, Gov. Folsom said he favored the Howell measure over the present system, but stuck by his campaign stand that the poll tax as a requirement for voting should be abolished.

Folsom's Findings

Commenting on the action of Congress, Gov. Folsom said he did not think it a matter to be handled by the federal government, but rather something the individual states should work out.

The poll tax proposal is not the only issue facing the Alabama legislators as they come back into session at 10 o'clock this morning, after a week-end recess. It will be the 18th legislative day, and its end will mark the half-way mark of the present regular session.

Such controversial issues as new taxes, labor bills, old age assistance, horse racing, an anti-Communist measure, tractor gas refund, and many others.

Stanley In The Wilderness This Time

Birmingham, Ala. News

(An Editorial in The Limestone Democrat, Athens)

Thur. 7-3-47

Elsewhere will be found an editorial from The Montgomery Journal headed "More North Alabama Folly," penned by Cassius M. Stanley, editor of The Birmingham Age-Herald during the Thompson-Comer ownership of that newspaper. Since that time Mr. Stanley has moved to the Black Belt and, like most "new converts," has become one of the most virulent opponents of reapportionment and legislative justice to North Alabama counties. During recent years Mr. Stanley has enjoyed life in Lowndes County, the little county which has a senator and two House members to double Limestone's half-a-senator and one representative. The Montgomery afternoon editor has become so imbued with the Black Belt belief of its superiority over all other sections of the state—especially North Alabama—that we here and now dub him "The Lowndes County Squire."

Persons well acquainted with the proceedings of the constitutional convention of 1901 know that the disproportionate legislative representation the Black Belt had enjoyed for years when the Negro was allowed to vote in this state was permitted to remain until 1910, when reapportionment was to be made and the white counties given their just share of members in the two houses. A decennial realignment was called for by this same fundamental law of the state. It is likewise well known that this clause in the constitution has been openly ignored because the Black Belt counties use their legislative majority to kill such measures whenever they come up.

Thur. 7-3-47

* * *

The most amusing part of Editor Stanley's editorial is his implication that the Black Belt has saved the North Alabama counties as well as his section from the industrialists. Anyone who has had any experience around Goat Hill knows quite well that for years there has existed an entente cordiale between industrial counties and the Black Belt. They never fail to vote together when legislation affecting their interests comes up.

According to Mr. Stanley, all the state's happy days have come to it because the Black Belt was in the saddle, but such is certainly not the case.

On the other hand, most of its troubles have been brought about by the dictatorial, rule-or-ruin spirit of that section. For instance,, the bellicose attitude of William L. Yancey was in large measure responsible for the secession of Alabama in 1861, and other Southern states, when a more moderate approach might have well resulted in emancipation of the slaves after the Union had paid their owners their value.

Again, in 1870, when Alabama was trying to recover from reconstruction, North Alabama offered for the governorship Limestone's George S. Houston, who, prior to the War Between the States, had served in the lower house of Congress so conspicuously that he had successively held the chairmanship of that body's three leading committees—foreign relations, ways and means, and appropriations. With the same supercilious spirit so manifest in Editor Stanley's article, South Alabama contemptuously declined to nominate Houston and named Herndon, of Talladega, who was badly defeated by his Republican opponent.

The next election the Black Belt came back to Houston with the plea of "Save me, Cassius, or I sink." Houston, overlooking the manner in which he had been treated in the past, accepted the nomination and saved the state from the renegades and reconstructionists. His two terms as governor put the state on an even keel, restored its credit and standing.

When he offered for the United States Senate, his contributions to Alabama had been so outstanding that the Legislature was forced to elect him to that high office. Unfortunately he died before he served any length of time.

Thur. 7-3-47

As the years passed by, greed for political power brought on the fight between Judge Thomas G. Jones and Capt. Reuben F. Kolb, both Confederate veterans. Although the latter was undoubtedly the choice of the people of the state in 1890, Jones was named as the gubernatorial candidate. When Jones came up for renomination in 1892, Kolb opposed him and by manipulation of the multiplication table, the casting of votes for favorite bird dogs and other "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain" that would have brought the blush of shame to the heathen Chinee, Jones was declared the nominee, declared elected in the August state election and seated after near-revolution in the state. In 1894 Col. Oates, of Barbour, was the regular Democratic nominee and Kolb the "Jeffersonian Democrtic" nominee. The election officials of the Black Belt counties turned in enough majorities to make Oates the governor after he had defeated Capt. Joseph F. Johnston, a Dallas County native, for the nomination.

* * *

The breach in the party was healed in the '90s when Grover Cleveland was president, but the great sticklers for party regularity in the Black Belt, which Mr. Stanley says saves North Alabama from its own vagaries, "flew the Democratic coop" in 1896 and many of its leaders refused to support William Jennings Bryan and voted either the McKinley-Hobart Republican ticket or espoused the Palmer and Buckner Goldbug ticket.

Even The Montgomery Advertiser, high priest of the organized Democracy in the Kolb-Jones fights, former Gov. Thomas G. Jones and thousands of their South Alabama followers, as well as many North Alabama Democrats, considered their Democracy too pure and undefiled to permit them to vote for Mr. Bryan.

Thur. 7-3-47

After this came the election of B. B. Comer as governor and the insult offered him when he had accepted an invitation to speak to the Alabama Press Association in Montgomery, due largely to his progressive views.

And then, to continue its determination to save North Alabama from its follies, the South Alabama counties bolted Al Smith in 1928, while those in the valley continued to vote the straight Democratic ticket.

And as we travel down Time's highway we find the industrial section and some South Alabamians fighting Franklin D. Roosevelt, the greatest friend the South has ever had in the presidential chair.

The claim made by opponents of reapportionment that Jefferson County would have too many members of the House if the constitution is observed can be very easily stopped by the adoption of a constitutional amendment to the effect that no county shall ever have over seven or nine members of the House, regardless of its population.

But granting, for the sake of argument, that all that Mr. Stanley says about the debt the people of this section owe to the Black Belt for the many times it has saved us from ourselves, may we not say, with Edgar Lee Masters:

"Poison not your benefactions with constant reminders of their dependence?"

Newsman Okays Vote Of Ignorant Whites, But Would Bar Negroes

Atlanta, Ga.
Tues- 7-29-47

Atlanta Daily World

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.— (SNS)— John Temple Graves, Alabama syndicated columnist and supposed "liberal" gave a new twist to the troubled status of the Negro voting in the South, when he appeared before the Birmingham Young Men's Business Club at the Hotel Redmont. Mr. Graves gave the green light to ignorant whites voting, but insisted some sort of subterfuge must be continued to stop Negroes from voting.

Tues- 7-29-47

The paradox of Mr. Graves came to the forefront when Giles Baker Y. M. B. C. member asked the speaker why voting for all persons white and blacks alike, could not be based on the individual's 'success in life, education, psychology and vocation" elminating whites as well as Negroes who could not qualify.

The liberal Mr. Graves, replied "if you do that you might eliminate too many whites."

Earlier, Mr. Graves, columinist for the Birmingham Post, had told the group "we must prevent being swept off our feet by those who would turn the vote over to the Negro overnight," Mr. Graves said "the South must continue some sort of subterfuge to stop Negroes from votin gas a whole until the race is prepared for the ballot" He cited Alabama's Baswell Amendment as

The speaker scored a South Caro

one such subterfuge.

lina Judge wro recently ruled that Negroes may not be barred from Democratic primaries. Mr. Graves said the South would find some means of getting around that decision by subterfuge.

Mr. Graves said the rcae issue has been a problem in the South since the first slaves were sold to Southern planters. He said the Negro's lot must be imporved, but this should be done by Southerners and not by 'our friends uj North."

"We are for fair employment," he said, 'but we do not want FEPC and bureaucracy." He accused the Federal Council of Churches of endorsing the FEPC and fostering legislation of it. He said that many Southern churches are threatening to withdraw from the Council because of its stand on FEPC.

Why Negroes Don't Vote Shown in Anatomy of a Black Belt County

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 9-7-47

(37e) Ala.

By Abner W. Berry

~~(Final article of a series)~~

THERE are more than 13,000 persons of voting age in Wilcox County, Alabama—but only 2,000 of them vote. Ten thousand of those who stay away from the polls are Negroes. The remaining 1,000 odd are poor whites who don't bother to pay their poll taxes.

It wouldn't do the Negroes any good to pay their poll taxes. Negro veterans found that out when they got poll tax exemptions by way of a state law. Not one of them has yet been able to get qualified to vote by the County Board of Registars.

A local white official who disagrees with the policy of the ruling clique in the county aided fifty Negroe veterans in getting their poll tax exeption certificates. He gave them instructions on how to reach and satisfy the board of registrars as to their qualifications. But so far none of them have been qualified.

★

THE NEGROES never got to the point of answering any questions about the Constitution or anything else. A simpler "legal" device was used by the board: two of the three members absented themselves at the sight of an approaching Negro. And the Negro was informed by the remaining member that no one could be qualified in the absence of a quorum. (The law states that a majority is a quorum, but it also provides for either of the board's members to act for the whole within the limits of the law.)

This veteran angle is very important in Wilcox County. There is a potential Negro veterans' vote of 1,800, almost equalling the 2,000 record vote of 1946. The rest of the Negroes of voting age would have to pay poll tax ranging from $1.50 to $36. (The poll tax is cumulative in Alabama up to age 45.)

That in itself is a vote stopper for those earning less than $500 a year as heads of families, which includes most of the county's Negroes. But the veteran, by law, is over that hurdle. Therefore the registrars' tricky maneuvers. It's a defensive act of the planters' dictatorship against the encroachment of post-war democracy.

Sun. ★ 9-7-47

BUT THIS PLANTERS Black Belt empire, of which Wilcox County is an important unit, affects the whole county. Take Representative Frank William Boykin who represents in Congress this and six other Black Belt counties organized into the First Congressional District. Boykin received 12,448 votes from seven counties with a total population of 297,473. But read further—and this is from the official statistical abstract of the State of Alabama:

Over 200,000 of the people Boykin "represents" are Negroes! Let's put it another way: There are almost as many disfranchised Negro voters in Wilcox County alone as there were votes cast for Boykin in seven counties!

With two-thirds of his "constituency" disfranchised it is no wonder that he voted for the Taft-Hartley Bill twice; voted to kill the Department of Interior Appropriation; helped weaken rent control; voted to over-ride the tax veto, and is hotter than any Republican for the Truman "Stop Communism" program. Boykin is listed in the Congressional Directory as a farmer real estate dealer, live stock breeder, timberman, lumberman and developer of naval stores.

Sun. ★ 9-7-47

BRUCE HENDERSON, the planter-politician of Wilcox County, is an economic and political bedfellow of Boykin. Henderson is also a lumberman, cotton planter, cattleman and stock farmer. What Boykin does in Washington as a Congressman, Heiderson does in Montgomery as a State Senator.

Both men have their base in Black Belt cotton baronies and both are fully conscious of the fact that their fortunes and their future depend upon keeping the Negro's shoulder solidly under a bale of cotton and a bag of corn. They are masters of the political system of Black Belt county government.

★

THE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION of Wilcox County illustrates the method of the planter dictatorship. A probate judge and four commissioners form the ruling body in the county. This body has threefold powers — legislative, executive and judicial. The judge is elected at-large in the county; the commissioners are elected by districts.

In this manner the largest landholder has the biggest say in the matter of who will be Probate Judge. And with planters owning entire judicial districts the planter at election time is in the same position as a factory owner whose factory comprised an election district in a big city. With the proviso, of course, that only the factory owner and the foremen could vote.

The Court of County Commissioners control the election machinery, designate polling places and fix district boundaries. The sheriff and solicitor (prosecutor) are elected at-large but are subordinate to the commissioners.

The commissioners levy taxes, finance schools, administer public health, build roads, administer justice (including keeping the jail clean) and maintain a unit of the National Guard.

The state law requires that the county provide separate jail facilities "for Negroes and white," but this doesn't trouble the county fathers as they admittedly have had only two white prisoners during the past two years. Sun. 9-7-47

Although it hasn't happened yet, it is possible in such a set-up for Negroes to qualify for voting with the board of registrars, a state agency.

But the polling places are in charge of the sheriff and others appointed by the commissioners, men who know how to see to it that the "right" men vote, the "right" white men, that is.

★

ALBERT BURTON MOORE, an Alabama historian described the method well: Sun. 9-7-47

"Negroes . . . [in the 1880's] were . . . convinced by suggestions, threats, and in some cases by deeds, that it was not wise for them to attend the polls, or boards of registrars found reasons for not registering them."

That was in 1880. But as of August, 1947, the Wilcox County planters are not any closer to a democratic way of life. They're sticking to their feudal rule and "white supremacy in politics."

And that type of rule is characteristic of some 300 Black Belt counties where live about five million Americans.

37e 1947

labama(Alabama Vote Defense Committee)

'Vote Defense Day' Set in Alabama

37e Ala.

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Sunday, Nov. 23, has been designated "V. D. (Vote Defense) Day" in Alabama by the Alabama Vote Defense Committee, W. C. Patton, chairman, announced this week.

AVDC is the state-wide machinery organized at the behest of the Alabama Conference of NAACP Branches to raise $15,000 to institute a court test on the Boswell Amendment and to take legal action against board registrars who wrongfully refuse to register qualified Negro citizens. The Boswell amendment requires that prospective voters be able to "understand and explain" the constitution.

UNIT QUOTAS SET Sat.

The group met last week in Masonic Temple here and set up suggested quotas for the twenty-nine NAACP branches in Alabama and other organizations expected to assist with the drive, Mr. Patton said.

Malcolm C. Dobbs, representative of the United Public Workers (CIO), AVDC co-chairman, has been assigned to work among the unions, Mr. Patton indicated. He is the former executive secretary of the Committee for Alabama.

Other officers announced are William Branch, insurance salesman, secretary, and the Rev. J. L. Ware, treasurer. The Rev. Mr. Ware is minister of Trinity Baptist Church and corresponding secretary of the Alabama State Baptist Convention. 11-15-47

37e 1947 Alabama (Birmingham Meeting)

(37e) Ala.

Alabama

Leaders Map Plans For Vote Campaign

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa,

Sat. 10-25-47

BIRMINGHAM — Six hundred leaders in this State have been invited here for a meeting in Mason Temple Monday evening, Oct. 27, to outline plans to raise $15,000 to test the constitutionality of the Boswell Amendment.

This announcement came from W. C. Patton and Malcolm C. Dobbs, chairmen of a committee to organize the vote defense fund sponsored by the Alabama Conference of NAACP Branches. The project is part of what is labeled "Operation Suffrage," which is designed to win the ballot for disfranchised people in the sixty-seven Alabama counties.

ALL BRANCHES JOIN

10-25-47

The Boswell amendment is Alabama's substitute for the invalidated "white primary" and is presently styled as the "last defense of white supremacy democracy." It requires that a prospective voter be able to "understand and explain" the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of the board of registrars. Sat.

Each of the twenty-nine NAACP branches in Alabama is pledged to conduct vote defense funds campaigns. City and county Vote Defense Funds committees will be organized, Mr. Patton said.

Temporary headquarters of the Vote Defense Fund have been set up in Room 729 at the Masonic Temple Building.

SOUTHERN politicians are eagerly awaiting the legal assault on what may turn out to be the last resort of pure-white suffrage. Keenly disappointed over the refusal of a South Carolina federal judge to sanction the "private primary," whereby the Democratic Party was to circumvent the law by becoming a private club, the die-hards have been counting hopefully on a relatively new provision of Alabama's state constitution. Enacted in 1946, the clause provides that would-be voters must not only be able to read and write but also to "understand and explain" any section of the Constitution, with the local board of registrars to be the judges of their performance. No test is specified for the registrars, though it is assumed that they will generally be literate and always white.

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37e Ala. (Boswell Amend)

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will put this "educational qualification" to a legal test in the near future. Should the verdict go against the NAACP, the Talmadge crowd, devoted as always to high educational standards, will press for a similar amendment in Georgia, and the device will certainly be urged throughout the South. If it is ruled out in Alabama, however, there will be nothing left but the poll tax, and that will be under a raking fire in Congress. The President's Committee on Civil Rights will soon bring in a strong recommendation for anti-poll-tax legislation, and the Republicans will be only too glad to push it, to the embarrassment of the Southern Democrats. New York, N.Y. 10-4-47

Negro leaders have reason to be hopeful. If they have any doubt that minorities make hay in an election year, they have only to look at the promptness with which Dewey, Taft, and Speaker Joe Martin have indorsed the majority report of the U. N.'s Special Committee on Palestine.

Birmingham — News, Ala.

Negro Group To Carry Charge Of Discriminations To Courts

37e Ala. (Boswell Amend)

Sun. 10-5-47

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 4—(AP)—Delegates to a statewide conference of Alabama Negro leaders voted unanimously Saturday to carry into the courts charges the state discriminates against the Negro at the polls, in public schools and in public transportation. 10-5-47

The action came at a meeting of the Alabama branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The group will end a three-day conference Sunday.

Delegates endorsed a plan outlined by State President Emory Jackson, editor of The Birmingham World, calling for united action in a campaign against the Boswell amendment and alleged racial discrimination in Alabama's schools and public transportation.

The Boswell amendment, ratified last November, requires prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the U. S. Constitution, admittedly aimed at curbing the Negro vote.

* * *

AUBREY WILLIAMS, of Montgomery, publisher of The Southern Farmer and former administrator of the NYA, told the conference he believed the Negro "in the South and everywhere is entitled to an equal share in the blessings of democracy."

Williams said racial segregation is "the root of all racial conflict and unrest."

He urged the conference, however, not to hold all white people in "contempt" for the injustices Negroes have suffered.

"All white people don't like things the way they are," he said. "The Boswell amendment was adopted by only a 6,000 majority, and some 85,000 white people, by voting against the amendment, voted for the Negroes' right to the ballot."

* * *

JACKSON'S PROPOSAL to combat the Boswell amendment embodied five points:

A fund-raising campaign to finance a court test of the constitutionality of the amendment.

Creation of a full-time office to coordinate the anti-Boswell drive in each of Alabama's 67 counties.

Asking the national N. A. A. C. P. office to supply legal counsel to assist an "inter-racial battery" of local attorneys. 10-5-47

Calling a conference of Negro and white leaders within 30 days to develop further plans.

Institute a court test of Alabama's registration laws.

Jackson assured his colleagues that a means of nullifying the Boswell amendment had been found but told The Associated Press details of the "formula" would not be revealed until actual court tests had been started.

* * *

THE CONFERENCE ALSO approved Jackson's suggestions that:

Four or five court suits be started to demand admission for Negroes at the University of Alabama and Alabama Polytechnic Institute (Auburn).

An equally determined drive be launched to end "discrimination" on railroad and buslines.

Sun. 10-5-47

DECLARING THAT HE WAS looking forward to the day when as many Negroes line up for registration as line up in front of liquor stores, the Negro newspaper editor challenged the conference to wage a county-by-county battle for equal registration rights.

"Until the day we have these rights," he said, "we have a fight on our hands with 67 boards of registrars in Alabama."

Jackson also criticized the dual system of education in the South which he said has seen Negro schools get less and less and white ones more and more of the money available for education.

"We took the problem of professional training for our people in institutions of higher learning up with former Gov. Chauncey Sparks several years ago," he said. "The governor told us a system of regional institutions was being planned because there was insufficient demand for such training in the individual states."

"This," he added, "is not the answer to our need. We won a court test in Texas and now that state has constructed a university for one Negro law student, but nice buildings still do not mean equal educational facilities."

NEGROES BACK BILL TO BAR VOTE RUSES

37e ~~Times~~ (Boswell Amend)

NAACP of Alabama Cheers Plan to Seek Federal Ban on Disfranchising Schemes

New York, N.Y.

By JOHN N. PAPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 5—A bill proposing a Federal Elections Act that would require every State to hold primary elections for Congress, insure independent and minority candidates a place on the ballot, and prohibit educational tests for prospective voters is scheduled for introduction at the next session of Congress.

Leslie S. Perry, lawyer and legislative representative for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, announced today that he was drafting the measure and that a United States Senator and Representative had promised to sponsor it when Congress convenes. Mon. 10-6-47

Mr. Perry's disclosure was made before a cheering audience of 250 Negroes attending the final convention session of the Alabama branch of the NAACP. The delegates had voted unanimously yesterday to support a court fight against racial discrimination in Alabama voting requirements, public transportation and opportunities to obtain certain forms of higher education.

"This bill would strike down the nefarious practices which have resulted in the disfranchisement of thousands of Negroes throughout the South," Mr. Perry said.

Choices By "Clubs" Recalled

"It would require every State to hold primary elections for Congress. This would invalidate any candidate who may be selected solely by party conventions or white Democratic 'clubs,' as was attempted by Georgia and South Carolina.

"The new act will expressly provide the means whereby independent and minority party candidates may be placed on the ballot.

"The bill would prohibit the use of so-called educational and literacy tests such as the notorious Boswell amendment to the Alabama State Constitution, vesting county boards of registrars with wide discretionary powers in requiring prospective voters to "interpret the Constitution."

Mr. Perry said the proposed law also would require that polls be kept open from 7 A. M. to 9 P. M. in all elections for Federal offices "so that every worker would have an opportunity to cast his vote" and that polling booths be placed in public places, "which would outlaw the common practice in the South of placing the polls in private homes and other places from which the Negro is barred."

Mr. Perry called for Negro support of the Federal aid-to-education bill and for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission with authority to enforce non-discrimination orders.

"Employment discrimination is not confined to any one section of this country," he said. "When it comes to getting a skilled or white-collar job, the bars of race prejudice are raised just about as high in the North and West as they are in the South. Mon. 10-6-47

"In only a few states like New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts are colored citizens beginning to get their share of the jobs which they are qualified to hold, and that is not because of any change of heart in employers. It is because those states have passed laws prohibiting unfair hiring procedures."

Mr. Perry said that NAACP "will never rest until skill of the hand and sharpness of the mind will be the sole factor as to whether a colored man or woman will get a job."

Before adjourning, the conference elected E. D. Nixon, a Pullman porter, president and C. D. F. Wilkinson of Tuscaloosa vice president.

ALABAMA NEGROES FIGHT VOTING CURBS

New York Times N.Y.

Conference Also Urges Court Suits for Admission to State Colleges

37e (Boswell Amend)

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 3 (AP)—Alabama Negro leaders today proposed action to combat restrictive voting laws, to institute court suits for admission of Negroes to state colleges, and to end "racial discrimination" in public transportation. Sat. 10-4-47

The proposals were made at the opening of a conference of the Alabama branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The meeting was called primarily to launch an attack on the Boswell amendment to the State Constitution which admittedly was designed to limit the registration of Negroes for primary elections.

After outlining a suffrage program, Emory Jackson, president of the Alabama NAACP group, suggested that: 10-4-47

At least four and perhaps five court suits be filed to demand admission for Negroes at the University of Alabama and Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

An equally determined campaign will be undertaken to end "discrimination" on railroad and bus lines, taking the matter into court if necessary.

Mr. Jackson, editor of The Birmingham World, presented his recommendations to the NAACP's state executive committee and said he would ask the full conference tomorrow to endorse them.

He proposed a $15,000 fund-raising campaign to finance a court battle against the Boswell amendment, which requires prospective voters to be able to "understand and explain" the United States Constitution.

Mr. Jackson said the battle for Negro registration would be the "most sweeping campaign ever undertaken" and that the initial litigation would be filed in state courts, carrying the fight to the United States Supreme Court if need be.

"Many Years Behind," He Says

Demanding legal action to get Negroes admitted to the University of Alabama, Mr. Jackson mentioned a Supreme Court decision that Negroes must be given equal educational opportunities with white students, but said that thus far the decision "has not been utilized in this state."

"We are many years behind in starting legal action in this state to obtain higher education for our children within the state," he said, and he recommended that suits be filed immediately.

He also said that he would not insist on segregation aboard buses and trains in interstate service but that the conference should take action against the practice of requiring egroes to move when they cross the Alabama line from other states.

37e 1947

Alabama (Boswell Amendment)

McCorvey Asks Four Changes To Bolster Boswell Amendment

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Gessner McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee has furnished The Advertiser his reason for wanting the Boswell amendment amended by another amendment to cut out the word "explain" where the constitution is mentioned in the Boswell text and also other minor changes which he thinks will simplify the Boswell amendment. 1-23-47

Chairman McCorvey will send a mail ballot to the members of the committee before the regular session in May for the purpose of securing the backing of the committee for a constitutional amendment bill which he will have introduced into the Legislature. The committee represents the Democratic Party in Alabama and he wants the Party behind the proposed amendment to the Boswell amendment. He explains his proposition, at length, in the following words which he addressed to the members of the new committee and which will interest every voter in Alabama as well as every member of the Legislature. Thurs.

Section 181

The following is a copy of Section 181 of our Constitution as amended by "Proposed Constitutional Amendment Number Four," generally referred to as "The Boswell Amendment," which was adopted on November 5th, 1946. It is the same as Section 181 of our Constitution of 1901 except that the old provision allowing anyone to register who had a tax assessment of $300.00 and paid his taxes has been eliminated and with the further exception that the portions underscored were added by the "Boswell Amendment." 1-23-47-Th.

"Section 181. After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under section 182 of this constitution: those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade, or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register, including those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; provided, however, no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government." Advertiser

Four Changes

"In my opinion it is advisable to request the Legislature to submit to the people a further amendment to this section of our Constitution. There are four changes which I would suggest:

1. "Eliminate the date 'January 1st, 1903.' After that date no one could qualify under the 'Grandfather Clause,' but this date is no longer needed. Montgomery

2. "I think we should eliminate the clause requiring that applicants to register should have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade, or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register. Strictly construed, this would eliminate a large number of women who, of course, were not allowed to register when the Constitution of 1901 was adopted. Then, too, many boys and girls over twenty-one years of age who are still in college should be allowed to register without requiring them to wait until they had been engaged in some lawful employment, business, trade, etc., for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to registr. Ala.

"Understand" Asked

3. "I think we should eliminate the provision of the Boswell Amendment requiring an applicant to 'explain' any article of the Constitution. The question may be raised as to whose satisfaction such explanation must be made. I think it entirely proper to leave in this section the requirement added by the Boswell Amendment to the effect that the applicant to register should understand the Constitution.

4. "I also think it advisable to include in this section a clause providing that only one registration shall be required and that those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again. This will eliminate any contention such as was made in the election last November (a very erroneous contention in my opinion) to the effect that every one would have to re-register if the amendment was adopted. 1-23-47

"I think the other provisions of the Boswell Amendment to the effect that the applicant to register must be of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government are proper provisions. Thurs.

The Proposal

"My suggestion is that we have Section 181 of the Constitution further amended so as to read as follows: 1-23-47-Th.

"Section 181. The following persons, and no others, who, if they are citizens of the United States over the age of 21 years and have the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Section 182 of this Constitution: those who can read, write and understand any article of the Constitution of the United States; and those who are unable to read and write, if such inability is due solely to physical disability, who shall be able to understand any article of the Constitution of the United States when it is read to them; provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as an elector except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government and provided further that only one registration shall be required and those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again."

Wilkinson Urges Committee Control Of State Primaries

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Judge Horace Wilkinson, in Montgomery Wednesday, made the statement that the Boswell amendment had not eliminated the necessity of a white primary in Alabama and he said he would communicate his views to the members of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee at the organization meeting at the Jefferson Davis Hotel on the morning of January 20. 1-9-47

Judge Wilkinson believes that to prevent the Negro voting in a Democratic primary is still a "must job" for the Democrats of Alabama. He believes that the plan he advanced last Summer in speeches before luncheon clubs is still the plan that can be safely followed and will stand the test of the highest courts. Thurs.

First, Judge Wilkinson avers that it is necessary for all Alabama primary laws to be negatived and that the full and final power in a primary be thereby left to the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee. He believes that committees should fix as one qualification of a candidate qualifying in the primary that he publicly announce his rejection of all Negro ballots.

"That," said Judge Wilkinson, "can be made legal and will hold in the courts. And when that

qualification is signed by a candidate it will prevent him from campaigning for Negro votes. Then, when a Negro casts his vote, if he does, the election clerks and managers will put it in a rejected box." 1-9-47

Judge Wilkinson does not believe a constitutional amendment would be necessary to make this provision. He will present his views to the incoming committee in a letter next week. Thurs.

Judge Wilkinson thinks that after the legislature has abolished all laws relative to a primary, it can make provision for the cost of a primary election in one of several ways. He does not think there are any legal obstacles in the way.

Judge Wilkinson says that many officials of many Blackbelt counties are fearful that Negroes will control their counties in the next five years. He says this should be prevented legally to avert another "tragic era."

Bonner Avows State To End Primary Laws

Montgomery Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

He And Boswell Oppose Qualification Changes; Road Fund Loss Seen

A veteran Democratic party leader told Alabama legislators yesterday he thought the state eventually "is going to have to" repeal all primary election laws and let the party conduct its own balloting "to keep Negroes from voting."

But meanwhile, said former state Senator J. Miller Bonner, of Wilcox County, the present voter qualification restrictions as embodied in the recently enacted Boswell Amendement should not be disturbed. Thur 3-20-47

Bonner and former Rep. E. C. Boswell, of Geneva, author of the amendment, opposed a suggestion of the party chairman, Gessner T. McCorvey, of Mobile, that the law be liberalized.

And the Finance and Taxation Committee, in addition to continued hearings on budget requests, were told by Highway Director Ward W. McFarland that unless something is done soon the state may lose part of its federal aid for highway construction.

McCorvey's recommendations, and the opposition to them, were laid before the legislature's interim committee on judiciary, but committee members gave no formal indication later how they stood.

The State Democratic Executive Committee chairman proposed to revise the law by eliminating the present requirement that prospective voters be able to "understand and explain" any section of the federal constitution and compelling them only to be able to "understand or give a reasonable interpretation" of the constitution.

McCorvey said he anticipated an eventual court test of the amendment ratified by the voters last November, and that he wanted it to be in "as good shape as possible" if that came. He explained that his plan followed the language of the Mississippi constitution, which has been upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The party chairman also suggested deletion of the present requirement that registrants must have been employed for a least 12 months prior to their application, pointing out that if that were interpreted literally, many housewives and college and university students could be denied the use of the ballot.

Montgomery, Ala.

Protection Asked

McCorvey also voiced opposition to doing away with primary laws and letting the party conduct a white election. He said some statutory protection would be necessary to prevent fraud at the polls, and that in his opinion, such laws would, in effect, put the primaries under state regulation.

And if that were true, he added, the state would be confronted with the U. S. Supreme Court ruling that Negroes cannot be barred from primary elections because of race or color.

But while they differed on the Boswell Amendment, all three witnesses agreed that the absentee ballot should be repealed, and McCorvey said it was responsible for "95 per cent of the rottenness and crookedness" in elections.

On the question of Negro voting, McCorvey and Boswell said they did not object to letting "qualified" members of the race cast a ballot, but Bonner declared he did not want "any Negro to vote." Montgomery Advertiser

"There are two things essential to the welfare of the South," the former Senate member asserted, "a ban on Negro voting and absolute segregation."

Continuing, he said, "it will probably take a white primary to stop Negroes from voting. In fact, we're going to have to do it."

Opposite View

He disputed McCorvey's argument that statutory safeguards would be needed to prevent misuse of the ballot, and contended the party itself could effectively police its elections.

Both Bonner and Boswell appealed to the committee not to recommend any change in the registration laws, because to do so, they said, would "stir up the race question again."

Boswell also opposed lowering the voting age to 18, asserting he did not think teen-agers were "capable" of exercising the franchise, and that "if you're going to let 18-year-olds vote you might as well let 13-year-olds too."

The question of statutory protection for members of county boards of registrars was raised, McCorvey said he did not think any was needed; that registrars were judicial officers and "there is no more reason to protect them than to protect circuit judges."

Rep. Pelham Merrill, of Cleburne County, committee chairman, brought it up when he said registrars "need some protection" in view of lawsuits already filed against same.

McCorvey Says 'Few Negroes Have Qualified

Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 23—(AP)—Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey of the State Democratic Executive Committee said Friday that, although no check had been made, it was his understanding that comparatively few Negroes have registered as voters in Alabama since the Boswell amendment became law. Sat. 8-23-47

The state income tax amendment election next Tuesday will be the first statewide election since enactment of the restrictive measure. The law, passed last year, requires that a prospective voter be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution.

37e

News

A Constructive Proposal

Birmingham, Ala

To the Democracy at Work discussion of the question, "What Would Be a Good Suffrage System for Alabama?" last Tuesday night, Richard T. Rives, of Montgomery, made a notable contribution. Anticipating, as most thoughtful Alabamians do, as even some supporters of the Boswell amendment do, that that change in the constitution will not stand up under legal attack, convinced in any event that our suffrage system should be based on qualifications applicable to all, Mr. Rives took the highest ground with the proposal: That the right to register be limited to "those who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government, *according to tests* prescribed from time to time by a state board composed of the governor, the chief justice of the Supreme Court and the state superintendent of education, and administered under the supervision of said board." Mr. Rives continued: "Without being limited, the said board may prescribe as such tests the possession by the applicant of a certificate of progress or graduation from a recognized school or college, or an examination conducted in such manner as to assure so far as possible that the grading of the examination is made without knowledge of the identity or race of the applicant. The minimum tests so prescribed shall be applicable except in any county where the board of revenue, court of county commissioners or like governing body may from time to time elect to accept more difficult test or tests prescribed by said state board."

Thur. 7-3-47

If we had such an arrangement, Mr. Rives pointed out, persons already registered would not be affected, but "new registrants would have to meet stiffer qualification tests. But to require a voter to meet tests on the duties of citizenship is just as reasonable as to require an operator of an automobile to meet tests on driving. The racial proportion of voters, if it changed, would change very gradually, but that would be because of qualification tests instead of on account of racial discrimination. Federal intervention would be minimized. A measure of self-rule would be assured each county, and we would get as voters the best qualified citizens." Thur 7-3-47

Even those who will see flaws in Mr. Rives' plan to get away from the system we now have of vesting "arbitrary and unlimited power in men to say who shall and who shall not be registered as voters" by substituting for it "a definite rule of law," must admit that this is a creative approach to the problem. Mr. Rives thinks the time has come for Alabama to put suffrage in Alabama on a sound, democratic and constitutional foundation. He is against piddling restrictions aimed at Negroes or any other group. He wants the voting privilege in Alabama to be enjoyed by all who are eligible, according to specific standards, without reference to race, color or previous condition of servitude. And he wants the standards to be fixed and effectuated by a state authority standing above politics or prejudice. News, Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

It may be assumed that Mr. Rives has already submitted his idea to the proper interim committee. What will be done with it, or with other proposals, only the future can tell. If we are to judge the future by the past, the Legislature will be inclined to let whatever is remain. That probably would mean a harsh awakening whenever our registration statutes are scrutinized by the Supreme Court of the United States, and that is only a matter of time, of course. Then, confronted with a vacuum, the Legislature would rush through an amendment to fill the gap. The substance of that amendment would be determined by the thinking sober Alabamians give to the subject meanwhile. It is hard to believe that Mr. Rives' counsel will not be carefully considered in framing any ultimate program.

Charleston, S. C., News-Courier
~~June 15~~, 1947
Aug 24

Negroes Hold Alabama's Test For Voting Unfair to Them

37e

By CHARLES F. BARRETT

ATLANTA, Aug. 23. (AP): A new and perhaps decisive phase is developing in the South's long legal battle over negro suffrage.

Courts have declared illegal repeated efforts by Southern states to deny negroes an effective ballot—but there is one surviving device, a potential last citadel for southern "white supremacy" campaigners.

This scheme, described as "the final straw" by a negro leader, is a heretofore little-noted Alabama constitutional amendment. Negro leaders now disclose they are prepared to launch the first court challenge of the amendment within a few weeks.

On the outcome may hinge, once and for all, the right of masses of Southern negroes to an effective voice in Democratic primaries, the real elections in one-party Dixie.

If the amendment is sustained, other Southern states may be quick to shift to the same idea. A leader of the Herman Talmadge faction in Georgia already has called for a similar step.

If the Alabama measure is voided, Southern states may have no alternative but to cease fighting negro suffrage.

Applicable to Both Races

Although the Alabama amendment was designed frankly to prevent negroes from voting, it is called an "educational qualification" for registration to vote, applicable in principle to both white and negro. The power to determine if a prospective voter meets the qualification is left to a local county board of registrars.

Previously prospective voters were required to be able to "read and write" the constitution. Now they must be able to "understand and explain" any section of it to the satisfaction of registrars.

The amendment was adopted by a state-wide referendum in 1946, after a split among state Democratic leaders.

Sponsor of the proposal, Representative E. C. Boswell, of Geneva, Ala., left no doubt it was intended to prevent "mass negro voting." State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey said blunting the amendment is an "effective way of keeping negroes from voting in the future."

They believe it will survive court attack because its language gives no indication of discrimination or violation of civil rights. Most states have retained some type of educational qualification for voting.

Negro leaders, however, plan a vigorous legal assault. A. T. Walden of Atlanta, a member of the legal committee of the National Assocaition for the Advancement of Colored People, said the attack would be based on "unbridled discretion" left to registrars.

Calls it "Final Straw"

"This is the final straw," said Walden. 'I know of no other device by Southern states to keep our race from voting which already has not been declared unconstitutional. This may be the concluding and decisive chapter in our fight."

Walden contends the amendment requires judicial knowledge of registrars who thmselves may be not better qualified than the applicants. He said the intent and administration of the amendment would be attacked as well as its language.

The significance of the Alabama plan is reflected in recent developments in Georgia where the Herman Talmadge political faction, champions of "white supremacy," have called for a "private white primary" similar to that adopted in South Carolina.

The South Carolina plan, enacted in 1944 after the U. S. supreme court first ruled that negroes are entitled to vote in Southern state-regulated Democratic primaries, sought to circumvent the ruling by expunging all reference to primaries from state statutes.

The Democratic party was declared a private club, free to select its own members and free to stage a "private white primary" without court interference.

Many other Southerns, besides the Talmadge dynasty, turned to the "South Carolina plan." Apparently it was "working," they said. Then last July 12, Federal Judge J. Waties Waring, 66 - year - old Charleston, S. C., jurist declared the "private primary" was illegal.

Order Temporarily Stayed

Since the foregoing was written, Federal Judge George Bell Timmerman has granted a temporary stay and supersedeas of Judge Waring's order.

ALABAMA RACISTS GLUM:

Law to Curb Minority Group's Vote Fails

Afro-American - Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 3-15-47

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—(ANP)—Because colored citizens throughout the State and especially in Macon County, where Tuskegee Institute is located, can pass the stiff qualification tests for registration in sufficient numbers to wield a balance of power at the polls, the State's white supremacy forces, last week, advocated additional means than the Boswell Amendment to bar them from the party's organization.

Causing white supremacists additional embarrassment is the fact that the amendment, when properly administered by county registrars, tends to restrict the vote of illiterate white citizens, who, by and large, make up the mass of followers of the doctrines of bigotry and race hatred.

White Primary Boosted

The inadequacy of the present Boswell Amendment as an instrument to curb minority group voting was disclosed by one legislator when he advocated the adoption of South Carolina's white primary plan. Sat. 3-15-47

To do this would call for scrapping current primary laws and transforming the Democratic party into a private organization.

Liberals Oppose Move

A strong feeling exists here that Alabama liberals, led by the new governor, James E. Folsom, oppose a move as drastic as South Carolina's white primary plan.

During his campaign, Governor Folsom revealed his opposition to the Boswell Amendment, designed to restrict voting; and it is believed he would veto a "white primary" bill.

Amendment Under Fire

The Boswell Amendment requires a voter to "read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States."

It further requires registrants to be "of good character," and to "understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

Gessner T. McCorvey of Mobile, chairman of the State Democratic executive committee, is seeking to delete the requirement to explain any article of the Constitution, on the ground that other restrictions meet "all necessary requirements."

Act Called Undemocratic

Most of the large newspapers in the State opposed the Boswell Amendment and resolutions for its defeat were adopted by the State Republican Convention, the Political Action Committee and the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce. Sat. 3-15-47

The undemocratic features of Boswell Amendment are the requirements to "explain any article of the Constitution," its opponents contend, asserting that "a political clique" could disenfranchise almost any voter by strict application of its provisions.

The amendment encourages the scheme to bar voters by asking baffling questions, they maintain.

Constitutionality Challenged

Several test cases are expected to be prepared to test the constitutionality of the amendment at the next registration period when the law is applicable. Sat. 3-15-47

The law requires a bi-monthly meeting of registration boards for service men; but one county with a large colored population has not had a board of registers in existence since last October.

By the time the State's biennial legislative session convenes in May, educated citizens may have an idea of their political future in Alabama.

Montgomery Advertiser

THE BOSWELL AMENDMENT

The Associated Press is hailing Alabama' Boswell Amendment as the last defens against Negro voting. It is, the suggestio runs, the last trick in the bag.

Montgomery, Ala.

ATLANTA, Aug. 23.—(AP)—A new and perhaps decisive phase is developing in the South's long legal battle over Negro suffrage. 8-25-47 Mon.

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If the Alabama measure is voided, Southern states may have no alternative but to cease fighting Negro suffrage. . . .

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"This is the final straw," said Walden. "I know of no other device by Southern states to keep our race from voting which already has not been declared unconstitutional. This may be the concluding and decisive chapter in our fight."

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Doubtless this interpretation is written with an undiscerning exuberance, for we know of no reason to believe that if the Boswell Amendment is struck down Southern leaders will despair and resign themselves to an unimpeded influx of Negro voters. They will not give up. They'll just continue to invent Boswell Amendments faster than the courts can strike them down.

Georgia and the other states that are eyeing Alabama's amendment as a way out had better look more closely. For the fact is, the Boswell Amendment has made little difference in the enfranchisement rate of the Negro.

For example, in Montgomery County the Board of Registrars functions now exactly as it functioned before the Boswell Amendment. The test is substantially this. If the Negro can fill out the application form unaided and meets the other qualifications, he has a very good chance of voting. If he asks questions about the form, he's probably disqualified.

The Boswell Amendment requires that the voter "understand" the United States Constitution. If the Board of Registrars wants the Negro to vote, he understands the Constitution. If not, he does not comprehend. It is a cute device when you consider that Justice Black swears that Justice Frankfurther does not understand the Constitution, and Justice Jackson says they're both ignorant of it. Mon.

The amendment, as some of us said at the time, did not make a great deal of difference this way or that, for it is not procedural. It was simply an unnecessary declaration of policy that Alabama wanted to put the break on Negro registration.

Montgomery Advertiser

The only way the Boswell Amendment makes any difference is in the extent to which the implicit Alabama policy declaration impinges upon the minds of the Boards of Registrars in each county. It varies from county to county. Local sentiment, not law, is the predominant factor in Negro qualification. 8-25-47 Mon.

Alabama Law Ma Be 'Last Straw' In Move To Deny Ballot To Negroes

BY CHARLES F. BARRETT

Ala.

ATLANTA, Aug. 23—(AP)—A new and perhaps decisve phase is developing in the South's long legal battle over Negro suffrage.

Courts have declared illegal repeated efforts by Southern states to deny Negroes an effective ballot—but there is one surviving device, a potential last citadel for Southern "white supremacy" campaigners.

This scheme, described as "the final straw" by a Negro leader, is a heretofore little-noted Alabama constitutional amendment. Negro leaders now disclose they are prepared to launch the first court challenge of the amendment within a few weeks.

On the outcome may hinge, once and for all, the right of masses of Southern Negroes to an effectve voice in Democratic primaries, the real elections in one-party Dixie.

If the amendment is sustained, other Southern states may be quick to shift to the same idea. A leader of the Herman Talmadge faction in Georgia already has called for a similar step. Sun. 8-24-47

If the Alabama measure is voided, Southern states may have no alternative but to cease fighting Negro suffrage. Sun. 8-24-47

ALTHOUGH THE ALABAMA amendment was designed frankly to prevent Negroes from voting, it is called an "educational qualification" for registration to vote, applicable in principle to both white and Negro. The power to determine if a prospective voter meets the qualification is left to a local county board of registrars.

Previously prospective voters were required to be able to "read and write" the constitution. Now they must be able to "understand and explain" any section of it to the satisfaction of registrars.

The amendment was adopted by a statewide referendum in 1946, after a split among state Democratic leaders. Sun. 8-24-47

SPONSOR OF THE proposal. Rep. E. C. Boswell of Geneva, Ala., left no doubt it was intended to prevent "mass Negro voting." State Democratic Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey said bluntly the amendment is an "effective way of keeping Negroes from voting in the future." Sun. 8-24-47

They believe it will survive court attack because its language gives no indication of discrimination or violation of civil rights. Most states have retained some type of educational qualification for voting.

Birmingham News-Age Herald

NEGRO LEADERS, however, plan a vigorous legal assault. A. T. Walden of Atlanta, a member of the legal committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the attack would be based on "unbridled discretion" left to registrars.

Birmingham, Ala.

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Alabama's Boswell Plan Seen As Last Battle In Negro Vote

Montgomery Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

BY CHARLES F. BARRETT

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McCorvey Asks Four Changes To Bolster Boswell Amendment

The Advertiser Montgomery Ala
Thur. 1-23-47

By ATTICUS MULLIN

Gessner McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee has furnished The Advertiser his reason for wanting the Boswell amendment amended by another amendment to cut out the word "explain" where the constitution is mentioned in the Boswell text and also other minor changes which he thinks will simplify the Boswell amendment.

Chairman McCorvey will send a mail ballot to the members of the committee before the regular session in May for the purpose of securing the backing of the committee for a constitutional amendment bill which he will have introduced into the Legislature. The committee represents the Democratic Party in Alabama and he wants the Party behind the proposed amendment to the Boswell amendment. He explains his proposition, at length, in the following words which he addressed to the members of the new committee and which will interest every voter in Alabama as well as every member of the Legislature. Thur. 1-23-47

Section 181

The following is a copy of Section 181 of our Constitution as amended by "Proposed Constitutional Amendment Number Four," generally referred to as "The Boswell Amendment," which was adopted on November 5th, 1946. It is the same as Section 181 of our Constitution of 1901 except that the old provision allowing anyone to register who had a tax assessment of $300.00 and paid his taxes has been eliminated and with the further exception that the portions underscored were added by the "Boswell Amendment."

"Section 181. After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and three, the following persons, and no others, who, if their place of residence shall remain unchanged, will have, at the date of the next general election, the qualifications as to residence prescribed in section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under section 182 of this constitution: those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who are physically unable to work and those who can read and write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade, or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register, including those who are unable to read and write if such inability is due solely to physical disability; provided, however, no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of good citizenship under a republican form of government."

Four Changes

"In my opinion it is advisable to request the Legislature to submit to the people a further amendment to this section of our Constitution. There are four changes which I would suggest:

1. "Eliminate the date 'January 1st, 1903.' After that date no one could qualify 'under the 'Grandfather Clause,' but this date is no longer needed.

2. "I think we should eliminate the clause requiring that applicants to register should have worked or been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade, or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register. Strictly construed, this would eliminate a large number of women who, of course, were not allowed to register when the Constitution of 1901 was adopted. Then, too, many boys and girls over twenty-one years of age who are still in college should be allowed to register without requiring them to wait until they had been engaged in some lawful employment, business, trade, etc., for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to registr.

"Understand" Asked

3. "I think we should eliminate the provision of the Boswell Amendment requiring an applicant to 'explain' any article of the Constitution. The question may be raised as to whose satisfaction such explanation must be made. I think it entirely proper to leave in this section the requirement added by the Boswell Amendment to the effect that the applicant to register should understand the Constitution.

4. "I also think it advisable to include in this section a clause providing that only one registration shall be required and that those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again. This will eliminate any contention such as was made in the election last November (a very erroneous contention in my opinion) to the effect that every one would have to re-register if the amendment was adopted. The Advertiser

"I think the other provisions of the Boswell Amendment to the effect that the applicant to register must be of good character and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government are proper provisions.

The Proposal

"My suggestion is that we have Section 181 of the Constitution further amended so as to read as follows: Montgomery Ala.

"Section 181. The following persons, and no others, who, if they are citizens of the United States over the age of 21 years and have the qualifications as to residence prescribed in Section 178 of this article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Section 182 of this Constitution: those who can read, write and understand any article of the Constitution of the United States; and those who are unable to read and write, if such inability is due solely to physical disability, who shall be able to understand any article of the Constitution of the United States when it is read to them; provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as an elector except those who are of good character and who understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government and provided further that only one registration shall be required and those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again." Thur. 1-23-47

McCorvey Set To Keep Place If Requested

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala

Chairman Of Committee Denies Candidacy But Is Willing To Serve

Thurs. 1-2-47

By ATTICUS MULLIN

MOBILE, ALA., Jan. 1.—If the Democrats of Alabama, speaking through their State executive committee desire it, Gessner McCorvey will accept re-election as chairman when the new committee meets at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 20th of January, at the Jefferson Davis Hotel, in Montgomery.

I contacted the State chairman at his office in Mobile this morning. It was New Year's Day and only one elevator was moving in the skyscraper where this able lawyer has his offices and but very few people visited the building. I asked where Mr. McCorvey's office was and the one courteous elevator girl in service for the day told me the floor, the number of the office and said, "You'll find Mr. McCorvey in his office. I think he is the hardest working man in this building."

And sure enough Gessner McCorvey was in his office. The office force was not there but the boss was. Thurs. 1-2-47

"Good morning, Gessner," I said, as I entered. "I wish you a prosperous year and I hope you will consent to remain at the head of our party for another two years."

Will Accept

Well, Bishop," he answered, "I thank you for your good wishes and I wish you every happiness and you can say that, if the Democrats of Alabama want me at the helm for another term, I will accede to their wishes. But boy, I want to remind you that I am not a candidate for the place. It is an honor but it entails hard work. The Advertiser

Chairman McCorvey said that the new Democratic Executive Committee will begin to function the day the new Governor takes office. "We will meet at the Jefferson Davis Hotel, according to custom on the morning the Governor is inaugurated. We ought to finish our business and be out in 30 minutes. Then we can take part in the inauguration ceremonies as all good Democrats should do. Montgomery, Ala

Will Stand Test

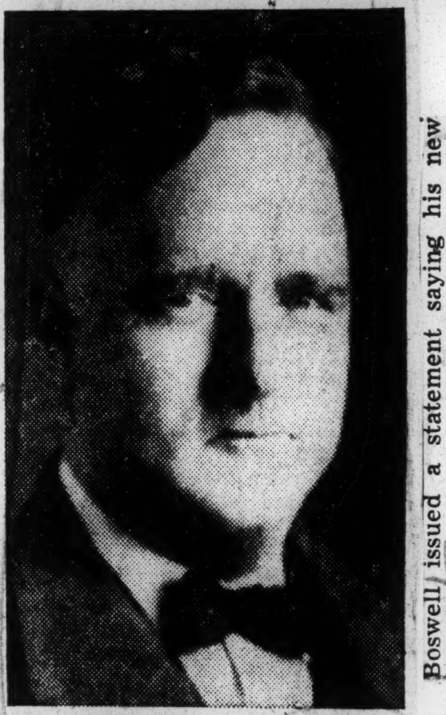
I talked at length with Mr. McCorvey. I asked him what he thought about the situation in Alabama since the adoption of the Boswell Amendment. He repeated what he said many times during the campaign — that he did not consider the Boswell amendment a particularly fine instrument but he thinks it will stand the test of the courts — or he hopes it will. But he thinks it may be necessary to clarify the amendment in some ways and that such clarification will have to come through another amendment. The Legislature cannot add to or take away from a constitutional provision.

Thurs. 1-2-47

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. 1-2-47

Mr. McCorvey, like other Democrats, thinks the poll tax should be continued. He does not think this safeguard should be disturbed, at least not until the Boswell amendment is upheld by the highest court in the land. To abolish the poll tax and then find a court decision nullifying the Boswell Amendment, he believes, would place Alabama Democrats in a worse fix than they are in now or were in before the Boswell Amendment was adopted.

He's Available



GESSNER McCORVEY

And in that I have found that other Democrats concur. Thurs.

I hadn't seen Gessner McCorvey since his illness of last Summer. And I would never have known he was ill if I had not read newspaper accounts of it. He is back in his oldtime form and when he is in his regular form, he is as Moses delivering the tablets insofar as democracy is concerned. 1-2-47

ANOTHER UNDEMOCRATIC IDEA

In The Alabama Farmers State of last week E. C. Boswell, author of the Boswell amendment, stated that the new state constitution should be written by a "commission." After this group writes the new constitution, it would be sent to the Legislature for approval and finally to the people.

Apparently, the Geneva County ex-legislator finds the autocratic method of government more to his liking than the democratic. The regular process of rewriting the constitution as outlined by our laws does not come up to the expectations or requirements of Mr. Boswell. The News 1-2-47

Under his plan, the Legislature would select a commission to write the constitution. It is only logical to surmise that this commossion would include men who would have ideas similar to those held by Mr. Boswell. The people would be allowed to have a part in "their" constitution only after Mr. Boswell's commission and the Legislature got through with it. Birmingham, Ala

It is true that the machinery for rewriting the constitution will be slow. But the people of Alabama, and not a commission, would approve or disapprove the question of whether a constitutional convention would be called. The people of Alabama could have a hand in electing the delegates to this convention. And finally, the people of Alabama could vote for or against the new constitution. Thurs

Boswell's idea would keep the new constitution as far away from the people as possible, up to the very last minute when they could vote on what the "commission" had dished up for them. Apparently, he either fears the voter or has no faith in the judgment of the average citizen. 1-3-47

On the same day that the Boswell amendment was added to the state constitution Mr. Boswell issued a statement saying his new law needed some changes. Would he say the same thing about a new constitution if his commission finally had one approved by the voters? The News 1-2-47

Many voters in Alabama took a dim view of the amendment which would limit the ballot in this state. It is to be hoped that the majority of them will not even give a second thought to Mr. Boswell's "constitutional commission" plan.—Brewton Standard.

The News

McCorvey Changes Course

Gessner McCorvey, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, is an honest man and a good lawyer. He was conscientious in urging the enactment and adoption of the Boswell amendment to the state constitution. He was consistent in the course he pursued. But Mr. McCorvey now sees that some of the provisions of the amendment he fathered and got pushed through the Legislature are dangerous. He sees the justice of some of the fears expressed during the recent campaign that the amendment would give Alabama a rule by men instead of government by law insofar as registration of voters is concerned. 37e) Ala.

Birmingham, Ala.

So now Mr. McCorvey has asked the state committee to recommend changes in the recently adopted amendment. Where the amendment would require the applicant for voting to be able to "explain and understand" the United States Constitution, Mr. McCorvey would compel them only to "understand." Few people, he acknowledges, would be able to "explain" the constitution. Therefore that requirement should be stricken out as unfair and unjust. Wed 1-22-47

Of course he is correct. Why he did not see that fact many months ago is strange, however. Perhaps it took the campaign to convince him. But Mr. McCorvey's revisions do not go far enough. Dropping of the word "explain" would still leave wide latitude in the law behind which boards of registrars could hide arbitrary decisions. After all, the distinction between "explain" and "understand" is not very sharp. How is understanding determined if one is not called upon to explain? Is there any other way in which an applicant for registration could prove that he understands the constitution except through explanation? Wed 1-22-47

Now that it has been acknowledged by the Boswell amendment's chief supporter that the amendment is faulty, the way is eased for the State Legislature to adopt or submit to the voters regulations which will prevent misuse of the new powers by boards of registrars. The Legislature need not wait to see what the State Democratic Committee wants. Let it go ahead itself in action which looks toward providing some kind of standard procedure for registration. Let it surround would-be voters with protection against arbitrary actions of boards operating under the blanket authority of extremely loose registration provisions.

Birmingham, Ala. News

Suffrage Restrictions

Thurs. 8-28-47

Some Alabamians may be gratified by the attention which the Boswell amendment is receiving these days throughout the South. According to a week-end Associated Press dispatch from Atlanta, devotees of "white supremacy," harassed by repeated judicial attacks, think they have found in the Alabama device for limiting Negro participation in politics a solution for their problem. They are leaning on a weak reed. If they knew the qualms of some of the leaders in the fight for the Boswell amendment, they would not be nursing such a fragile hope. 37e)

For the constitutionality of the "understand and explain" provision is as dubious as any other attempt which has been made to eliminate Negro voting according to a color line. Whenever this proposition goes to the Supreme Court of the United States, it will face the same reasoning which has already done so much to upset the "white supremacy" apple cart. What the court is interested in is the purpose behind suffrage restrictions. If the intent be to discriminate against Negroes as potential voters, it is that which counts and not rhodomontade to the effect that the regulation purportedly applies to all, white as well as black.

There is need in Alabama, as elsewhere, for an honest and workable educational test for would-be voters. But that is a far cry from the arrangement we now have which calls upon registrants to "understand and explain" the constitution to the satisfaction of registrars most of whom, in the nature of things, are not capable of rendering sound judgment. You can't say in the course of a campaign that a proposal is an "effective way of keeping Negroes from voting" and then contend before the Supreme Court that it was not aimed at Negroes. The Supreme Court no longer accepts that sort of dichotomy. Thurs. 8-28-47 37e) Ala. (B.A.)

The News

Protection of Registrars

Further need for modifying registration laws and practices in Alabama is indicated by the action of the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee in recommending that boards of registrars be protected from damage suits "by making them judicial officers, if necessary." This recommendation is obviously the outgrowth of a fear that registrars will be subjected to a great many suits from persons denied the right to register. 37e) Ala.

Certainly, as was pointed out during the campaign over the Boswell amendment, registrars have judicial functions. That fact is clearly set forth in the code which says that "registrars are judicial officers and shall act judicially in all matters pertaining to the registration of applicants." Furthermore, registrars, when taking office, take the oath of office required of judicial officers. Birmingham Ala

But while registrars are accorded something of the status of judges, they do not have judicial safeguards against suits for actions performed in connection with their duties. Judges may be impeached. So also may registrars, but only for specified reasons, such as willful neglect of duty, corruption in office, or incompetency. But impeachment is a slow and doubtful process, and applicants denied registration in several cases in Alabama in recent years have filed damage suits. The result has been a growing reluctance on the part of citizens to accept appointment as registrars.

It may be an acceptable reform, therefore, to protect registrars against damage suits for actions that are judicial by nature. However, there should be also other changes designed to give the applicant further protection against arbitrary decisions by registrars who while clothed with judicial protection may have something less than judicial stature. Sat. 2-1-47

If registrars are to have judicial perquisites, perhaps something should be done to see that the office is lifted out of its present status as a political plum to be passed out with every change of administration. Perhaps there should be a change in the method of appointing registrars. Perhaps they should be appointed for staggered terms. Perhaps higher qualifications for registrars should be imposed in an effort to make sure that they are able to administer the law impartially and intelligently, as free as possible from bias and prejudice.

It is desirable, of course, to have concern for the registrars. No public official should be subjected to capricious harassment. But it is also desirable to have concern for those who come seeking to register to vote. The history of registration in Alabama provides abundant evidence that applicants for registration need the protection of better and stronger laws. That need is all the greater under the broad provisions of the Boswell amendment.

Months-Old Boswell Amendment Ruling Is Brought To Light

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Mon. 3-24-47

Re-Registering Of Present Voters Not Required,

Decision In November

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 24 —(AP)—The question of whether the Boswell amendment could be used to require re-registration of present voters was disclosed today to have been answered in the negative by the attorney general's office last November.

The issue was first raised last year before the voter qualification amendment was ratified, and again last week before the Legislature's judiciary interim committee.

Opponents of the amendment, which was designed to tighten up on voter requirements in Alabama, argued that if it were adopted, anyone registered since 1903 could be required to do it again. They used this reasoning: The News

The amendment starts with the words, "After the first day of January, 1903, etc.," then prescribes the voting standards, including the new requirement that prospective registrants be able to "understand and explain" any section of the U. S. Constitution. Birmingham, Al

The opening words were those used in the previous constitutional section affecting voter registration, and were carried over into the amendment. Mon. 3-24-47

Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey, of the State Democratic Executive Committee, differed on the interpretation and contended it would not subject voters to re-registration. But last week, when he appeared before the judiciary committee to propose liberalization of the law, he suggested a clause to make it plain that a person already registered would not have to do it again.

* * *

BUT SHORTLY AFTER the amendment was approved by the voters last Nov. 5, it was made known today, the attorney general's office wrote an informal opinion to then Gov. Chauncey Sparks, holding that the re-registration theory was invalid. 3-24-47

Because of its informal nature, the decision was not made public as are most of those which come from the attorney general's office.

The opinion, written by Assistant Atty. Gen. W. W Callahan, reasoned that, if the Legislature had intended the Boswell amendment to be retroactive, it would have said so. Birmingham, Ala.

"It is a well establieshed principle of law," it added, "that constitutions and statutes are presumed to operate in the present and future and are not retroactive unless express language is used showing an intent that they are intended to have a retroactive effect." Mon.

Examination of the amendment shows, Callahan wrote, that "its purpose was to place further restrictions on the qualifications to register by applicants in the future." The News 3-24-47

Since the opinion was handed to Sparks, however, a new attorney general, A. A. Carmichael, has taken office. He could reverse it if he looked at the law differently.

37e 1947

Alabama Conference of NAACP Branches

Ala. Solon Pledges Fight For Dixie Vote Barrier

37e

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Walter C. Givhan, Dallas County representative to the State Legislature, answering the Alabama Conference of NAACP Branches' program to win the ballot for Negro citizens in the State's sixty-seven counties, says that he will "protect Alabama's traditions and form of government" with a new set of restrictive vote laws when the Legislature convenes again in 1949.

The program of the NAACP calls for a court test of the constitutionality of the Boswell amendment which requires that a prospective voter must "understand and explain" the United States Constitution to the satisfaction of the board of registrars; suits to compel the State to provide medical, dental, journalistic, legal and technical training for Negro citizens and equal accommodations on public carriers. This program was adopted at a three-day conference here Oct. 3-5.

Sat. 10-18-47

OUT-NUMBERED

Representative Givhan hails from the Black Belt where Negro citizens outnumber white citizens and for most part are not permitted to register and vote.

Dallas County which he represents has more Negroes than whites, but has only approximately sixty voters.

TO LEAD FIGHT

The Black Belt legislative spokesman added: "I will endeavor to lead the fight in the next session to enact a law that will protect Alabama's traditions and principles of government that our grandfathers fought, bled and died for, and I for one do not intend to stand idly by and see Aubrey Williams (publisher of The Southern Farmer and former NYA head) and others undermine the fundamental principles of Southern democracy that our people have lived under since Reconstruction days.'

FINANCIAL DRIVE 10-18-47

Meantime in Birmingham, W. C. Patton, chairman of the Vote Defense Fund, project to be sponsored by the State NAACP, and Malcolm C. Dobbs, co-chairman, were mapping plans for launching a State-wide financial drive to raise $15,000. Mr. Patton is district manager of the American Woodmen and Mr. Dobbs is a representative of the United Public Workers (CIO).

Judge Kennamer Says Voters Must Meet Board Regulations

The News
Birmingham Al

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 9 —(AP)—Prospective registrants in Alabama must possess proper voting qualifications and also must conform to rules and regulations fixed by county boards of registrars, according to a ruling by Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer.

In a formal opinion reviewing a Tuskegee, Ala., Negro's suit charging two former members of the Macon County Board of Registrars refused to register him because of his race, the court held yesterday thta denial of the franchise to a Negro does not in itself constitute racial discrimination.

The case was tried in U. S. District Court Dec. 18 and Judge Kennamer returned a verdict for the defendants, Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie.

He maintained in an oral statement at the conclusion of the trial and again in his written opinion that the plaintiff, William P. Mitchell, failed to comply with a board regulation requiring that applicants present someone to vouch for their residence. Thur. 1-9-47

* * *

TRIAL TESTIMONY showed that Mitchell gave ,the names of two prospective vouchers but neither appeared before the board to sign his application.

The opinion found that the two board members "registered Negroes and whites alike" when applicants were properly vouched for.

The court said that Michell possessed qualifications fixed by the Alabama Constitution but added that "it is not a denial of constitutional rights to deny registration because of failure to comply with prescribed requirements."

"The burden is upon the plaintiff," he declared, "to prove a denial of constiutional rights by racial discrimination, where such is alleged, and this burden is not met by merely showing tht complaintant is a member of the Negro race and is qualified in all particulars to be an elector."

Qualification Insufficient To Cast Ballot

Advertiser 1-9-47 Th.

Federal Court Asserts Applicants Must Meet Standards Of Registrars

Montgomery, Ala.

Mere possession of the proper voting qualifications is not sufficient for registration in Alabama, and denial of the franchise to a Negro does not in itself constitute racial discrimination, Federal Judge C. B. Kennamer declared today. 1-9-47-Th.

For, he said, an applicant not only must meet the standards set by the Constitution but also must conform to rules and regulations fixed by County Boards of Registrars, which "have the force and effect of law."

His conclusions came in a written finding of fact and a formal opinion reviewing a Tuskegee, Ala., Negroe's recent suit charging two former members of the Macon County Board of Registrars with refusing to register him solely because of his race.

Defendant Favored

The case was tried in U. S. District Court here Dec. 18, and Judge Kennamer returned a verdict in favor of the defendants, Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie.

In his oral statement at the conclusion of the trial, and again today in his written finding, the judge held that the plaintiff, William P. Mitchell, failed to comply with a board regulation that applicants present someone to vouch for their residence.

Trial testimony showed that although Mitchell gave the names of two prospective vouchers, neither of them appeared before the board to sign his application.

Upholds Authority

Holding that the Board had legal authority for promulgating such a rule and that "no person was ever registered" by the defendants without conforming to it, Judge Kennamer observed:

"A person is not entitled to register as an elector . . . who does not meet the prescribed requirements, where such requirements are fair and legal and are fairly and equally administered."

He found also that the two board members "registered Negroes and whites alike" when applicants were properly vouched for.

The judge said the plaintiff, an employe of the Veterans' Hospital at Tuskegee, possessed the qualifications fixed by the Alabama Constitution, but added that "it is not a denial of constitutional rights to deny registration because of failure to comply with prescribed requirements."

Ala. Vote Denial Suit Dismissed

Pa. Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa
Sat 11-1-47

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—The vote denial suit brought by William P. Mitchell of Tuskegee against Mrs. George A. Wright and Virgil Guthrie and all members of the Macon County Board of Registrars was dismissed on motion of the defense when it was found that the plaintiff had been registered on Jan. 29, 1943, it was learned.

Mitchell had asked $5,000 dam-

Negro Was Registered Voter All The Time

News
Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 8—William P. Mitchell, Tuskegee Negro, knew today he could vote in Alabama by merely paying his poll tax after a two-year court battle in which he had claimed he was disfranchised because of his race.

Discovery that Mitchell was a registered voter all the time he was carrying on his court fight, which reached the U. S. Supreme Court, was made, according to The Associated Press, by Mrs. George C. Wright, a former Macon County registrar. Sat. 11-8-47

Mitchell had filed suit in Federal Court here against Mrs. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie, also a former Macon County registrar, for $5,000 and had sought to enjoin the Macon County Board from preventing him from being disfranchised. The court has dismissed the suit.

Mitchell's attorney, Arthur Shores, of Birmingham, said Mitchell told him he was never notified of his registration, according to The Associated Press, and assuming he had been rejected when his name was not on the voting lists tried to register again in 1945.

Atty. Richard T. Rives, Montgomery, said a photostatic copy of Mitchell's registration papers had been filed with the U. S. Court of Appeals at New Orleans and Mitchell's counsel, which included attorneys from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He Forgot The $1.50

37e Ala.

By RHEA CUMMING
Staff Writer, The Advertiser

FOR over two years he had paid lawyer fees and court costs, and had followed his case back and forth in the U. S. District Court and Court of Appeals.

It amounted to just two years out of his life, for the case of William P. Mitchell, Negro, versus Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie—registrars of Macon County—collapsed the other day. Advertiser

CUMMING

He had appeared before the board in 1945 to vote. When told he wasn't on the list of qualified electors, he promptly made application to register. He filled out his application form perfectly and met all requirements, except one. He failed to bring a witness to the board who could vouch for his having lived in his stated precinct, Macon County, Ala., for the required number of years. When told that this must be done before the right to vote could be granted, he bucked. He became indignant. He filed suit in the U. S. District Court.

Montgomery, Ala.

THE suit in substance demanded $5,000 damages and that the right to vote be granted "in behalf of himself and all other Negroes" to colored people who possessed the prerequisites of white persons who were potential voters.

An employe of Tuskegee Institute, he had previously had more training and education than the average southern Negro. . . . but he overlooked that requirements for all races are, under the law, necessarily the same.

The case first went to the U. S. District Court, where it was dismissed for lack of evidence and on the grounds that Mitchell didn't have the authority to file suit in behalf of other Negroes without the mention and consent of a distinctive group. Sat. 11-8-47

He appealed in New Orleans, and the Court of Appeals there tried the case and returned it to the U. S. District Court to be tried on evidence.

THE second time in the District Court, Mitchell's case was again dismissed for lack of sufficient evidence. During this entire time the plaintiff was being represented by three lawyers, two of whom are from Washington and New York and are legal advisors to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Sat. 11-8-47

Then the defendants made an attempt to take the case to the U. S. Supreme Court but the application was denied.

Again in the U. S. Court of Appeals, the case remained pending for some time. It was still pending when lawyer for the defendants, Richard T. Rives, uncovered a decisive fact.

William P. Mitchell, Negro, was already registered. . . . He had registered in 1943 but had failed to pay his poll tax and, for that reason, he wasn't on the voting list at the time he tried first to vote in 1945, and then to register.

37e 1947

Alabama (Registration)

Macon County Problem

News. Birmingham
Birmingham, Ala
Fri. 12-19-47

The issue involved in the Macon County problem of providing machinery for registration may appear at once both simple and complex. It is being said that the reason why Macon County has gone without a Board of Registrars since June, 1946, is because no citizen appears willing to accept appointment. Gov. Folsom has said that he has tried to offer appointment to several persons, but that none will accept.

In the opinion of many, fear of damage suits is the reason for such reluctance. A Negro, William P. Mitchell, last year brought suit for $5,000 damages against two former registrars, charging that he had not been allowed to vote in 1945 solely because of his race. Later the suit was dismissed because it was established that the Negro previously had been registered; it also appears that he had not been told of acceptance of his application for registration. There is some belief that other suits may be filed, if a Board of Registrars ever starts functioning again.

Registrars receive only $7.50 a day when actively serving; until the recent session of the Legislature, they received only $5 a day.

News Birmingham, Ala

One wonders whether this situation does not call for a more candid approach than yet has been evident. Certainly there may be real risk of suits on the part of Negroes who feel they have not been given full opportunity to qualify. Negroes—22,000—make up 81 per cent of the county's population; only about 250 to 300 Negroes at the most have qualified; another estimate places this as low as 110. Of some 5,000 white residents of Macon County, about 2,200 are qualified voters.

Macon County Probate Judge William Varner is quoted as having said: "If we had an open registration, every Negro at the (Tuskegee) Institute and everyone who works at the Veterans Hospital would come down here, along with a few others who live out of the county." This indicates a belief that there can be no "open" registration without running the risk of (1) permitting a great many Negroes to qualify, or (2) opening the way to future suits such as that brought by William P. Mitchell.

Surely everyone recognizes that in a county where the population is in great majority Negro there is a difficult situation. Yet there is the constitutional right of granting of the ballot to qualified citizens. Certainly there is a delicate situation involved; certainly among the thousands of Negroes who might want the ballot there are many who are not, by any sound judgment, qualified to vote; there also are white citizens not qualified for the ballot.

Fri. 12-19-47

But the need is apparent. White and Negro citizens in Macon County should understand that the county *must* have a Board of Registrars. As one example of this failure of democratic procedure, many war veterans in the county have not been enabled to register because of absence of a board. A genuine effort on the part of conscientious white and Negro citizens of Macon County to induce a group of men to serve as registrars upon some mutually acceptable basis is urgently needed.

Involved is a basic issue; needed is the right spirit; both white and Negro first must come to an understanding on this. As it is, both suffer.

Permit Registration Machinery To Drop To Bar 'Skegee Citizens

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 12-26-47

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — (NNPA) — The device of permitting the legal machinery for registration of voters to become inactive has been resorted to as a means of accomplishing disfranchisement of colored citizens in Macon County, the site of Tuskegee Institute.

No registration board has functioned in the county since the last two members resigned in June, 1946 and no one, regardless of race has qualified as a voter.

This situation is blamed on a suit for damages of $5,000 brought against two former registrars by William P. Mitchell of Tuskegee who was denied the right to vote in 1945 solely because he is colored.

SUIT DISMISSED

Mr. Williams' suit was dismissed recently after it had been discovered that he had been registered but had not been notified of his registration. 12-26-47

The two registrars resigned because they realized that under recent decisions of the Federal courts they may be held to answer damages for their refusal to permit a person to register solely on account of race or color.

Colored people, many of them with college degrees, are demanding the right to register and vote and the Tuskegee Civic Association has conducted classes in registration. Of the 22,000 colored persons who constitute 81 per cent of the county's population, only a few have been allowed to register because of the arbitrary action of registration officials.

No Board Has Functioned Since June Of 1946

Probate Judge William Varner estimates the number of colored persons registered at 250 to 300, but Charles G. Gomillion, dean of education at Tuskegee Institute, says it is only 110. Fri. 12-26-47

MUCH HIGHER RATIO

The ratio of white voters is much higher, approximately 2,200 out of a population of 5,000 and would be higher still if returning war veterans and other youths just turned 21 had been able to register in the past eighteen months.

Former state Representative Henry Neill Segrest, a member of Tuskegee Institute board of trustees said "several" white persons, mostly veterans, had protested to him over inability to get voting certificates He disagrees with Judge Varner who said:

"If we had an open registration every Negro at the institute and everyone who works at the veterans hospital would come down here along with a few others who live out of the county."

ENROLLMENT FIGURES

The college has an enrollment of 2,700 and the hospital employs 800.

Segrest said, "I don't believe you would see more than 300 applications from Negroes in a week."

Judge Varner said the demand registration of colored voters is "nothing but a scheme of those Negroes at the institute," but both Gomillion and Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of the school, insist that Tuskegee has nothing to do with it.

Gomillion one time president of the civic Association and a director in the Tuskegee branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People described his activity as merely "that of a citizen," and added: Fri. 12-26-47

"About this business of mass Negro voting, I do not think there would be such a thing immediately. My guess is that there would be not more than 500 Negro voters in the next 15 years.

Governor Jim Folsom said he had offered an appointment as registrar to "several persons" but all had declined. Asked if they mentioned the court suit as a reason, the Governor replied:

"That's what they told me."

Registration Boards Named For All But Two Counties

370

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Boards of Registrars for all but two of the Alabama counties were named by the appointing board composed of Governor Folsom, Commissioner of Agriculture Haygood Paterson and State Auditor Dan Thomas yesterday and the present Montgomery County board was left intact.

Members of the local board are Mrs. Atticus Mullin, the Rev. J. W. Reinhardt and Mrs. Jessie W. Nunnelee, chairman. 10-25-47

The two counties for which no registrars were named are Macon and Lee. The former now has been without a complete board for the past two years, citizens of that county showing a reluctance to serve.

The list of appointees released yesterday by the governor showed that several counties had only two of their three registrars named, and in at least one case—Dallas County—only one was appointed.

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Receive Refusals

Thomas said the board had had difficulties in making the appointments because many of the persons were unwilling to serve. He added that right up to the last minute he and the other two members of the appointing board had received refusals to serve.

Paterson said there had been the greatest of harmony among the three members in making the appointments.

The difficulty in getting registrars to serve in Macon County has been attributed to the great number of suits brought against previous members of the board in connection with registering Negro voters. Sat. 10-25-47

Registrars named yesterday are:

Autauga County, Rorester M. Smith, chmn., **Prattville**; Mrs. Josephine Hughes, Billingsley; Miss Nell Livingston, Prattville. **Baldwin**, Mrs. Sibley Holmes, chmn., Foley; Mrs. G. H. Burns, Bay Minette; Mrs. John Chason, Sr., Bay Minette. Barbour, Mrs. Cara C. Clayton, chmn., Clayton; Mrs. Carrie McDowell, Eufaula. Bigg, Steve Lee, chmn., Centerville; A. W. Langston, Centerville; Mrs. Mae Stewart, Centerville. Blount, Rev. P. J. Jordan, chmn., Altoona; T. E. Avery, Oneonta; Luther Ballinger, Cleveland. Bullock, Miss Annie Hobdy, chmn., Union Springs; Sam B. Wilson, Sr., Union Springs; R. L. Gardner, Union Springs. Butler, Sam Owens, chmn., Butler Springs; Mrs. Ralph Searcy, Greenville; Don Campbell, Chapman. Calhoun, L. E. Lybrand, chmn., Oxford; W. E. Moon, Piedmont; W. A. Waddell, Anniston.

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.

Chambers, J. L. Sanders, chmn., La Fayette; J. M. Newman, Lanett; Clarence McLendon, Camp Hill. Cherokee, M. G. Naugher, chmn., Center; J. Tom Erwin, Centre; Greeley M. Crye, Minto. Chilton, A. C. Ratherford, chmn., Clanton; T. W. Bryan, Clanton; A. J. LeCroy, Maplesville. Clarke, J. H. Hill, chmn., Thomasville; Lewis N. Sewall, Jackson; W. M. Nunn, Fulton. Clay, Mrs. H. A. Williamson, chmn., Ashland; Mrs. Eva W. Pepper (address not given); Mrs. M. L. Allen, Ashland. Choctaw, Olin N. Adams, chmn., Butler; Jesse Jordan, Butler; H. H. Brewster, Mt. Sterling. Cleburne, A. H. Glasgow, Heflin; J. O. Thrash, chmn., Heflin; Leon Bowman, Heflin. Coffee, W. T. Pittman, chmn., Enterprise; Charles A. Goodson, New Brockton; J. W. Parker, Elba.

Colbert, Elbert C. Henry, chmn., Tuscumbia; Riley E. Sparks, Tuscumbia; Mrs Bessie T. Ford, Sheffield. Conecuh, M. J Brown, chmn., Evergrgeen; J. E. Skinner Castleberry; Mrs. Tralice Shoemaker, Evergreen. Coosa, W. M. Murchison, chmn. Equality; Johnny Bross, Equality; C. R Corley, Goodwater. Covington, Lucius Walters, chmn., Red Level; Charlie Windham, Andalusia; Mrs. J. C. Woodham, Opp Crenshaw, H. J. Horn, chmn., Luverne Mrs. Georgia Summerlin, Luverne; W. L McSwean, Brantley. Cullman, Clyde Hudson, chmn., Cullman; Mrs. C. H. Koller Cullman; George Nunnely, Cullman. Dale R. G. Hudson, chmn., Ozark; D. C. Newton, Ozark; Ruth Godwin, Ozark. Dallas Charles D. McCoy, chmn., Selma; Mrs. J D. Giles, Selma.

DeKalb, J. H. Absher, chmn., Fyffe Warren McSpadden, Ft. Payne; R. G. Lamunyon, Fyffe. Elmore, Sam Cook, chmn. Elmore; Mrs. Vesta Bush, Wetumpka; W O. Turner, Wetumpka. Escambia, Mrs. L F. Watson, chmn., Brewton; John E. Tippin, Brewton; Mrs. R. M. Watson, Sr. Brewton. Etowah, J. W. Wise, chmn., Attalla; Mrs. Robert Leath, Gadsden; Guy Wise, Gadsden. Fayette, Luther Bobo chmn., Winfield; Virgil B. Gibson, Fayette; Oscar Ray, Fayette. Franklin, E. C Rogers, chmn., Russellville; W. A. Farner Russellville; F. B. Wood, Russellville. Geneva, Mrs. J. A. Mulkey, chmn., Geneva Mrs. Clara Mai Cooper, Samson; Mrs. Lottie Ve Register, Geneva. Greene, W. P Breen, chmn., Eutaw; Mrs. Jamie R Smith, Knoxville; Mrs. Lucille Morrow Eutaw. Hale, J. W. Wilson, chmn., Havana; James White, Moundville; Henry M Johnson, Newbern. Sat. 10-25-47

Henry, Mrs. J. E. Searcy, chmn., Abbeville; Herbert Raney, Headland; J. C Spann, Headland. Houston, H. A. Jessup chmn., Dothan; Lannie Cain, Dothan; W R. Dawsey, Dothan. Jackson, J. H. McLendon, chmn., Scottsboro; Mrs. John A Jones, Scottsboro. Jefferson, John G. Hosey, chmn., Birmingham; H. A. (Gus Thompson, Birmingham; R. J. Creel, Birmingham. Lamar, James B. Prater, chmn., Millport; Will C. Box, Sulligent; J. E. Street, Fernbank. Lauderdale, Mrs. Lake Tate, chmn., Florence; Miss Elma B. Young, Florence; W. C. Briggs, Killen. Lawrence, Otis Gentry, chmn., Moulton; Ernest Graham, Courtland; E. E. Coburn, Sr., Courtland. Lee, none appointed. Limestone, Mrs. Viva W. Spencer, chmn., Athens; Mrs. Francis Walker, Athens; H. W. Benford, Athens.

Lowndes, W. V. Payne, Sandy Ridge. Macon, none appointed. Madison, Isaac Myers; chmn., Huntsville; Richard Brannum, Owens Cross Roads; Charles Pulley, Huntsville. Marengo, Mrs. C. E. Kimbrough, chmn., Linden; J. P. Weatherbee; Thomaston; Nat Walker, Aimwell. Marion, William P. Sullins, chmn., Hamilton; J. H. Couch, Winfield; Golden Howell, Hamilton. Marshall, Roy Pledger, chmn., Horton; W. H. Starnes, Guntersville; Grady Johnson, Union Grove. Mobile, Milton Schnell, chmn., Mobile; E. J. Gonzales, Mobile; Mrs. D. C. Randle, Coden. Monroe, W. B. Owens, chmn., Monroeville; John Shannon, Vredenburgh; Mrs Myrtle F. Cole, Moundville. **Montgomery, Mrs. Frank Nunnellee, chmn., Montgomery; Mrs. Atticus Mullin, Montgomery; Rev. J. W. Reinhart, Montgomery.** Morgan, D. S. Sivley, chmn., Falkville; H. R. Hamilton, Eva; Mrs. Dona Bailey, Hartselle.

Perry, J. Clarence Bollings, chmn., Sprotts; W. F. Lockhart, Marion; J. O. Wallace, Marion. Pickens, J. D. Doughty, chmn., Reform; Miss Ida Gardner, Aliceville; Mrs. Thalia Pratt, Carrollton. Pike, Mrs. Annie Shirley, chmn., Goshen; Mrs. Annie B. Whitehead, Troy; Mrs. Annie D Clower, Troy. Randolph, Mrs. Hattie Carlisle, chmn., Wedowee; C. H. Allen, Roanoke; W. J. Ballard, Wedowee. Russell, Otis Richards, chmn., Phenix City; Mrs Margaret Preer, Phenix City; Carl Parkman, Seals. Shelby, J. A. King, chmn., Pelham; Melvin Kendrick, Boothton; R. B. Mulling, Columbiana. St. Clair, Mrs. Sam High, chmn., Ashville; R. R. Hodges, Ashville; Grady D. Forman, Ashville. Sumter, A. R. Shamburger, chmn., Livingston; J. W. Boyd, Livingston; Geo. F. Fluker, Livingston. 10-25-47

Talladega, King W. Shell, chmn., Talladega; W. T. Jenkins, Talladega; Robert G. Persons, Sylacauga. Tallapoosa, Mrs. Emma Enxlyn Lamberth, chmn., Alexander City; T. C. Acree, Dadeville; Mrs. Grace M. Hooton, Dadeville. Tuscaloosa, A. Parker Mize, chmn., Tuscaloosa; William A. Watkins, Tuscaloosa. Walker, Mrs. Francis Taylor, chmn., Jasper; H. C. Lollar, Jasper; T. J. Nunnelly, Jasper. Washington, Jesse R. Jordan, chmn., Chatom; Lee Coaker, Fruitdale; Mrs. N. R. Ferguson, Chatom. Wilcox, Mrs. Laura F. Dobson, chmn., Camden; Mrs. J. H. Newberry, Camden; Ashby Capell, Camden. Winston, W. W. White, chmn., Houston; H. W. Wilson, Haleyville: Basil Fails, Double Springs.

Tangle Over Negro Voting Paralyzes Registration Unit

Advertiser

By REX THOMAS

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Dec. 17.—(AP)—The legal machinery for registration of voters in Macon County, where Negroes outnumber whites four to one, has been paralyzed for 18 months.

No registration board has existed in the county—seat of Tuskegee Institute for Negroes—since the last two members resigned in June, 1946, and no one regardless of race, has qualified as a voter. Those registered previously, of course, still have their ballot. Montgomery, Ala

Spokesmen for both races blame the breakdown on a Negro's $5,000 damage suit against two former registrars. The suit charged that the Negro, William P. Mitchell, of Tuskegee, was denied the right to vote in 1945 solely because of his race. Although the suit was dismissed recently after disclosure that M[illegible]ell previously had been regis[illegible] but never notified of it, [illegible]ro leaders say that others ma[illegible] be filed. Thu. 12-18-47

Negroes, many of them with college degrees, are demanding the franchise and the Tuskegee Civic Association has conducted classes in registration. Of the 22,000 Negroes who make up 81 per cent of the county's population, however, only a few are registered.

Probate Judge William Varner estimates the number at 250 to 300, but Charles G. Gomillion, dean of education of Tuskegee Institute, says it is 110.

The ratio of white voters is much higher, approximately 2,200 out of a population of 5,000, and would be greater still if returning war veterans and other youths just turned 21 had been able to register in the last year and a half.

Former State Representative Henry Neill Segrest, a member of Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees, said "several" white persons, mostly veterans, had protested to him over inability to get voting certificates. He disagrees sharply with Judge Varner who said:

"If we had an open registration every Negro at the Institute and everyone who works at the Veterans Hospital would come down here, along with a few others who live out of the county."

2,700 In College

The college has an enrollment of 2,700 and the hospital, located a few miles away, employs about 800. Montgomery, Ala

Segrest said "I don't believe you would see more than 300 applications from Negroes in a week." Thu. 12-18-47

Judge Varner said the demand for Negro registration is "nothing but a scheme of those Negroes at the Institute," but both Gomillion and Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of the school, insist that Tuskegee has nothing to do with it.

Gomillion, one time president of the Civic Association, and a director in the Tuskegee branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, described his activity as merely "that of a citizen," and added:

"About this business of mass Negro voting, I do not think there would be such a thing immediately. My guess is that there would not be more than 500 Negro voters in the next 15 years."

However, he remarked:

"I think the feeling was that if members served on the board and did not register any more Negroes than were registered by Mr. Guthrie and Mrs. Wright (the former registrars named in Mitchell's suit), they might find themselves facing suits."

Gomillion displayed a copy of a letter to Gov. Folsom asking "is it impossible to find three citizens who will perform that public service" of serving as registrars?

Folsom replied, the Negro said, that it is "almost impossible."

Later, Folsom told the Associated Press he had offered an appointment to "several persons" but all had declined. Asked if they mentioned the court suit as a reason, the governor replied:

"That's what they told me."

Agriculture Commissioner Haygood Paterson and State Auditor Dan Thomas, other members of the Registrars Appointing Board likewise blamed the litigation.

"I have contacted members of the Legislature and other leaders in Tuskegee in an effort to get someone to serve on the board," Paterson explained, "but we have not been able to get anybody. They said in view of the suit, nobody wants to take such a risk for so small a stipend."

Registrars receive $7.50 a day while in session, but prior to the 1947 legislative session they drew $5.

Afraid Of Suit

Auditor Thomas said "the people are afraid of another suit."

A less positive statement came from S. W. Tally of near Tuskegee, one of the last members to serve on the Macon County board. Tally said he resigned principally because he had a full time job elsewhere, but acknowledged the court litigation "could have been one thing."

A former colleague, G. A. Smith, who resigned within a few days of Tally in June, 1946, termed the issue a "hot potato" and said "folks down here just don't like the job."

"I was in favor of letting some Negroes register if they were qualified," the 77-year-old carpenter-contractor continued, "but I wouldn't sign a certificate for mass registration and never will."

Like Judge Varner, Smith predicted renewal of registration Macon County would find a "big majority of the Negroes trying to vote." Montgomery, Ala

College President Patterson declared he was "staying out of it because of the Institute," but observed:

"It would take 25 years for Negroes to learn to use the ballot after they get it. The white people do not use it fully, so I see no reason to assume the Negroes would."

Under Alabama law, registration boards are required to meet on the first and third Mondays of each month in addition to holding prolonged sessions from September through December in odd-numbered years and for 10 days in January in even-numbered years.

27,000 Disfranchised In Tuskegee District

Worker

New York, N.Y.

BIRMINGHAM.—In all of Alabama's 67 counties, except one, the Board of Registrars are in continuous session now until January to register prospective voters. But in Macon County (home of Tuskegee Institute) in the heart of Alabama's Black Belt, no citizen, white or Negro, has been able to register for 18 months—that is, since June 1946—because there is no Board of Registrars. Sun. 12-28-47

In June, 1946 the last two members of the Macon County Board resigned. Since then all those requested to serve by Governor Folsom and the other two state officials empowered to appoint three-man boards in each county, have refused to take the job (which now pays $7.50 a day).

Why? Because, they claim, the job is a "hot potato," and no one wants to serve on the board because of fear of being sued by Negro applicants who come to register to vote.

★

MACON COUNTY POLITICS were evidently shaken up by the case of William Mitchell, a Negro citizen of Tuskegee, who brought suit against two members of the county board in 1945 on the grounds that they denied him the right to vote because of his color.

The Mitchell suit, one of several legal efforts to reverse the discriminatory policies of the boards, was finally dismissed when the Macon County Board stated that Mitchell had been registered but that they had simply failed to notify him. (This belated discovery that a Negro voter has been registered is a common device of registration boards under pressure.)

Today not one of Macon County's 27,000 citizens can register to vote. The democratic process which may have been slow as molasses before, has now come to a complete standstill.

And the people in Macon County want something done about it. Former state senator H. N. Segrest, who is on the Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees, reported that white veterans were protesting against their inability to register, and demanding that a board begin to function now.

Sun. 12-28-47

FROM TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Charles Gomillion, director of education, wrote to Governor Folsom asking whether it was really impossible to find three citizens in Macon County to perform the vital public service of registering voters.

Truly if any county in the state needs to have its registration books wide open it is Macon County with no more than 2,500 registered voters, less than one-tenth of the county's population. Of these about 2,200 are white voters (white population 5,000) only 110 Negro voters (Tuskegee Institute figures) out of a Negro population of over 22,000.

Supporters of Governor Folsom can do well to take a long look at this Macon County blockade. The main reason the Legislature has been able to hamstring the Governor's program is that, as in Macon County, the majority of the people are kept from voting by the poll tax, by the Boswell Amendment, by discriminatory boards. Most of the Legislators are not responsible to the people, most of whom don't have the vote, but to a political clique controlled by the Big Mules.

Ala.

NO VISION, NO DREAM

Editor, The Advertiser: 12-29-47

I have read too much; lived too long; and, feel too keenly to attempt to express through a short letter the contempt I have for Dr. F. D. Patterson brought about through his assertion in your paper that it would take Negroes 25 years to learn to use the ballot. Mon

Voting in America, designed by honest, sincere and none-too-well school trained statesmen was planned in such a way that the common man could express his choice as to whom should govern and how. Laws have made voting more complex but laws have also required that all people acquire more knowledge and insights. If voting in any instance, is as complex as was indicated—then, the democratic way of life is a failure. Advertiser

It would be really heartening if one of your writers; who has watched our growth as potential citizens in war and peace; and, who has noted the marked increase in scholastic attainment and other achievement by Negroes who have been allowed to make an opportunity, would give his or her point of view as to how long it would take Negroes to learn to use the ballot.

I think it would be wise and fair to point out to the state government, to the veterans, to the students; and, the tax-paying news-consuming public the regrettable fact and mistake it is making by helping to support through, state funds, tuition of students and allowance of veterans an individual who has no vision, no dream and no faith in the group of which he is a member. [illegible]

Thank God he is only a spokesman and not a teacher. Ala. 12-29-47

BRYANT B. BLAKEMON,
Tuskegee, Ala. Tuskegee Institute.

EDITOR, The Advertiser: The quote of me in terms of the use of the ballot by Negroes in Alabama is sufficiently important to be clarified. My statement that if the ballot were freely extended now it would not be used effectively for 25 years by Alabama Negroes referred not to a few people or even a few hundred, but rather to all of that part of the 300,000 Negroes in Alabama who are of voting age. [illegible]

If the ballot is used effectively by this group, in less than 25 years they will do more than Negroes in other sections have done who have had the ballot for 75 years. They will do better than any similar group of whites have done or are now doing. [illegible] Ala.

The point of my statement was simply to indicate my belief that viewing with alarm the extension of the ballot to Negoes because of fear of immediate and sustained widespread use is the raising of a straw man for the creation of unfavorable sentiment. 12-31-47. [illegible]

Where use is made of the ballot there will be the same division by Negroes of interest and opinion to be expected from any other group. There is nothing to indicate that such use in terms of numbers will be other than a slow and, we hope, a steadily growing process.

F. D. PATTERSON,
President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

37e 1947

Alabama (Williams and Hawkins Cases)

Birmingham, Ala., News
January 22, 1947

Negroes Seek Action On Vote Appeal Dismissal

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 22—(AP)—Two Negroes who declared they were unlawfully denied registration as voters in Macon and Jefferson Counties asked the State Supreme Court today to set aside Circuit Court dismissals of their appeals. 37e Ala.

They were Peyton H. Williams, 32, of Tuskegee, and Forest A. Hawkins, 25, official of a Birmingham taxi firm and a student at Miles College.

Chief Justice Lucien D. Gardner, at the request of Arthur D. Shores, attorney for the appellants, ruled that the cases, which Shores said parallel each other, could be heard as one.

Registrars Exculpated In 'Discrimination' Case By State Court

The News
Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 2-14-47

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 14—(AP)—The State Supreme Court today had upheld action by two former members of the Macon County Board of Registrars in refusing to certify a Tuskegee, Ala., Negro as a voter. 37e

The tribunal affirmed a Circuit Court decision to dismiss the litigation filed by Peyton H. Williams on the grounds the Negro failed to comply with a regulation.

It did not decide, however, on a companion case argued at the same time Williams' appeal was heard. The Tuskegee case and one from Jefferson County filed by Forest A. Hawkins were submitted simultaneously but were assigned to different justices for decision.

The opinion on the Williams' suit was written by Chief Justice Lucien D. Gardner. The member of the court given the Hawkins appeal was not known, nor when it will be ruled on.

Chief Justice Gardner noted in his opinion that the defendants in the Williams litigation, Mrs. George C. Wright and Virgil M. Guthrie, former board members, said they denied registration to Williams because he did not show proof of residence. The News

Prospective registrants, they said, were required to present vouchers to attest their residence. Birmingham, Ala.

The chief justice ruled that "the proof is without conflict that this rule was applied impartially, that is, to every one. There is no indication of pretense in this record that in the action of the board there was any element of discrimination against the appellant (Williams) because he was a member of the colored race." Fri. 2-14-47

He said the law gave boards of registrars authority to make rules and regulations governing certification of voters. 37e Ala. Fri.

Mrs. Wright and Guthrie are the same former members of the Macon County board against whom similiar litigation was instituted in U. S. District Court and which was decided in their favor after going all the way to the U. S. Supreme Court. The News 2-14-47 Birmingham, Ala.

Negro Loses Plea For Registration

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

A Birmingham Negro has lost the second round in his legal battle seeking registration as a qualified voter. The Alabama Supreme Court yesterday affirmed a lower court order dismissing his petition. 37e

The Negro, Forrest A. Hawkins, appealed to the Jefferson County Circuit Court after he applied for registration by the Circuit Court from what he described as a denial of his application for registration by the county's board of registrars.

His suit was filed against J. B. Vines, chairman, and other members of the Jefferson County board of registrars. Sat. 5-10-47

Vines submitted his resignation last year to former Gov. Chauncey Sparks because, he said, the board's work had "become a football for the organizations that seek to use the colored people for selfish reasons."

Sparks refused to accept the resignation and Vines agreed to remain on the job.

Hawkins' petition was dismissed in Circuit Court when a demurrer by the state contending it was not in the proper legal form was sustained.

Associate Justice Robert T. Simpson, Jr., who wrote the opinion pointed out that while the appeal petition asserts that Hawkins duly made application to the board of registrars it was supported by a "general averment", noting "things which he claims to have done."

"These specified things," the court said, "were not proper tests of qualification to entitle him to be registered."

The court said boards of registrars were created for the purpose of carrying a law into effect and that orders of the boards must be upheld unless their invalidity is shown. Sat. 5-10-47

Baltimore, Md.
Afro American
37e

DENIAL OF VOTE UPHELD

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (ANP)—Refusal of the board of registrars to qualify Forrest A. Hawkins as a voter was upheld last week by the State Supreme Court. Sat. 5-24-47

Negroes Granted Ballot by Court

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

37e

Sat. 5-10-47

By CALVIN E. ADAMS
(Florida Bureau)

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla.—"White" primaries have been doomed in this city and Negroes were permitted to vote on May 6, after Judge Victor O. Wehle granted the right of the ballot in Pinellas County Circuit Court last week.

Circuit Judge Wehle ruled that any attempt by the city charter to discriminate against Negroes by denying them the right to vote in the primary was unconstitutional.

The decision which nullifies all future "white" primaries in the city, came after only twenty minutes of argument by city attorneys and lawyers representing William B. Hart, Allen Gammage, Elijah Jones and J. A. Whitehurst, who filed the plea in Circuit Court at Clearwater seeking an injunction against the election.

BIASED CHARTER

The plea, contained in a bill of complaint filed by Attorneys William M. Gober of Tampa and Emory Akerman, Orlando, maintained that the plaintiffs are entitled to take part in all elections in the city "for the government of themselves and their properties," but that the city charter discriminates against them and other members of the race.

Contained in the bill was a plea for a permanent restraining order against holding the election.

In presenting the case to the court, Akerman declared that "we are not here to upset the routine of municipal affairs or stop the election, but to prevent the city from denying Negroes the right to vote in it."

"If that is all the relief you desire," the judge replied, "it is granted." Sat. 5-10-47

In court, Attorney Carroll R. Runyon attempted no defense against the appeal of the plaintiffs. He confined his appearance in court to making certain that the plaintiffs did not attempt to enjoin holding of the election.

ATTACKED PLEA

In presenting his argument, Runyon attacked the plea as being "wholly insufficient" declaring that it did not allege that the city has ever discriminated against Negroes or intended to do so in the future.

He further maintained that it was "wholly insufficient" on the grounds that it did not show "apprehension or fear on the part of the plaintiffs" and asked for dismissal of the plea.

In less than five minutes of discussion the city attorney admitted the word "white" in the city ordinance was not in conformance with the legal rights of Negroes.

"I would not attempt to mislead the court," Runyon stated. "It is the law that in such an election the right of any citizen to vote is established. We are only interested in knowing whether the plaintiffs desire to enjoin the election or merely seek the right to vote." Sat. 5-10-47

ORDERS REVISIONS

Immediately after denying the motion of the city attorney to dismiss the plea, Judge Wehle instructed Gober to make the necessary revisions to comply with the wishes of the city.

Gober made it clear that the city charter is law until otherwise construed and that the natural assumption by the plaintiffs was that the employes of the city would carry it out.

Wasting no words, Judge Wehle declared there was no question involving the law relating to the rights of Negroes to vote.

QUALIFIED TO VOTE

Checking the records at the City Hall, they reveal that approximately 1,200 Negroes are qualified to vote in the primary, and the decision will not affect the previously announced total of 21,703 registrants since the race registration had been included in the compilations.

The breakdown of the race potential vote by districts is as follows: District One, 64; District Two, 147; District Three, 4; District Four, 2; District Five, 37; District 6, 869. Total, 1,123.

LAUDS MOVE

Following the decision which was made in the plaintiffs' favor, the St. Petersburg Times, a liberal daily published by Paul and Nelson Poynter, stated its stand in an editorial entitled "Let's Repeal It," which reads as follows:

"Now that the Pinellas County Circuit Court has ruled the city's 'white' primary unconstitutional and there is no basis for an appeal, this is a good time to have the Legislature expunge it from the charter.

"Time has marched on since the charter was written. The United States Supreme Court has ruled against 'white' primaries in the States, a decision which Florida accepted in the last State election with no ill effects. An effort to circumvent this decision by Senator Matthews of Jacksonville is doomed to failure at this session. Sat. 5-10-47

"In the reconstruction days it was feared that if Negroes had a ballot they might vote as a bloc and gain control. We believe this fear can be allayed today by the results of Jacksonville's city election last week in which Negroes voted and in which they elected a white man over a Negro in a district that was predominantly Negro populated.

"Yesterday's decision leaves St. Petersburg with a 'white' primary law that is unconstitutional and unenforceable. It should be repealed, thereby establishing the example that St. Petersburg will tolerate no law that is deterrent to good self-government."

First Vote in 50 Years

W. Palm Beach Negro Vote Swings Election

37e Fla.

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 3-29-47

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla.—Thwarted in their efforts to exercise their right to the ballot for over fifty years, 2,756 Negro citizens of this city went to the polls for the first time on March 11, and, presenting an overwhelming balance of power, swept their chosen candidates into office on an avalanche of votes in the Democratic primary.

According to G. S. Miles, acting secretary of the Negro Welfare Board, there were a total of 2,756 Negroes registered to vote, and every one of them cast his ballot. In the city of West Palm Beach the Negro population is 15,000. There are now 5,000 non-registered Negroes here. Sat. 3-29-47

The surprise action by the flood of Negro voters came as a result of organized effort by the Palm Beach County Voters League, under Dr. J. H. Terrell, president, with a hard working staff of assistants. The league was organized in November, 1945.

Sometime ago, Negro citizens attempted to fight against disfranchisement and lost their case. A new effort was successful, and the results were evident at the primary election.,

Supporting Candidate Harold T. Williams for commissioner from the central borough, the Negro constituents flung Williams into office by a vote four times larger than that received by his opponent, Lawrence W. Kelloway. All other candidates carried on the slate supported by the Negro voters were swept into office overwhelmingly.

The display of united effort and strength received praise from both white and Negro citizens who commented on the situation. Editorial comment was favorable, no disturbance was noted, nor any intimidating situations. One white detective remarked that the voting of the Negroes was nothing unusual, and that he had "wondered why they hadn't been voting all along." Sat. 3-29-47

Voters Elect Orlando Mayor By Safe Margin

Journal and Guide

Sat. 8-30-47

Candidates Woo Race Vote As September Primaries Approach

MIAMI, Fla.—(ANP) — Had a Negro qualified for the recent mayoralty race at Orlando, he doubtlessly would have been swept into office over his white opponents and by a safe margin.

Victor in the race, however, was a retired Army colonel, J. E. Matthews, who downed his two opponents. Out of a total of 204 ballots cast for Matthews, 117 were voted by Negroes.

The whites, anticipating the Negro balance of power, sought earlier in the week to segregate the Negro section from the city. But the attempt was futile.

NEGRO BLOC IN TAMPA

As the result of an all-time record registration in Tampa a powerful Negro bloc threatens to dominate the primary elections set for next Sept. 2, when 33 candidates are to be voted into office. A total of 32,000 voters have qualified, representing an increase of 8,000 more than two years ago. Va.

Conspicuous was the large Negro registration in Ybor City, West Tampa, and the precincts in the downtown areas. White candidates are wary, and desperate efforts are afoot to woo the Negro vote.

COMMISSION HEARS NEGRO

Here in Miami, a Negro delegation headed by Otis Mundy, appeared before the city commissioners and registered its protest against the enforcemen of an ordinance which gives to white merchants in the Negro section, a monopoly on alcoholic beverages sold after 7 o'clock on Sunday nights.

The mayor, city manager and the five city commissioners, two of whom will seek reelection next November, readily acquiesced to the request of the delegation which influences more than 8,000 Negro voters, and ordered that immediate steps be taken to satisfy the agrieved parties. Sat. 8-30-47

Meanwhile, an intensive drive to get another 10,000 Negroes registered here is gaining impetus. The move is being initiated by the Southern Negro Youth Congress. During the past school term, the use of voting machines was demonstrated to the students of the Booker T. Washington High school.

Race Vote in Tampa Gives Mayor Big Lead

37e

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 9-13-47

By JOHN A. DIAZ
(Florida Bureau)

TAMPA, Fla.—Barred from voting in municipal elections here for many years, awakened Negroes of this famed cigar city marched to the polls Sept. 3 and swept Mayor Curtis Hixon back into office by an overwhelming vote.

The strong turnout, which saw Negroes casting one-fourth of the total vote given to Mayor Hixon, was due to the coordinated program of the Progressive Voters' League and Tampa's social, civic, fraternal, religious, labor and political organizations, all of whom joined to marshal the Negro voting strength under a strong ten-point platform. Sat. 9-13-47

Responsible for the placing of Negroes on the local police force Mayor Hixon received nearly 4,000 Negro votes in his total of 13,396 votes. He is popular with Negroes and the demonstration of Negro solidarity at the polls here served to convince other political aspirants that they must reckon with Tampa's Negro voters in the future.

Dewey A. Richardson, founder and general chairman of the Progressive Voters' League, was supported by the Twentieth Century Club, headed by Herman Williams and William Farrugut; the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the Longshoremens' Union, the City-wide Voters' League, and kindred organizations, in presenting a solid front.

The Negro press played an important part in crystallizing public opinion, with the work of vigilant C. Blythe Andrews, editor of the Florida Sentinel, standing out in bold relief. Sat. 9-13-47

As a result of the election, the colored population looks forward to receiving more consideration from the Mayor's office which promised them better streets, playgrounds, swimming pools, better housing, street cleaning and garbage removal.

Pittsburgh

All of these items, plus improved sewer facilities, proper adjustment of taxes, and patrol cars manned by Negro police officers, were included in the ten-point platform of the Progressive Voters' League.

Courier

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General

(37e) gen.

RALPH McGILL

The Best Friend The Democrats Have--

Democrats currently are very fond of Sen. Robert Taft, who said, on Oct. 13:

"The Kentucky election will reflect to a large degree which Party will elect a President in 1948. As Kentucky goes, so largely goes the nation." Constitution

When Democratic Candidate Clements won by a greater majority than his most ardent backers had hoped for the Democratic national leaders felt very warm toward Sen. Taft, who is something of a genius at making his own Party strategists sweat and swear.

The Kentucky result, while not unexpected, disturbed the political chances of Sen. Taft. Not because of his prediction, but because it did indicate the Republicans cannot win with just anyone. They will have to be able to win with almost anyone to win with Sen. Taft. Atlanta, Ga.

Delegates It must be assumed that Sen. Taft came out of the West, where he left audiences sleeping, with the delegates.

The Republicans do not like Dewey. They like Taft. And there is simply no interpretation to be put upon his public announcement of being a candidate, save that he had a respectable share of the delegates pledged him in the West.

The Senator carries an ace up his sleeve. That is because the Southern votes are his. As long as his friends dictate the Credentials Committee at the Convention, he will get the Southern delegations. Sun. 11-9-47

This gives him something no other Republican candidate has, and he undoubtedly picked up enough in the West to add to those already in his vest pocket to make him feel he had a real chance to stop Dewey and get the nomination.

There seems now to be no doubt but that he and Harold Stassen have made a deal. If Taft can get the nomination Stassen will be the Vice Presidential nominee in an effort to take some of the reactionary curse off the ticket put there by Taft's name on the Taft-Hartley Labor Bill.

Labor Governor-Elect Clements, of Kentucky, was a member of the House when the Taft-Hartley Bill was passed and he voted against it.

In his State campaign he talked but little about it, in an effort not to offend the farm vote. Nevertheless, the Republicans made it the chief issue and the people were fully aware of Clements' vote against the bill.

It is fairly obvious the public generally has accepted the bill for what it is—the law. The general public is not going to pay much attention to it and will vote for candidates as normally would be expected.

It is labor which will vote against candidates favoring the bill. So, it may be said that much depends on how the labor vote turns out, and how much of it there is, in any community or State, insofar as that issue is concerned. In Kentucky labor turned out for Clements.

Stassen would catch some of the independent vote, but he would swing none of the labor vote as long as he is hitched to the Taft wagon.

Therefore, we may expect President Truman, when he becomes Candidate Truman in deed, to say nothing, or almost nothing, about the labor bill. He will, and quite properly so, take high prices as his text.

It is believed Mr. Truman has little chance of election, but if Sen. Taft is a candidate he will have a chance, especially in the great pivotal States where labor is the balance of power in the balloting. His only chance lies in those States.

Negro Votes A Taft nomination might even swing some of the Negro vote, in the pivotal States, to the Democrats. The Negro vote in the great Eastern and mid-Western industrial cities is assuredly going Republican this year unless Taft is the nominee.

Dewey is attractive because he pushed through a Fair Employment Practices Act in New York State and because he has taken a forthright position in public housing. This vote is so definitely committed to the Republicans, largely because of Bilbo and the Democratic Party support of the late vulgar phenomenon from Mississippi, that even Sen. Taft would get some of it.

Eisenhower This leaves us again to consider General of the Armies, Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, he of the all-American smile.

Gen. MacArthur would like to come back and run on a "damn-Roosevelt" ticket, and there will certainly be an effort to smear Eisenhower because he was Chief-of-Staff, because of Roosevelt's decision to promote him there. But, Gen. MacArthur does not have the public support possessed by Gen. Eisenhower. However, the people admire the efficient administration of Japan, they somehow feel uneasy about the General. Also, he will be 68 in 1948.

If Taft hasn't got the delegates to stop Dewey and there should be no choice after about the tenth ballot and some person should rise and say the word "Eisenhower"—well, I think that would be enough.

Louisiana Is Not Alone

(37e) gen.

A recent story out of New Orleans relates that Negroes there, with considerable leadership, facilities and arrangements at their disposal, have not taken advantage of opportunities to obtain registration certificates and thus become qualified to vote. Lighthouse & Informer

But New Orleans is not alone in this respect. It is a general story which could be told of almost any southern city, town or hamlet. And the fact plagues those trying to marshal the Negro into voting for what he wants and needs. Columbia, S.C. Fri. 11-1[illegible]-47

Perhaps in time, leaders will work out a formula which will overcome the fear and element of uncertainty which keep back the race from the polls. Right now, the biggest problem is the Negro himself.

SEE NEGRO VOTE A FACTOR IN '48

Des Moines, Iowa

(37e) gen.

The need for obtaining the maximum registration of Negroes eligible to vote in the midwest was discussed Tuesday at the Midwest Negro Republican conference.

HAWKINS.

Those participating in the talks agreed the midwest "is the battle ground on which the presidential race will be won or lost in 1948, and the party which gets the Negro vote ~~will~~ win." Des Moines Register

Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Michigan, Indiana and Kansas were represented at the meeting at Hotel Kirkwood.

Statistical Study.

The conference voted to instruct each representative to work for preparation of a statistical study in his own state showing the number of Negroes of voting age who are not registered for voting. Des Moines Register

Results of the study will be discussed at the next meeting to be held at a later date in Chicago, Ill. 11-12-47

Elect Hawkins.

The session also elected Fred Hawkins, Des Moines, as chairman. Permanent headquarters will be maintained at 1314 University ave. Hawkins is an inventory clerk for the Iowa state tax commission.

The conference discussed pending legislation, including the anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and fair employment practices bills, and legislation proposed to promote national health, federal aid to education and low-cost housing.

The meeting ended with a banquet Tuesday night. 11-[illegible]-47

Honor 2 Iowans.

Gold medal service awards were made at the banquet meeting to two Iowans. They are:

Gardner Cowles, publisher of The Des Moines Register and Tribune and editor of Look magazine, "for the editorial policy of his papers and magazine and the presentation of the new Willkie house for Negroes in Des Moines."

A. A. Alexander, Negro, Des Moines contractor, for his achievements in the business world and his political activities.

37e 1947

General

Walter White People, Politics And Places

Chicago Defender
Ill.

Poll Reveals Voters' Apathy

THE APATHY OF NEGRO VOTERS as revealed by a recent poll by Elmo Roper is exceedingly disturbing. Mr. Roper conducts the famous FORTUNE MAGAZINE survey and is editor of a widely syndicated column based upon information polls bearing the title WHAT PEOPLE ARE THINKING. Mr. Roper recently conducted a nation-wide inquiry on the present political attitudes of Americans as to their participation or non-participation in the 1946 elections and on their present attitudes towards the two major political parties.

Mr. Roper's inquiry was broken down into classifications of sex, age, economic level, race, veteran status, voting history, geographic area, size of place of residence and political affiliation. Some of Mr. Roper's findings are obvious from the result of last November's election. This includes such revelations as the fact that 74 per cent of those who voted for Thomas E. Dewey in 1944 voted in the November 1946 elections, while only 51.3 per cent of those who voted for Roosevelt in 1944 bothered to vote in 1946.

Sat. 4-19-47

The present conservative character of Congress is further explained in the fact that only 62.4 per cent of those who call themselves independent voters did cast ballots, while 68.5 per cent of those who call themselves Republicans voted. This 6.1 per cent of apathy by independent voters provided the margin of victory for reactionary Congressmen and Senators over more enlightened candidates. The split between independent voters, particularly in the liberal movement, the devastating use of the Communist issue, and the very great difference in the appeal of Roosevelt and Truman to voters are obvious reasons for this unfortunate indifference of liberals.

Voters Make Sorry Showing

BUT THE MOST DISTURBING revelation by Mr. Roper is the sorry showing of Negro voters. Among white voters 61.3 per cent voted in 1946 but only 24.6 per cent of Negroes took the trouble to vote. This is even more serious when one compares the figures of 37.1 per cent of whites compared with 62.6 per cent of Negroes who did not vote, to which is added 12.8 per cent of Negroes who refused to answer the inquirer's question.

It is reasonably safe to presume that this 12.8 per cent did not vote either, which means that 75.4 per cent of Negroes thought so little of their rights and obligations as citizens to register and vote. Even when one makes allowance for the fact that some Negroes included in this sampling of opinion did not vote because, living in the South, they were not allowed to since the survey was a nation-wide one, the record is shameful. Many years of hard and expensive fighting have gone into the struggle to end disfranchisement.

Sat. 4-19-47

As a result of that struggle and the shifting of Negro population caused by World Wars I and II, the Negro vote today holds the potential balance of power in any reasonably close election in 17 states with a total electoral vote of 281. The United States Supreme Court victory in the Texas "white primary" case of Smith vs. Allwright in 1944, has made the Negro vote the potential balance of power in a number of additional states in the South. But that balance of power will be meaningless if Negroes do not take the trouble to register and vote. Even when allowance is made for 1946 being an off year politically, Mr. Roper's figures are a reflection upon Negro political intelligence.

Should Register and Vote

IT IS IMPERATIVE that Negro church, civil rights, labor and other groups concentrate on the job of getting their members to register and vote. These organizations will not become political because of doing this. Assistance should be given through voters' educational courses on what the potential voter needs to know to qualify as a voter. What party or candidate he votes for is up to him individually.

But we have an obligation to impress upon Negroes that the ballot is one of the most potent weapons they possess and one which they must use or else their lamentations about discrimination will be fruitless.

The Highway

The Afro American
Baltim

by Charles H. Houston

The efforts of the South to disfranchise colored people have taken queer twists. Mississippi provides the latest.

In 1944, the United States Supreme Court decided Smith vs. Allwright, the Texas primary case which held that where the Democratic primary is the only election with real significance in the entire electoral process in a State, the State Democratic party cannot bar colored people from voting in the primary by means of exclusion rules adopted by the party convention.

Thereafter, we voted in the Presidential primary in Mississippi in 1944; and beholding the black cloud which threatened to defeat him for renomination, Senator Bilbo stumped the State in the senatorial primary of 1946 raving against the spectacle of colored people voting in a Democratic primary in Mississippi.

Intimidation in Miss.

The result of his ranting and raving was general intimidation of colored people on primary day in Mississippi both by violence and threats of violence. A Congressional investigation followed.

The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections sent a subcommittee to Jackson, Miss., in December, 1946, to hold public hearings.

In spite of the best efforts of that swarthy proponent of white supremacy, Senator Ellender of Louisiana, to whitewash Bilbo, the majority of the subcommittee filed a condemnatory report which caused the Senate to decline to permit Bilbo to be seated.

Apparently afraid that the public opinion of the nation would not stand outright exclusion of the colored voter, Mississippi tried to reach the same result by making him disqualify himself.

In March, 1947, the Mississippi legislature passed a law that all voters must certify agreement with party principles as set forth by the State Democratic Executive Committee: which demanded a pledge that the voter opposes a Federal antipoll tax law, a Federal FEPC law, and that he is in accord "with the time-honored and cherished traditions of the South."

Condition to Voting

In short, a colored person is called on to stultify himself as a condition to voting in the primary. Since the Democratic primary is the only election that counts, Mississippi demands that a colored person foreswear his claim to Federal protection as a condition to exercising a Federal right.

In my opinion this is clearly unconstitutional, and such a transparent ruse to eliminate effective suffrage in Mississippi that the U.S. Supreme Court will tear it apart when properly presented.

The Texas legislature tried a similar stunt after the first Texas primary case (Nixon vs. Herndon, 1927). The Texas legislature had originally decreed by statute that only white voters could qualify as members of the State Democratic party and vote in the primary.

The Supreme Court outlawed this in the Herndon case. Immediately the Texas legislature passed an emergency law that the State Democratic Executive Committee should have the power to prescribe qualifications for admission to the Democratic party and to the primaries.

Texas Foiled Twice

The State Democratic Executive Committee adopted a resolution that the voters in the Democratic party and the Democratic primaries must be white. The Supreme Court knocked out this scheme in the second Texas primary case (Nixon vs. Condon, 1932).

To my mind the 1947 Mississippi party loyalty law is just as vulnerable.

Walter White

Defender

37e

Pens Article For Collier's

IN GATHERING MATERIAL for an article on the role which the Negro vote may play in the crucial 1948 election which will appear shortly in **Collier's** Magazine, I was generously aided by a number of wise and informed individuals in various key states where the Negro vote is large enough to be decisive.

Sat.

I learned a great deal, some of it startling, some of it heartening, some of it discouraging.

One of the questions I asked, for example, was what machinery and efforts are being used by church, civic, civil rights, labor and other groups to induce Negroes to qualify and register as voters. From only one state —Maryland—came information that this was being done. Loren Miller's reply about California is both so well-phrased and typical that I quote it here.

"I am sorry to report," Mr. Miller writes, "that all too little work is being done by NAACP branches, churches, etc., to induce Negroes to qualify and register as voters. The essential factor is that our Negro population has more than doubled in the past decade, and that all of us in California are comparative newcomers. We have lacked, and still lack, a technique for integrating the recent influx of immigrants into our civic and social life, and a reflection of that lack of technique is our failure to develop means to register and qualify voters."

Little Assimilation

9-27-47

VIRTUALLY EVERY Northern community has experienced since Pearl Harbor a greater or lesser degree of augmentation of its Negro population but most of them, like California, have done little to speed up the assimulation of immigrants into the life of these communities. A state FEPC law in California might have been given the brushoff anyway by the powerful employers' and political enemies of the measure even though the 200,000 Negroes of voting age now living in that state had been registered voters. But the fact that only half of the 200,000 potential voters have bothered to register made the brushoff twice as easy. Mr. Miller points out that many of the newcomers are from the South and are not familiar with voting procedures. Nobody is taking the time and trouble to give them the facts although the future of the Negro who has lived in California longest is inextricably interwoven with that of the latest comer.

Precisely similar conditions exist in far too many other states. It is almost a matter of life and death for the Negro in America to shake off his lethargy and do something about this situation. It should be done on a strictly non-partisan and non-political basis. The technique is simple, having been worked out and practiced in a number of places like Atlanta, Ga., where the

Chicago Ill.

local NAACP Branch has conducted citizenship schools in which specific instruction is given on what one has to do to get his name on the voter's lists and how to cast a ballot. Some organizations have a rule that no citizen of voting age may remain a member unless he is a registered voter. Sat - 9-27-47

The 1948 Decision

THE DECISION as to whether the United States will swing further to the right or become a more balanced nation able to help lead the world to peace is one which the voters will and must make in 1948. They will also decide what is to be done about rising prices and bigotry. There is no group in America which has a greater stake in those decisions nor whose geographic distribution is such as to make his vote more telling than the Negro. But it is obvious that unless the enormously increased Negro potential vote in pivotal cities like Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cleveland and other cities and in other towns in those pivotal states is made real and active by registration and voting that power will be lost to the Negro. Let's get busy NOW and be ready to do our full share next year, whatever the candidate or political party we vote for, by using this weapon to cure our racial ills and to help America save itself from reaction and war.

USING OUR POWER

Colored Americans Declared To Be Part of the Power Forces Running the Nation

372 gen.

By JOSEPH D. BIBB

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

Courier, Pittsburgh

WE do not know our own strength, but the white man is taking note of it. We have not appraised our own powers, but our brother in white is keenly aware of it. John Gunther, a shrewd analyst and a smart prognosticator, declares in a recent article that "Walter White is one of the sixty-four men who run America."

Mr. Bibb

Gunther, who has written many penetrating books including "Inside Germany" and "Inside U.S.A.," ascribed the power of Mr. White to the fact that he is executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and further to fact that the colored Americans hold the balance of voting power in no less than seventeen States.

Mr. White is certainly one of the most vocal and dynamic of colored Americans. Through the channels of the National Association, he has undoubted power in shaping the thinking of his people, even though the NAACP is avowedly not committed to politics.

But there is devastating power, almost undirected and unassembled, virtually lying dormant, within the confines of the largest American minority.

THESE VOTERS. will then be informed by the media of our newspapers as to the issues, the candidates and the interest involved. With circulation of more than three millions, the colored newspapers are unquestionably the most influential sources of establishing opinion and crystalizing sentiment.

Political leaders have vast territories to cover. Organization cannot be neglected and herein lies a tough job. There is no longer a "magic precinct captain" like President Roosevelt. The party leaders and bosses must pursue different routes. They will no longer be able to sell "relief," old age pensions, unemployment insurance and the "life abundant." Courier

* * *

WE HOLD SERIOUS doubt about the pulling power of Abraham Lincoln and fear that prospective voters will realize that "Old Abe" is not running. The politicians must come forth with new themes, new theories and with solid subjects. The votes of the colored Americans will not be captured with the shop-worn sales talk of the dead and buried past. Pittsburgh, Pa.

The power to win a place in the sun is clearly ours. Everybody seems to recognize this fact but us, ourselves. Certain veterans, bearing the scars of many political battles, are now busy attempting to shape the platforms of their candidates. The platforms of the past have not been so bad, but there has been no performance. We are now interested in registration and information concerning men and measures.

NO ONE CAN predict what use will be made of this staggering political strength, but no one is so presumptive as to count the ballots of colored Americans before they are cast. This was the practice during the halcyon Republican days that ended with the fall of Hoover. This was the practice of the Democrats during the lengthy regime of Roosevelt. All of that is now ended. The stupendous power of the American colored man looms up before the Nation in confusing pattern. He is the sleeping giant of the Republic.

For the last three elections he has been voting heavily in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, in Oklahoma and in California. He is now prepared to register heavy numbers of new voters. Gunther, with piercing intelligence, quickly recognized this potential. He admits that such was his reason for delineating Mr. White as one of America's sixty-four men of power. Sat. 10-25-47

Able and painfully practical, political leaders among colored people point out that the first thing on the agenda is for the colored citizens to REGISTER. It is estimated that our vote can be much larger and more concentrated than expected if the newcomers in the great voting centers like New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Cincinnati will only qualify themselves as voters.

Abolition of White Primaries Points To Large Race Vote

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

Sat. 11-1-47

372 gen.

NEW YORK—With the approach of the 1948 Presidential elections, in which a knock-down, drag-out fight is expected between liberal and reactionary forces, it is interesting to note that there are approximately seven and a half million potential Negro voters in the United States, according to the 1946-1947 Negro Handbook, edited by Florence Murray. More than five million of them are in the South. Sat. 11-1-47

The legal abolition of white primaries in the Southern States since the last Presidential election points to the fact that a larger Negro vote may be expected during the coming elections than has ever been registered in this country, Miss Murray said in an interview this week.

NEED EDUCATION

"It seems to me that the main problem facing Negroes and progressive forces at this time," she said, "is to educate the Negro masses to the importance of voting, their rights at the polls, and to get out their vote."

According to the 1940 Census, there were 7,427,938 Negroes of voting age in the country, 7,375,609 of whom were citizens. This marks an increase of approximately one million since 1930, the 1946-1947 Negro Handbook statistics reveal.

INCREASE NOTED

Courier

Of this number, 5,457,239 were in the South, 1,847,162 in the North, and 123,537 in the West. Negro migration from the South to the North during the war years has brought an increase in the former areas since the 1940 Census was taken.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Texas Primary Case, on April 3, 1944, which abolished the white primary in that State, was followed by the legal wiping out of white primary systems in other Deep South States, Miss Murray points out: namely, Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and most recently, in South Carolina. Pittsburgh, Pa

There are still some handicaps to Negro voters remaining on the statute books in some States, such as the Boswell Amendment in Alabama, which requires all prospective voters to read and explain any section of the Federal and State Constitutions. This puts the voters at the mercy of the opinion of the registrar, Miss Murray points out.

Lily-white suffrage adherents in the South have greater reason now to fear the Negro vote, especially in local elections, in the 180 southern counties where Negroes are in the majority.

Of these counties where Negroes constitute more than 50 per cent of the residents, the Negro Handbook shows thre are forty-six in Georgia, thirty-five in Mississippi, twenty-two in South Carolina, eighteen in Alabama and Virginia, fifteen in Louisiana, nine in Arkansas and North Carolina, three in Texas and Florida, and two in Tennessee.

General

37e 1947

Warning to Republicans

Courier Pittsburgh Pa

Democratic gains in Kentucky, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York in the recent elections, indicate that the Republicans will have no sure thing in the 1948 elections as they had anticipated.

Since the Democrats are far from being asleep, it is likely that they will work out policies in the next few months which will make next year's contest more of a struggle than anticipated.

It looks like it will be a close election, and in a close election every vote counts, and this especially applies to the Negro vote.

Whoever gets the majority of the Negro vote will win under the circumstances, so it behooves the Republicans to try to win that vote.

37e Gen.

Sat. 11-15-47

There are several ways in which the Republicans can increase Negro adherence to their party in 1948, but so far they have shown little inclination to exploit the possibilities.

Although they control the House of Representatives and the Senate, the GOP has made no move to pass a Fair Employment Practices Act, an Anti-Poll Tax law nor an Anti-Lynching law, and so far, there has been no move on its part to implement the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Unless the Republicans do something definite to pass such legislation, they cannot hope to win over the Negro vote, and without it they cannot win in 1948.

11-15-47

They should take into consideration that the Negro vote has increased tremendously outside the Southern States and that in Dixie more Negroes will vote in 1948 than ever before.

This Negro vote, they must know, is more interested in the passage of the aforementioned legislation than either aid to Europe or reduction of taxes.

If they are wise, the Republicans will heed this warning.

37e 1947 Georgia

Segregation at the Polls

Pittsburgh Courier Pa.

There is something sadly pathetic about the surren- of Governor M. E. Thompson of Georgia to the in- of crackpot Herman Talmadge, that colored vot- segregated at the polls in Georgia hereafter.

Governor Thompson had a wonderful opportunity to over all of the liberal and progressive forces in Geor- to his side by declaring himself opposed to any such nonsense, but by his surrender he confirms the opinion by intelligent Georgians that he is just another pea- politician solely concerned with staying in office, and with no more principles than a snake has hips.

The Governor attempts to cover up his craven sur- to the unspeakable past by adherence to the fic- of "equal but separate" facilities for Negroes, and tearfully charging that "some persons apparently want a racial problem. They seek to promote strife for purely political purposes." Sat. 10-4-47

He knows that he is in for a tough fight with the Herman Talmadge faction, but not being too bright, he imagines that it is more to his interest to attempt to ap- the wool hat rural reactionaries than to make a bid the labor, progressive and Negro vote.

It does not occur to Governor Thompson that he cannot beat Talmadge at his Negrophobic game; that he cannot win over these people from Talmadge no matter how much he tries to compromise; and yet he ought to know, if he knows anything, that the Talmadge forces are in the minority, as demonstrated in the last election.

In that historic plebecite, colored and white Georg- voted at the same polls without any strife to the amazement of people in and out of the State.

If this could be done in the first free election in Geor- in generations, it can more surely be done in the sec- election, if he and the other Georgia officials take the proper position and stand fast.

Unfortunately Governor Thompson and his political associates seem incapable of reading the signs of the times, so they fall back on all of the old discredited cliches of white supremacy in the hope of wooing some of the Talmadge adherents.

The fact is that the majority of the white citizens of Georgia are ready to accept the recent phenomenon of Negroes voting and willing to go to the polls with them without resorting to violence. 10-4-47

Not only that, but the increasing army of emancipat- Georgians is ready and willing to give Herman Talmadge and his cohorts a sound drubbing at the polls in favor of any forthright, honest, sincere opponent.

Segregating the voters according to color at the polls will cost much money which Georgia cannot afford and this action will only exaggerate the racial tension and strife which Thompson asserts that he is eager to avoid.

Were he a truly great statesman or even one with political acumen he would see where his best interests lie, but he is blind with the traditional blindness of most of his predecessors.

Segregation always means discrimination, and segregation of "races" at the polls will be no exception to the rule.

If there is any increase of racial prejudice and strife as a result of this proposed action, the blame will not be upon Herman Talmadge but upon the administration of Governor M. E. Thompson.

This is much to be regretted when it is realized that any such development could easily be avoided by a forthright stand by the Governor against this reactionary proposal.

Is it too much to hope that Governor Thompson will see the light before it is too late?

Negro Votes Elect Mayor In Georgia Town

Defender

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 10-11-47

LaGRANGE, Ga.—In a municipal election last Wednesday, colored voters cast 600 of the approximately 5,400 votes cast.

The "Progressive GI Party" won the Mayoralty office by 58 votes. Duke Davis, the GI candidate, defeated Judson J. Milam, administration-supported candidate, by 2,657 to 2,599. Defender

The GIs also won one place on the City Council, electing G. L. Wood over Claude Daniel by 2,762 votes to 2,442. The other two places were won by administration-backed candidates, Raymond Fort and Hudson Maddox. Chicago, Ill.

Both groups campaigned on promises of municipal improvements. The GI party is pledged to reorganize the police department and fire the fire chief, J. E. Matthews, who has held office for a number of years. Sat. 10-11-47

Negro Vote Seen As Question Mark In November Primary

Atlanta Daily World

Ga.

Race Issue Exposed As 'Smoke Screen' By Negro Leaders

11-5-47

ALBANY, Ga.—(SNS)—

Who will Negroes vote for in the forthcoming City Primary Election on November 17, is the $64 question in Albany todate. Political observers have not been able to get a word out of the Negro Political leaders who are remaining silent about supporting any candidate in the race. Political observers expect at least 7,000 persons to vote in the Nov. 17

Wed.

Political observers expect at least out of voters Approximately 2000 Negroes have registered and are qualified to cast their balots in this election. Observers claim that the 2,000 Negro votes represent a balance of power since Negroes will 'vote in a bloc". Whether this is true remains to be seen.

Registered voters have a mayor, mayor pro tem and two commissioners to select from a field of 10 candidates. For mayor the lineup includes Jimmie Faulkner; Wallace Crouch, J. W. (Taxi) Smith and M. M. (Motie) Wiggigns, Candidates for mayor pro tem are Richard Hobbs, incumbent, opposing Miss Bertha Faircloth, Flint Avenue School teacher. Miss Faircloth is the only lady in the race.

In the First Ward, Jim Denson is running unopposed for the post of Commissioner, while in the Fourth Ward three men are entered. Frank Hedricw, J. Q. Ward and John W. Crouch.

NO RACE ISSUE

Efforts were made a few weeks ago to drag the race issue into the campaign by statements appearing in print that the Negro vote here was controlled by the NAACP of New York. Negro leaders took little notices of this completely false statement and stated that they were sure that this statement represented one man's opinion and was not the opinion of the good people of Albany. Negro Leaders expressed the hope that as has always been true in Albany no one will directly or by inference try to confuse the public with the old smoke screen of race issue. "A candidate for public office should seek the votes of all the citizens and should not be without honor if any of the citizens vote for him" an informant stated.

In the race for mayor, Mr. Faulkner's platform includes better recreational facilities for all people. Mr. Smith's has stated that if elected he was going to make some significant changes in personnel for the good of Albany. His number one plank is for all out civic improvement with adequate school facilities. Mr. Wallace Crouch who is considered by many as the "surprise" candidate has not been outspoken in print and was not in when a reporter called on him. Mr. Wiggins is running on "an economy in government" platform. Mr. Wiggins cites his record as chairman of the police commision. Little interest is being manifested in the mayor pro tem and the first ward election. However, in the Fourth Ward where three men are candidates politics are stirring. Mr. Frank Hendrick who has been in Albany for 28 years and who is a veteran of 37 months in the U. S. Air Force as a bomber pilot, is runing on a platform of immediate enlargement of schools in cooperation with local school authorities, and a comprehensive study of traffic control with emphasis on safety and elimination of traffic bottlenecks. 11-5-47

Mr. J. Q. Ward is campaigning on the platform of improved schools and better sanitary conditions. Mr. John H. Crouch could not be reached for a statement. Wed.

NAMES OMITTED FROM LIST

The Albany Voters League, an organization composed of colored voters announced today that several hundred names of the qualified registered voters have been left off the registration list. A list of the registered voters in the city of Albany will be published by this League in next week's issue of the SOUTHWEST GEORGIAN so that persons who registered this year or who voted last year make check and see if their names are on this list and if it is not they can go to the city hall and have it corected before election day. The League stated that your names were omitted purely by oversight and not intentional, it believed.

Bloc Voting In Albany

37e Jun.

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga

Occasioned by the widespread comments on the Negro vote in the election last week of a mayor at Albany, Georgia, this paper sought an explanation beyond the news accounts and editorial opinions which have since appeared. With the voters, they explained, the issues extended beyond campaign personalities and platforms back to the days of 1946, when one of the mayoralty candidates, James W. (Taxi) Smith, the winner, managed the campaign for the late Eugene Talmadge in Dougherty County; took the stump for him whenever Mr. Talmadge was unable to fill a speaking engagement, presented him with a check of $500 at a rally in Mitchell County, and employed the same brand of race-baiting as did the Senior Talmadge in several radio speeches he made in the course of the campaign.

As a lawyer, though befriending the lowly Negro, Mr. Smith, they claim, received at least 85 per cent of his wealth from patronage of Albany Negroes. He still has a considerable practice among them. That, in brief, is the explanation for what took place. True, the two issues are not the same but the man who pledged support and loyalty to their worst public enemy was now asking the vote and confidence of a people who can never be convinced that it is safe or right to support a person believing the doctrine of a Talmadge. Sun. 11-23-47

Spokesmen among Negroes say that if the election had to be held again that they would again vote for a losing candidate, rather than give their vote to a candidate who believes in and espouses the principles. Pride and self-respect force them to register their protest to such a campaign of hate and reaction. And it will be a long time yet before Negroes learn to forget, either Mr. Talmadge or those who worked and supported his doctrine for Negroes.

We think it is the sheerest sort of hypocrisy for politicians and editorial writers to keep on deceiving themselves into believing that because Negroes cast a preponderant vote in favor of a candidate who has a fair record for goodwill and fairplay to dub it as a bloc vote. Church people vote together in order to obtain favorable legislation. Labor groups league together to elect a winner who will be reasonably fair with them. And more than that, the South has voted and continues to vote in a solid bloc, no matter what the issues are of the men in a national election. If bloc voting is a threat and plague in local elections, then it is no less a plague to progressive government in national elections.

The Ocilla Elections

37e

Daily World

It is good to know that the rumors concerning a projected purge of Negro voters in Ocilla, Ga. was headed off and that voting there Wednesday was carried out without incidence. Reports show that some 140 Negroes cast ballots out of a total of 175 registered voters. The Negro vote, though small, was a decisive factor in piling up a majority for the winning candidates. Atlanta, Ga.

The white vote was almost evenly divided among the five candidates. The final results show that 119 colored voters added their ballots to the 223 white votes for the top winner; 116 colored voters sided with 232 whites to elect Reid and 109 colored votes went with 224 white votes to elect Candidate Tindall. Sat. 11-8-47

Other interesting figures were also indicated in the votes cast for the losing candidates. Of significance is the great independence of the Negro vote representing an unusual division of opinion and conviction as to their idea of the most desirable candidate.

Although the political enemies will not wish to take a lesson from this independence of spirit and judgement by Negroes in Ocilla, if they will, they can find food for thought as to the answer or charge of "bloc voting." We think the results of Wednesday's analysis should at least help critics of the Negro voters to see that such a charge is not the case. Another election will be held a Albany, Ga, in this month. We believe the figures there will show an equal proportion.

Bloc-Voting in Albany

Constitution

Bloc-voting of Negroes has been, and promises to continue to be, one of the most serious problems arising from participation of the race in Democratic Primaries in Georgia and the South.

In a number of local elections held in the State since Negroes were admitted to the Primary, they have voted as a group, 90 percent or more of the Negro vote going to a single candidate or slate of candidates.

37e Jan.

Since Negroes are individuals, with individual ideas and individual preferences and interests, it is not conceivable it just happened in each case that nearly all Negroes chose the same candidates of their own free will. Obviously, they were prompted to vote in a herd, and with very few stragglers, by a leadership probably from within their own race. Fri. 11-21-47

In some instances, of course, it is but natural that the vast majority of the Negro vote should be directed against a candidate, just as an overwhelming bulk of the bald-head vote, for instance, would be cast in opposition to a candidate who waged a campaign of vilification and abuse of bald-headed citizens. Indeed, on at least one or two occasions, astute, if unconscionable, campaigners have gone to great pains to alienate the Negro vote, having concluded that they thus would gain more support than they would lose, race-baiting unfortunately having an undeniable appeal to a portion of the white electorate.

But it is not always in self-defense that the Negro resorts to bloc-voting. This week in Albany, for instance, the Negroes voted as a bloc in a mayoralty race wherein municipal reform, rather than the race question, was the issue. And, despite the fact that he received but 55 of the 874 Negro votes cast, the reform candidate, J. W. (Taxi) Smith, emerged with a comfortable majority over three opponents.

The Albany Herald ably sums up the situation thus: Atlanta, Ga.

"It is now apparent that this minority segment, voting together, can be overcome if an aroused white electorate, which outnumbers the Negroes three to one on the basis of present registration, moves strongly to the polls. The sharp lesson is that the Negroes through thoughtless leadership are defeating their own ends; that only a marked change in their voting conduct, permitting a true record of individual judgment, will attain for them the consideration and security for which they are striving."

Negroes Retain Ballot Under Thompson's Veto

Ga. Daily World

Atlanta, Ga. Fri.

With Gov. M. E. Thompson refusing to affix his okay to the Harris-Talmadge white primary bill, Georgians, especially Negroes, are where they were a year ago, without restrictions to cast a ballot by reason of race and color. At the same time Mr. Thompson announced that he would sign two anti-closed shop and self-picketing bills passed by General Assembly.

Fri. 3-28-47

Characterizing the measure as a "no primary bill," Gov. Thompson said here late Thursday afternoon that he would announce his reasons for vetoing the measure here Friday morning. In his first and only official address before the General Assembly last week, Mr. Thompson said the so-called primary bill was a vicious thing and that in fact did away with all laws requiring that a primary be held, and would result in the disfranchising of thousands of whites as well as Negroes.

The veto action of the Governor follows closely the sentiments of Georgia Negroes, and hundreds of whites as well as many organizations which have protested the passage of such a measure. Prominent among these protest groups was the Georgia League of Women voters, who at the last moment, took occasion to remind Mr. Thompson of the evil effects his approval would have on the liberty-loving people of the state. The resolution to Mr. Thompson said: 3-28-47

"The Board of the Georgia League of Women Voters and delegates to its biennial Council meeting voted today to send a plea to you to veto the White Primary Bill.

"As you know, the League has opposed the Bill before and since its introduction. The League considers that it is extremely dangerous to have primaries unregulated by law; to have the voters' lists for the primaries made up by Democratic committees uncontrolled by State law; to scrap in one bill legal protections passed over 50 years.

"It is the reasoned opinion of the League that it was not made clear to the people that every Georgian's right to vote in the Primary would be endangered with the passage of the White Primary Bill." Fri.

Friends of the Governor are said to have told him that to sign the measure would mean political suicide for him, since the Talmadge factions would give him no credit for it if he did, and since it would at the same time serve to alienate from the more liberal elements favoring honest elections, free from corruption and fraud. Daily World

Lon Duckworth, former chairman of the Democratic State Executive committee, had appealed to Governor Thompson Thursday to veto the measure. He said that its approval would play into the hands of the Talmadge-Harris coalition and split the Democratic party in Georgia. Atlanta, Ga. 3-28-47

"The late Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, in a radio quiz shortly before his death, said that he had no idea of repealing all the laws against crookedness and fraud in Georgia primary elections," Mr. Duckworth said. "It is my opinion that the Harris bill goes much farther than Mr. Talmadge would have allowed the General Assembly to go if he had been in life."

Sumter, S. C. Daily Item
April 12, 1947

Negroes Will Vote In Macon Election

Macon, Ga., April 12— (AP) —All negroes who are properly resistered will be permitted to vote in the municipal primary here which was set for June 20 by the city executive committee yesterday.

The executive committee voted to strike the word "white" from the heading, city white primary, and allow all registered negroes to vote in the election. Earlier, Kenmore Burns, chairman of the committee, had said negroes would be barred.

Registration Bill, Minus Poll Tax, Passed by Representatives, 131 to 24

Atla-ta, Ga.

Constitution

The House Monday overwhelmingly passed the Weaver registration bill (House Bill 96), designed to establish a new list of voters this year and to enforce educational and qualification laws in the general election. Tues 2-25-47

The bill was passed, 131 to 24, after the House defeated by a voice vote a substitute plan offered by Rep. John Bell Towill, of Richmond County. The Towill substitute would have permitted school teachers to serve as deputy registrars and give educational tests to prospective voters.

Two major objections to House Bill 96 were eliminated before passage. One would have required voters to re-register every two years. The other would have required payment of a $1 "registration fee."

Rep. Towill declared the approved bill was much better than it was as originally written by Sen Alex Weaver, of Macon, Fifty-first District. Speaker Pro-Tem George Smith, of Emanuel County, and Rep. Frank Twitty, of Mitchell, leading sponsors of the bill, said they were well pleased with the measure passed.

Fulton County's permanent registration system — perfected at a cost of approximately $200,000—would be junked by passage of House Bill 96 as it stands today. The Bill exempts neither Fulton County's newly installed permanent registration system nor its special registration laws. The DeKalb delegation put through an amendment to continue furnishing voters' lists in all county precincts.

The bill, which now goes to the Senate, would abolish the present registration lists, forcing all voters to re-register. New applicants would have to register, not later than Aug. 1, 1947.

After the initial registration list is established, a voter may remain on the list permanently, if he votes at least once every two years in a general or special election.

The bill provides for a card system to replace the present registration book.

It sets up a form for qualifying voters which the County Board of Registrars must follow, and it makes the Board of Registrars the judge of whether a person qualifies. Tues 2-25-47

The Tax Collector, who has much power at present, would become a Deputy Registrar. The voting form would show whether the person is of good moral character, understands the duties of citizenship, can read or write, or interpret a paragraph of the Constitution. These requirements are in the State Constitution. The bill would enforce them.

The Grand Jury would nominate members for the Board of Registrars, and the Superior Court Judge would appoint the Board from these nominations.

Several Legislators, including M. M. Smith, of Fulton, asked to be recorded as voting "no" on the measure.

Charter, Education Bill Endorsed at Negro Rally

A city-wide mass meeting of Negro voters unanimously endorsed both the proposed city charter and the Broad of Education reorganization bill after hearing speakers outline the factors involved at a rally Monday night at Tabernacle Baptist church.

Addressing the meeting were Gwinn H. Nixon, C. C. Stulb, Wallace Hunnicutt, and the Rev. A. Leon Lowry.

S. M. Jenkins gave instructions to the massed voters on how to use Wednesday's ballot, while W. H. Wilborn told the gathering that Negro voters should support the city charter and the reorganization bill because both have the endorsement of the Independent League for Good Government, while opponents of both are those who supported the Talmadge-Harris white primary law, which Wilton said would have meant total disenfranchisement of Georgia's colored citizens.

Walter S. Harris, editor of The Herald's Negro news section, said Tuesday that "Augusta's Negroes have everything to gain by voting for the new city charter and the reorganization of the Board of Education."

Harris urged all Negro voters to go to the polls Wednesday and cast ballots.

Lauds Use Of Ballot In Progress Of Negro

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-23-47

By LILLIAN SCOTT

NEW YORK—One of the most prominent Negro leaders of Savannah, Ga., Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert, credited the obtaining of the vote by the Negro population as causing many immediate changes there, in an interview here last week with the Chicago Defender.

In New York for a month's vacation, Dr. Gilbert, president of the 3,000-member local branch and also of the State Conference of the NAACP, stated: "Savannah is really picking up, and all of it comes about because Negroes are able to vote and are voting. We're now conducting a more or less sustained registration drive."

Of the 55,000 Negroes in the Atlantic Coast seaport city, 21,000 is a conservative estimate of those on the books, according to Dr. Gilbert. As Georgia's age limit for voters in 18 years, the NAACP and other groups try to reach as many teen-agers as possible. Through high school home room teachers, many are advised to register and vote. Sat. 8-23-47

A minister, too, soft-voiced Dr. Gilbert, is pastor of the First African Baptist Church in Savannah, and ardently believes that "Negro preachers ought to take the lead. There's a tremendous problem of ignorance, even in the clergy. You know," he added with a slight smile, "preaching is often termed the 'unlearned profession.'"

To Reduce Our Congressional Representation?

Constitution

One generally overlooked aspect of a White Primary, up for debate in the Georgia House of Representatives today, is cited by The Chicago Tribune, one of the bellwethers of the Republican Party.

In a lead editorial, "Georgia Also Has Ten Congressmen," The Tribune, presuming passage of the bill a certainty inasmuch as both gubernatorial claimants have indorsed it, declares:

Atlanta, Ga.

"It remains to be seen what the Republican majority in Congress will do about it. There is much that can be done under the provision of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, adopted shortly after the Civil War.

"The Fourteenth Amendment says that the Negroes of Georgia are citizens and as such are entitled to all the privileges of citizens. **It goes on to say that when qualified citizens of a State have been deprived of the right to vote for National or State officers, the representation in Congress of the State in question shall be reduced in proportion to the number so disqualified. If this provision were carried out Georgia would be entitled not to 10 members of the House, as at present, but to six or seven, because the Negro population of the State is some 34 percent of the total. Georgia's influence in Presidential elections would be correspondingly reduced, as she is entitled to one elector for each Senator and Representative in Congress.**

Mon. 1-27-47

"The point can be made, of course, that all this applies not to primaries but to elections. The courts have been disposed to say that this is a distinction without a difference, particularly where the direct primary is in force. In fact, of course, the Democratic primaries in the solid South are, for all practical purposes, the elections; the winner in the primary is, with the fewest exceptions, the ultimate winner.

"To leave no doubt on the matter, there is the Fifteenth Amendment, which says: 'The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and then goes on to say that Congress shall have power to enforce this provision by appropriate legislation.

Mon. 1-27-47

"The Constitution thus forbids Georgia to discriminate against Negro voters and provides that if Georgia does so her representation shall be reduced accordingly. There is nothing unreasonable or unfair about this provision. As matters stand, the Negroes who are prevented from voting have no representation and there can be no point in apportioning Representatives as if they had. Moreover, the denial of the ballot to Negroes often results in sending Congressmen to Washington who act against the interests of the Negroes. As it stands, the apportionment actually encourages this kind of misrepresentation of the Negro population.

"It is surely the right of the Republican majority in Congress to correct this injustice in the manner provided in the Constitution itself.. If Georgia or any other State withholds the franchise for reason of color, Georgia can be made to pay the price in a reduction of her strength in Congress and the electoral college.. The choice will then be hers to make."

Governor Affirms Stand Denying Extra Session

The Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta Ga. Thur-8.

"I can assure you that there will be no extra session of the Legislature until January, 1949, after the people have spoken as to the leadership they want" declared Governor M. E. Thompson Wednesday when he predicted the failure of the special session movement as advocated by Speaker Fred Hand, Mitchell County solon, and outspoken leader of the Talmadge political factions.

The address by the Governor to the Decatur Civitan Club sharpened the bitter cleverage in the state's political setup which had brought a purposed voter-eduaction into prominence as issue in the 1948 elections.

Delegates representing the Citizens Progressive Democratic Clubs meeting in Macon, August 2 had already bitterly denounced the proposed as an attempt by Georgia to duplicate Alabama's infamous Boswell Amendment, which was an admitted subterfuge adopted by that state to bar Negroes.

Negroes studying the voter education proposal insist that if adopted the measure would bar both Negroes and whites. They agreed with Gov. Thompson declaration yesterday "That we are getting along too well to suit some people" and every possible mean should be used to keep the issue out of the fourthcoming elections.

The controversial issue of Georgia adopting educational requirements based on schooling would prevent fewer than 11 per cent of the state's potential Negro voting population from the polls, U. S. Census Bureau figures reveal. A voting loss among Negroes on this basis would be negligible if fairly administered which Negroes doubt, because of the circumstances factions have contended for new measure. Thur-8-14-47

According to a report by Ambrose Caliver, Negro information specialist, U. S. Bureau of education, Negroes over 25 who have no schooling whatever number 69,679, out of a maximum voting potential of 654,000. Obeservers concede that at least this category would be certain to forfeit their voting rights under such legislation.

By the same token, approximately 2½ per cent of Georgia's possible white vote would be barred. The state's potential white vote is 1,310 560 of whom 30,238 have never been to school.

The legal difficulties facing Georgia successfully adopting stringent educational standards as a subterfuge for eliminating Negro voters would encounter certain legal snares. Such a measure would face invalidation on the grounds that such legislation seeks to circumvent by subterfuge the Negro's right to vote, as laid down by the Constitution, the U. S. Supreme Court, and judge J. Waits Waring in the South Carolina Primary case.

Negro leaders acknowledge that the main objective of the present voting requirements is that a supposed "Bloc" exists in the Negro vote. Hand forces beleive that educational requirements would knock out the "Bloc" by knocking out 60.55 per cent of the Negro voting strength by setting a maximum of a sixth grade education. That would mean that they would also lose a minimum of 26.19 per cent of all whites eligible to cast votes. Thur 8-14-47

VOTING LOSS OF BOTH RACES

There are 741,552 Georgians-white and black- over 25 who have less than a seventh grade education. Numerically, however, this number is almost equally distributed between both races with 345,573 whites and 395,979 Negroes.

Thur-8-14-47

Both sides agree that nothing can be dne about the voting law until 1952 unless the legislature passes a constitutional amendment this year, so that the people may vote on it in 1948. Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson has opposed the session 'as a "waste of the tax payers money' and called attention to the fact that he purposed similar legislation which Talmadgé-dominatd legislation refused to act upon. Such measure brought before the assembly now Thompson believes would accomplish nothing for Talmadge's campaign."

Meeting Shows Ga. Voters Increasing in Militancy

Afro-American

Hit New Purge Attempt of Supremacists, Urge Registration Drive in Its Place

Baltimore, Md.

MACON, Ga. (ANP)—Any future trends in Georgia to deprive all citizens of the right to vote in any and all elections will see vigorous reaction from the Georgia Association of Citizens' Democratic Clubs.

At a one-day session here Aug. 2, association delegates denounced a proposal by Georgia House Speaker Fred Hand to have Acting Gov. M. E. Thompson call a special session of the legislature.

It had been proposed that the special session pass legislation setting up voter-education clinics through which colored citizens would be denied registration by subterfuge.

Seek to Enlarge Vote

The colored Democrats went on record as approving plans to begin a Statewide registration campaign, setting up voter-education clinics and seeking favorable attitudes towards registrants stricken from the voters' lists prior to the 1946 Democratic Primary. Sat. 8-23-47

Legal action was promised citizens in those districts denying the ballot to the group, and the work of John W. McGlockton of Savannah in pushing to a successful conclusion the fight for police there was hailed.

Ga. Democrats Segregate Voters

Afro-American

Rule Quiets 'White' Primary Advocates

Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 10-4-47

ATLANTA—As the Brahmans of India treat their "untouchables," so the Democratic Party faction in Georgia that is supporting Gov. M. E. Thompson is treating colored voters, rules for next year's primary drawn up here last week disclose. Complete segregation of voters is emphasized. 10-4-47

Issued by the rules committee of the party for all primaries held in the State, the order specifies that separate polling places must be provided for white and colored voters in each precinct or ward and that the separate voting must take place in different buildings, not one building with a partition.

The order was the answer of this faction of the party to the clamor of the wool hat boys for a "white" primary. Thompson, who was elected Governor by the State Assembly, is opposed by Talmadge's son, Herman, in the popular election for the post set for July 14, 1948.

37e 1947 Georgia (Georgia Civic-Political League)

STATE POLITICAL LEAGUE MEETS IN MACON NOV. 25

(37e) Ga. Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Declaring that the "future advancement of Negroes in Georgia will depend upon the ability to organize and fight, legally, for rights and opportunities," the Georgia Civic-Political League this week issued a call for its annual meeting in Macon, Georgia, November 25th at Stewart Chapel A. M. E. Church, where the Rev. Allen R. Cooper is the pastor.

With increased voting opportunities announced as the prime need for study and planning the annual meeting of the league is expected to draw more than 1,200 representatives of church, civic, fraternal and community leaders from all parts of the state.

Wed. 11-19-47

The purpose of this meeting, according to John Wesley Dobbs, president, will be to arouse colored citizens to their civic and political duties. We must secure additional registration of colored voters all over the state for the major elections of 1948, it was pointed out.

During the spring meeting, held at this same church, plans were outlined for a drive for more extensive ramification of its county civic leagues throughout the state. The need for this work was cited when members and delegates pointed out the many injustices forced upon colored voters in counties over the state.

FUND VOTED

Further it was voted during this spring meeting the establishment of a fund "to legally prosecute an obstruction in the counties where registration and voting of Negroes is being hampered." Daily World

At this meeting delegates will be informed of the league's "full-scale program for the registration and education in voting techniques which should be used in combatting any political repercussions. Wed.

All organizations are invited to send representatives to the fall meeting at Macon. While there will be no registration fees all organizations sending delegates are requested to file their names with John Wesley Dobbs, president, 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Meanwhile, a listing of outstanding speakers scheduled for this meeting has been given out. Included are: Rev. Maynard H. Jackson, Atlanta, Ga., president of the National Progressive Voters League; Prof. James Bryant, Fort Valley College; Rev. Allen R. Cooper, Macon, Ga., and the Rev. Primus King, Columbus, Ga.

ounty Unit Voted Down By Filibustering Senate

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

37e Kw. Fri. 2-14-47

By JOHN COURIC

The Talmadge Administration's White Primary Bill bogged down in the State Senate Thursday as opponents staged a filibuster, but those favoring the measure finally passed two sections removing the county unit system from Georgia law.

One section, removing the County Unit System from State lawbooks, was passed when the filibustering solons agreed to stop long enough for this portion of the measure to be put to a vote. The other section, removing another County Uuit law, passed shortly before the end of the session after leaders agreed to vote on it and then adjourn.. Adjournment until 11 a. m. Monday came at 4:30 p. m.

Between passage of the two sections, the filibuster continued unabated.

Those against the bill said they feared what would happen to the County Unit System in Democratic Primaries if it is not protected by law. Backers of the White Primary Bill said failure to remove these laws would give the Federal Government grounds to force the Democratic Party to permit Negro participation.

They added the County Unit System is protected under Democratic Party rules.

The Senate spent the day listening to talks on subjects ranging from bird dogs to the comparative odors of dead mules. Some of the leather-lunged opponents of the measure to disfranchise Negro voters occupied their speaking periods by reading long telegrams and letters both for and against the bill.

Filibustering broke out after Sen. A. H. S. Weaver, of Macon, Fifty-First District, discussed the two sections and asked for their passage.

Rules of the Senate made the oratorical contest possible since the Senators had agreed to permit each member to discuss each section for a maximum of 30 minutes. Since two sections were under consideration, each Senator had one hour to oppose or defend the removal of the county unit from legal regulation.

Both opponents and proponents of the measure attempted to lay the blame for the filibuster on the other side. Senators who read the stacks of letters and telegrams said they were doing so at the request of two White Primary advocates.

Sen. Everett Millican, Atlanta, Fifty-Second District, asked who these were. Sen. J. F. Darby, Sr., of Vidalia, Fifteenth District, and Sen. E. C. Wideman, of Douglas, Forty-Sixth District, held up their hands as those who had requested this.

However, the filibustering Senators did not limit their talks to the readings of expressions from the citizenry.

Both those who talked and those who listened were not denied their midday meal, as members of the State's upper chamber adjourned for lunch, and then returned to resume their vocal vaudeville.

Shortly after 3:30 p. m., Sen. Grady N. Coker, of Canton, Thirty-Ninth District, and a proponent of the primary bill, gained the floor on a point of personal privilege.

Obviously disgusted with the discourses, he read from the Bible, the Book of Proverbs, 13:3: "He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life: but he that openeth wide his lips, shall have destruction."

Earlier in the day, Sen. V. H. Hooks, of Lexsy, Sixteenth District, charged that the filibuster was planned in advance when he asked a Senator: "Where did you have your meeting last night to plan to speak your full time on these sections?" Fri. 2-14-47

Hooks, who appeared nettled at the delay in passing the measure, which he favors, posed his question to Sen. John Brown Gordon Logan, of Homer, Thirty-Third District. The Constitution

Logan replied that he knew of no meeting. Millican interrupted to say he would answer Hooks' question when he (Millican) took the floor. Atlanta, Ga.

Later, on one of Millican's trips to the microphone, he declared:

"If the Honorable Richard Russell, or Walter George, were speaking on a subject on which they were vitally interested in the U. S. Senate chamber, none of you gentlemen would say they were filibustering."

Millican asserted not three per cent of the people in the State know fully the contents of the White Primary Bill.

"There are things in the Bill they never conceived of, hidden by the issue of prohibiting the Negro from voting. If that is all it did, I would vote for it and let the Negro have a primary of his own. But when they take away my rights, I'll take the lesser of two evils."

All of the Senators who delayed the Bill said they favored a White primary, but were against the measure. Many suggested a voters' qualifications law instead.

Besides Millican and Logan, others who participated in the filibuster included Sen Clifford Seay, Barnesville, Twenty-Second District; Sen. J. H. Woodall, Woodland, Twenty-Fifth District; Sen. E. F. Griffith, Eatonton, Twenty-Eighth District; Sen Charles B. Yates, Ringgold, Forty-Fourth District; Sen R. G. Daniell, Sr., Metter, Forty-Ninth District; Sen Bill Parker, Baxley, Fifty-Fourth District.

2-14-47

How Senators Voted On County Unit Section

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

The roll call on Section 22, which strikes the county unit system from State law, follows:

Those voting aye: Adams, of Twenty-third District; Blitch, of Fifth District; Boone, of First District; Brown, of Nineteenth District; Burks, of Twelfth District; Bush, of Eighth District; Butler, of Seventh; Carswell, of Seventeenth; Coker, of Thirty-ninth; Darby, of Fifteenth; Dorsey, of Thirty-second; Grayson, of First; Hodges, of Twenty-seventh; Hooks, of Sixteenth; Howard, of Third; Killingsworth, of Eleventh; Miller, of Sixth; Mitchell, of Fortieth; Odom, of Ninth; Overstreet, of Eighteenth; Pannell, of Forty-third; Richardson, of Fourteenth; Smiley, of Second; Tarbutton, of Twentieth; Walker, of Forty-fifth; Weaver, of Fifty-first, and Wideman, of Forty-sixth. Fri. 2-14-47

Those voting in the negative: Arnold, of Fiftieth; Baker, of Forty-second; Branch, of Forty-seventh; Callaway, of Thirty-fifth; Daniell, of Forty-ninth; Ferguson, of Thirteenth; Griffith, of Twenty-eighth; Gwyn, of Thirty-sixth; Hogg, of Twenty-fourth; Kennon, of Fifty-third; Knox, of Twenty-ninth; Logan, of Thirty-third; Mason, of Thirtieth; Millican, of Fifty-second; Parker, of Fifty-fourth; Seay, of Twenty-second; Sumner, of Tenth; Williams, of Twenty-first; Woodall, of Twenty-fifth, and Yates, of Forty-fourth.

Absent: Huckeba, of Thirty-seventh; Kiker, of Forty-first; Sams, of Twenty-sixth; Tippins, of Forty-eight; Trippe, of Thirty-eighth, and Wells, of Fourth. Not voting: Dean, of Thirty-fourth, President Pro Tem. and presiding officer.

County Unit Plan Good

News & Courier

Jan. 1-16-47

In Georgia the late Eugene Talmadge was nominated for governor by the county unit rule. The representation in the nominating convention was based on the representation of the 159 counties in Georgia's legislature. While The News and Courier holds that Mr. Thompson, who was elected lieutenant governor, should serve as governor, it is fair to say that election of a governor, whether lawful or not, by the legislature would in principle be identical with Georgia's county unit plan of nominating. The county unit plan is better than South Carolina's way of nominating. It conforms to the theory of government placed in the federal constitution. Charleston. S.C.

37e 1947

Kansas

VOTE IS 10 TO 1 AGAINST CITY MANAGER

Plaindealer

Fri 3-7-47

Kansas City, Kansas

The move to change the present form of local government in Kansas City, Kansas to the manger form of government went down in a big defeat here Tuesday in a special election when the voters marched to the polls in ice and snow. Fri 3-7-47

The vote was one of the largest in a special election to ever be held in the history of the city. The people's Committee to retain representative government in Kansas City, headed by Attorney David W. Carson defeated the citizen group for city manager by a margin of 2 to 1. According to unofficial returns from the city's 160 precincts, 27,971 votes were cast.

For City Manager	**10,005**
Against	**17,966**

All of the city's eight wards went against the movement, the largest vote against the movement was registered in the Negro wards. In the second ward, the city manager movement lost by 10 to 1. The vote was 2,193 against manager and only 229 for it.

In the first, second and third wards, the Negroes cast 5,790 votes.

Yes	568
No	5,222

The heavy Negro voting covers an area of 33 precincts, which takes in the second Commissioner District and Eighth Representative district. Commissioner Fred White, who took the lead in this fight that brought defeat to manager government was elected from this district last November. William H. Towers, state representative was elected from this district also. Fri 3-7-47

The Fred White organiaztion with almost a solid backing of the Negroes in this district put votes in the box at a ratio of a little better than 9 to 1. The Negro city manager crowd was swamped with such an avalanche of votes until most of the workers gave up before noon and some joined in to help the defeat of city manager, when some of the voters showed a resentment to arguments and cards passed out near the polls. Fri 3-7-47

The movement to change the present form of government was promted by some bankers and financial leaders. Their defeat was brought about by minority groups uniting in a solid front.

The primary election for Mayor, Street Commissioner, Finance Comissioner, Board of Public Utilities and Board of Education will be held March 18. The General election will be on April 1.

Colored Voters Urged to Register

The Committee of Fifteen is always awake to the best interests of the people. The members of the committee are diligent in promoting every enterprise that pertains to the public welfare. They have been able to accomplish many things by constant and persistent effort. Courier Journal

The committee is awake to the importance of our people being registered so that in every election they may be in position to express themselves. We are gratified to know that there has been a considerable increase in registration during the last two years. The committee urges every colored voter to go to the Registration Office in the Fiscal Court Building and register. Tues 4-29-47

We requested all colored pastors to bring this matter before their congregations on April 20 and 27.

Louisville Louisville, Ky. Rev. F. T. Floyd, Chairman.

The Negro's Weapon

mon

Louisville, Ky.

Clarence Darrow once said, "The vote is the Negro's best weapon." I agree.

One of my white brothers stated that he thought that a majority of the Negro votes were bought in the recent primary. I disagree. The votes that were bought did not represent the majority of the better class of Negroes. I do regret, however, that the majority of the Negroes have to suffer and are judged by the few. 8-18-47 mon.

When Kentucky Negroes unite as a group and use their weapon, the vote, the result will be so formidable it cannot be questioned. The result will be that most of this racial discriminiation will be eradicated. Then we can all say that Kentucky is on the march forward, but as things are, Kentucky is on the march backward. Thus Kentucky could set an example for our sister States and change conditions in the South. COURIER - JOURNAL

To the Negroes of Kentucky I say, "Vote for the man who will help us regardless of party. Let's destroy race prejudice with the weapon, the vote!"

Lexington, Ky. 8-18-47 TAYLOR BALLEW.

Race Registration In Louisiana Jumps

Pittsburgh Courier. Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat 8-23-47

37e

By LUCIUS JONES
(Louisiana Bureau)

NEW ORLEANS—Louisiana Negroes have undergone a political awakening so great that colored registration here, in the short space of one year, has increased nearly 400 per cent, and New Orleans Negroes cast many of the all-important ballots which gave the present mayor, deLesseps S. (Chep) Morrison, a hard-earned 4,000-margin or victory over the incumbent, Robert S. Maestri, in the last municipal election. Sat. 8-23-47

Louisiana Negroes, last week cast votes which were even more decisive in a local balloting.

The latest demonstration of political strength by Louisiana Negroes was in Baton Rouge, where Aug. 12, a measure was up for voting—to determine whether the City of Baton Rouge would extend its city limits—a step which would increase the population of the capital city to 110,000 people and make it the second largest metropolis in the State. Sat. 8-23-47

MARGIN OF VICTORY

The proponents and opponents of the extension of the Baton Rouge city limits were almost equally divided, but it is conceded everywhere that Negroes actually decided the plan of government in this election, because the charter plan won by only 307 votes and more than 350 Negroes registered in Baton Rouge voted overwhelming for the expansion idea.

REGISTRATION DRIVES

A further evidence of a general political awakening by Negroes in Louisiana, from the positive viewpoint, is the widespread increased registration campaigns now being conducted here in the Crescent City by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the People's Defense League, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, New Orleans League of Classroom Teachers and various ward organizations as well as private citizens like Ripoll (Rip) Roberts, downtown businesman ,and other local proprietors who have classes directly in their business places.

The Committee for Louisiana of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has just instituted a Ward Leaders' School for the purpose of teaching those who teach people how to register and vote. Sat. 8-23-47

STAB AT LIBER LISM

On the nega side, it is felt by many local citizens, white and colored, that the return showing of old "traditional" films like "Birth of a Nation" and "Gone with the Wind" in this city is a defiant step by forces of reaction to rekindle old prejudices and racial hatreds. Over protests, "Birth of a Nation" is now being shown in the St. Charles Theatre here for the third straight week. "Gone with the Wind" is being held over at Loew's State Theatre.

Louisianans charge that officials refuse to register them

37e

Tribune
Los Angeles, Calif.

NEW ORLEANS — The United States attorney's office here has received four affidavits charging the registrar of voters of Iberville Parish with unlawfully denying right of registration to several Negroes, among them two veterans of World War II. Sat. 9-13-47

The affiants, whose names are being withheld for protective purposes, told of applying for registration last month in order to vote in the coming gubernatorial election.

"Upon entering the registration office," they said, "Milton Darden, registrar of voters for Iberville Parish, instead of presenting us with application forms for registering, began questioning us."

The applicants could answer some of the questions, and couldn't answer some others, they said in the affidavits. Nine questions were asked and answered, as follows:

"Q. Who is your Congressman?

A. Morrison.

Q. Who is lieutenant governor?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know anything about the constitution of the United States?

A. Yes.

Q. Who is the police jury?

A. I do not know.

Q. What electoral district do you live in?

A. I do not know.

Q. Who is the governor of this state?

A. Jimmie Davis.

Q. Do you know the constitution of this parish?

A. No.

Q. Do you know the state assessor?

A. No. Sat. 9-13-47

Q. Who is president of the United States?

A. Harry S. Truman."

Negro Registrants Found Apathetic In New Orleans

Daily World,
Atlanta, Ga.

37e

NEW ORLEANS—(SNS)—Facing a serious problem in the failure of Negroes to present themselves for registration to vote, the political committee of General Longshore Workers Local 1419 this week introduced a triple-edged program. Wed. 10-29-47

In an opening statement to a special meeting of the group chairmen, Joseph Pierre said, "Too few Negroes are taking advantage of the relative ease and freedom to register to vote." He said that recent figures released by the registrar of voters showing only fifty-five hundred Negroes on the rolls is a disgrace to every thinking Negro and especially members of the trade union movement. Chairman Pierre asked the membership of Local 1419 to set up a program immediately to provide for:

(1) Hiring of a qualified person to conduct the longshoremen's registration school through December 20th, after which the registrar's office will close.

(2) Hold legislative and political unity mass meetings each Sunday in community churches. Prominent speakers to appear and the public to be invited to attend.

(3) Longshore business agents and other officials to aid in registering their fellow members by transporting them to a registrar's office if necessary. 10-29-47

PROGRAM GETTING RESULTS

At the close of the first week of the program real results were demonstrated: Mrs. Lou Turner, in charge of the registration school, reported that 71 persons had asked for assistance in filling in the registration form. Fourteen persons who presented themselves at the registrar's office were successful and have received their certificates. Mrs. Turner reported that in each case a registered representative of the local union had accompanied the candidate.

NEGRO VOTE TO INCREASE IN LOUISIANA

Times 12-7-47
Shreveport, La.

8,000 Register in Reports From Populous Centers of State

12-7-47

37e

New Orleans, Dec. 6 (AP).—An increase in registration of negro voters in Louisiana has been noted in advance of the January 20, 1948, Democratic primary, particularly in southwest Louisiana. There organized labor leaders have been reported urging their members, both white and negro, to register for voting.

Labor leaders have become more aggressive in political campaigns, seeking the election of officials favorable to organized labor, since passage of the Taft-Hartley act.

As to the negro vote, however, slight strength has been shown thus far among the half million or more votes that Louisiana democrats cast in the party primary.

A cross section of the more populous centers of the state, on the basis of incomplete registrations, shows about 8,000 negroes registered in these localities to date.

Approximately 6,000 of the 8,000 negroes are registered in New Orleans, where registration reached a record of 185,216 yesterday.

Although the Democratic party formerly barred negroes from voting in its "white primary," negroes properly qualified and registered as Democrats may vote in the primary, under the recent U. S. supreme court ruling in the Texas case.

The division between Democratic and Republican registrations among the negroes registered in Orleans parish has not been tabulated.

However, in East Baton Rouge parish the latest figures show 900 negroes registered out of a total of about 36,000 registrations. Of the negroes about 500 are Democrats and 400 Republicans.

Caddo parish, in a preliminary report, showed 165 negroes registered, with indications of a registration of negroes a little heavier than usual.

A heavy negro registration is under way at Crowley, with 350 registered out of about 22,000 registrations to date in Acadia parish.

Calcasieu parish (Lake Charles) showed 150 negroes registered, Lafayette 60, Rapides (Alexandria) 35 and Jefferson Davis 70.

No negroes had been registered in St. Landry, Evangeline and Vermilion parishes.

The complete registration figures will not be known until the books close on Dec. 30, or 30 days before the primary.

37e . 1947

Mississippi

37/e Miss.

Gives 'Reason' For Low Vote

Chicago Defender

Atty. Says Negroes Just Uninterested

Chicago, Ill.

GREENVILLE, Miss.— "Negroes cast only a few scattered ballots in our Aug. 5 primary because they aren't interested in politics, and when the cold facts are known A. Philip Randolph will go into a paroxysm, Walter White's blood pressure will go up, and Eleanor Roosevelt will be terribly disappointed."

Sat. 8-30-47

The statement was voiced to the Defender by talkative, tenor-voiced Sam V. Anderson, Mississippi's latest white supremacy plenipotentiary, who hails from this Delta region city. Anderson, a Greenville attorney, said he served in the Mississippi Legislature for about 14 years, and described himself as an ambassador from the Washington county Democratic executive committee to the meeting of the state executive committee held in Jackson last Tuesday.

Challenges Estimates

He said approximately 500 Negroes voted in the Aug. 5 primary, and challenged the accuracy of estimates of Negro voting strength in Mississippi as given by Negro leaders in Jackson on the eve of the statewide primary two weeks ago. He "warned" that "we people down here are getting d—— tired of outsiders giving us hell about what we do to the n——rs, when these critics don't known a d—— thing about what goes on in Mississippi."

The Greenville attorney charged that Negro leaders had exaggerated the number of Negro qualified electors in the state. He said that any figures indicating that there are 10,000 or 12,000 Negro voters in Mississippi are "far too high."

Anderson expressed an opinion that there are no more than 2,500 Negro qualified voters throughout the state. He declared that his estimate was based on the results of a "careful" survey made by him in the nine counties where the Negro vote is the heaviest.

Anderson said that only 390 Negroes offered to vote in these counties in the Aug. 5 primary, and a total of 281 voted and were counted.

Sat. 8-30-47

He said that all of the 65 votes cast in Mound Bayou were "disqualified," and enumerated other instances of disqualification.

37e 1947 Mississippi

THE DEEP SOUTH

The Times

Mississippi Is Stirred by the Registration of Negroes

Feb. 2-9-47 New York, N.Y.

37e

By JOHN POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 8—As a record-breaking cold snap drove Mississippians indoors this last week, the major topic of "hot stove" winter politics was whether Gov. Fielding Wright should convene a special session of the Legislature to rescind all State primary statutes and thus transform political parties into private clubs that could bar Negroes from primary voting. Sun. 2-9-47

However, the Governor has reportedly been advised that a special session of the Legislature would be hamstrung on the issue because of a provision in the State Constitution that requires primary statutes to insure fairness in voting. It was argued that a Constitutional Amendment would therefore be necessary before primary laws could be repealed.

Nevertheless, die-hards continue to talk of nothing but the figures that are being reported day after day from all over the State concerning the rising tide of prospective Negro voters. Some observers estimated that 40,000 Negroes would qualify for suffrage privileges. In Hinds County, in which this city is situated, incomplete records indicated that about 10 per cent of the expected total of 16,000 registrants would be Negroes.

The State's champion of "white supremacy," Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, was resting at his "dream house" at Poplarville after undergoing surgery for cancer of the jaw at Touro Infirmary in New Orleans. He is to return there in about a month for additional surgery and in the meantime has insisted that he still intends to return to the Senate in Washington and renew his claim to be seated.

The Times New York, N.Y.

Governor Wright, who, as Lieutenant Governor, succeeded to his present office a little over a year ago on the death of Gov. Tom Bailey, appears in the winter political book to be a sure candidate for the Gubernatorial nomination in the primaries in August.

Sun. 2-9-47

MISSISSIPPI ASSAYS NEGRO VOTE PLANS

The Times New York, N.Y.

Week-End Interest Is Centered Calmly on Prospects of State Legislation

Mon. 3-10-47

37e

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., March 9—As the State Legislature enters tomorrow its second week of extraordinary session, public interest here was focused largely on the likelihood of "white primary" laws being enacted to restrict the registration privileges of Negroes.

With a House committee apparently reluctant to act on two "white primary" bills that were sent to it a few minutes after the special session was convened last Tuesday, there was a general strengthening of opinion that no drastic changes would be made at this time in existing laws that govern Negro voting privileges in the Democratic party primaries.

It was reported that no "agreements" were reached after conferences last week between Governor Fielding L. Wright, legislative leaders, constitutional law experts and the State Democratic Executive Committee. Indications were that no "agreements" would be reached at similar conferences scheduled for this week.

No" Cure-All" Expected

Senator Walter R. Smith, chairmon of the Committee on Registrations and Elections, expressed doubt that the legislators would find a "cure-all" for the problem of maintaining white supremacy at the polls. The Times

"Several of the best constitutional lawyers in the State are shaking their heads," he said. "They are far apart in their thinking." New York, N.Y.

One of the bills before the House would follow the so-called "South Carolina Plan" and rescind all primary election laws, thus converting the Democratic party into a private club that could "legally" bar Negroes from voting participation. Mon. 3-10-47

The other bill strikes at exempting Negro war veterans from poll-tax payments during their years in service, and would give to local election managers the power to determine participants with no appeal from their rulings.

One legislator reportedly spent the week-end drafting a bill that would compel the participants in Democratic primaries to subscribe to principles set forth by the executive committee. Under that broad authority, it was said, issues which Negroes might refuse to subscribe to could be made a voting qualification for Democratic primaries.

A Variant Is Offered

Another legislator is said to have proposed an annual registration based on the acceptance of principles promulgated by the executive committees of the political parties.

Although it is obvious that Mississippians, in general, favor restrictions on Negro registration privileges until "the educational standards of Negroes have improved," several influential groups are urging the legislators to move with caution at this time.

These groups argue that it would be wiser to delay action on any drastic changes in the primary laws until the regular 1948 session of the legislature, to give more thorough consideration to any proposals, and to obtain the "benefit" of high court rulings on the "white primary" laws of Georgia and South Carolina, where Federal Court tests are imminient. It is felt here that an "adverse" decision by the high courts might affect the validity of all state-wide elections this summer. The Times

The belief that legislative leaders will give consideration this week to a suggestion that they request Governor Wright to appoint a committee of Constitutional lawyers, not legislators, to study all phases of th eproblem and report its findings and recommendations to the new Legislature next January. The committee also would act as an advisory body when the Legislature considers the matter. Mon. 3-10-47

N.Y.

Local newspapers devoted considerable space today to reviews of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo's new book "Take Your Choice—Segregation or Mongrelization." A leading advocate of "white supremacy," Senator Bilbo writes that Americans "cannot and will not grant" social equality to Negroes. Mon. 3-10-47 N.Y.

Senator Bilbo's recommendation for "a eviating" the racial problem is resettlement of Negroes in Africa. In his book he includes a bill he introduced in the Senate in 1939 providing for the voluntary re-settlement of Negroes "in their fatherland, West Africa." New York, N.Y.

The book is published by the Dream House Publishing Company, Poplarville, Miss., which is the Senator's home. It is reported to have been printed by a firm in Kentucky. There are no regular distribution outlets, but copies have been consigned here to Louis Toler, operator of the City News Company. Mon. 3-10-47

Preparedness in Mississippi

Pittsburgh, Pa. Courier

37e

We like the news that came out of Mississippi last week that State Democratic leaders were "alarmed" over the large number of Negroes who have paid poll taxes and have registered to vote.

It seems that for the past two weeks in Jackson, the capital, Negroes had been thronging the offices of the county tax collector, sometimes arriving in groups of from a dozen to forty or more under the command of their leaders and then going immediately to the Sheriff's office to apply for registration.

It seems that in most cases they are easily passing the severe tests imposed by the registrar because a surprising number of them have been carefully prepared for the ordeal. Sat. 2-15-47

Having learned the State and Federal Constitutions by rote, they are able to glibly answer all questions on civics, thus amazing and alarming those giving them the so-called educational tests upon which local politicians everywhere in the South have counted to successfully keep the number of Negro voters to a tiny minimum.

This new development may force the Democratic politicians to seek for new ways of keeping the primaries lily-white, but it is unlikely that the colored people will be unable to get around whatever devices are thought up to keep them from exercising their right of suffrage.

What needs to be stressed in this connection is the fact that these Negroes were **prepared** both with the money for poll taxes and with the knowledge to flabbergast the registrars.

If this can be done in Mississippi, why cannot it be done elsewhere in the South, especially by young colored veterans? Sat. 2-15-47

There is nothing like preparedness and there is no reason why the same methods will not work in Texas, Alabama, South Carolina and other States.

St. Petersburg, Fla., Times
August 5, 1947

Mississippi Negroes To Vote Must Oppose Anti-Lynch Law

JACKSON, Miss. —(AP)— Some 6,000 Negroes expected to turn out for Mississippi's Democratic primary today will be asked to swear their dislike of federal anti-lynch laws as a prerequisite to voting.

Adding perhaps to the irony of this situation—the initial test of a 1947 law designed to discourage Negro voting—the prospective Negro voters also will be required to swear accord "with the time-honored and cherished traditions of the south."

The new law decrees that all voters must certify agreement with party principles as set forth by the state Democratic executive committee. Those principles also embrace opposition to federal anti-poll tax legislation and to the fair employment practices commission.

In short, the Negroes who vote today would go on record as opposing several federal instruments designed to help them gain more equality in the south. The Mississippi law demanding them to do this was passed at a special session of the legislature last March. In 1946 Negroes had voted throughout the state—in sizable numbers—for the first time. At that time Senator Theo G. Bilbo, nationally-known proponent of white supremacy, had urged the whites to keep the Negroes from the voting booths.

Several instances of white and Negro clashes were reported. A few Negroes charged they were beaten by groups of whites, prior to the election and on election day. Later some of the Negroes testified at a hearing in Jackson that they were physically abused and bullied after expressing a desire to vote.

Meantime, however, the majority of those qualified to vote in 1946, did so. President T. B. Wilson of the Mississippi Progressive Voters' League estimated that this year around 6,000 of the 12,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi, will attempt to vote.

Perfect Alibi

37e

Mr. Puryear [member of the Hinds County, Mississippi, Democratic Executive Committee] said that nearly 500 votes were cast in his precinct, all whites. "There were no Negroes registered," he said, "so we couldn't possibly have discriminated. . . .

—UP dispatch from Jackson, Mississippi.

Negro Voters Must Swear Dislike For Lynch Law

Wilmington, N. C. Morning Star
August 5, 1947

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 4—(AP)—Some 6,000 Negroes expected to turn out for Mississippi's Democratic primary tomorrow will be asked to swear their dislike of federal anti-lynch laws as a prerequisite to voting.

Adding perhaps to the irony of this situation—the initial test of a 1947 law designed to discourage Negro voting—the prospective Negro voters also will be required to swear accord "with the time-honored and cherished traditions of the South."

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Clashes Reported

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Meantime, however, the majority of those qualified to vote in 1946, did so. President T. B. Wilson of the Mississippi Progressive Voters' league estimated that this year around 6,000 of the 12,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi, will attempt to vote.

Said Wilson, a Negro, himself: "I don't know what obstacles may be met at the polls tomorrow. But our members are being advised to create no disturbance if their vote is challenged and they are turned away."

Wilson explained in this fashion the fact that those who wish to vote will swear disfavor of federal legislation which was intended to help the Negroes.

"The members of our organization have been advised to agree to the party principles because we believe, as the party believes, in states' rights. We believe that such things as the F-E-P-C, poll tax and lynching law, should be left to the states."

Color No Bar

Chairman Herbert Holmes of the State Democratic Executive committee said at Senatobia that "color will be no bar to voting. Some whites are going to be challenged. We shall expect the law to be followed and for either whites or Negroes to be challenged if they do not meet all requirements of the law."

A governor and a full ticket of state and county officers will be nominated in the primary in which the vote may run in the neighborhood of 350,000 ballots. Persons who have voted in the last three primary elections are exempted from the oath of accord.

Mississippi Tests New Primary Law

New York, N.Y.

By Associated Press

JACKSON, Miss.

Most Negro voters went unchallenged as Mississippi's newest white primary law got its opening test yesterday in an election for the nomination of a full slate of Democratic state and county officers. Wed 8, 6 1947

Only a comparative handful of Negroes attempted to vote.

Reports indicated that election officials generally let would-be Negro voters cast their ballots without being required to swear as required by a new law, that they subscribed to such party principles as opposition to Federal anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws. P.M. Daily

Also entering the fight for the protection of individual liberty, the New York Civil Rights Congress wired U. S. Attorney Tom Clark urging immediate federal investigation and prosecution of the lynchers of Versie Johnson, Mississippi sawmill worker.

"This new lynching on the eve of the Mississippi primary elections repeats the same intolerable pattern of intimidation followed last year in the Bilbo campaign to prevent Negroes from exercising their rights of suffrage," the CRC declared.

Mississippi Set For Primary Today

The Montgomery Adv

6,000 Negroes Expected To Back Principles

Tues 8, 5, 47

[illegible] Montgom

JACKSON, MISS., Aug. 4.—(AP)—Candidates for nomination in Mississippi's Democratic primary tomorrow brought their campaigns to a close tonight as election machinery to handle 350,000 voters was set up.

Polls will open at 8 a.m. at most places and at 7 a.m. in communities with at least 1,000 registered voters. They will remain open until 6 p.m.

Herbert Holmes of Senatobia, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, today predicted an orderly election at which approximately 350,000 voters would mark lengthly ballots listing candidates for nomination to offices ranging from constable to governor. Tues 8, 5, 47

The election will be the first governed by the new election laws enacted at the special session of the Legislature in March.

The laws prescribe that would-be voters must subscribe to the announced principles of the party, which include opposition to the fair employment practices commission legislation, Federal anti-poll tax legislation and Federal anti-lynching legislation, and assert support of the "time-honored and cherished traditions of the South."

T. B. Wilson, Negro, of Jackson, president of the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, estimated that 6,000 Negroes would go to the polls prepared to swear accord with the announced party principles.

"The members of our organization have been advised to agree to the party principles because we believe, as the party believes, in state's rights. We believe that such things as the F-E-P-C, poll tax and lynching law should be left up to the states."

Mississippi Quiet in 'White Primary'; Few Negroes Vote, Most Unchallenged

New York, N.Y.
Times. New

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 5 (AP)—Most Negro voters went unchallenged today as Mississippi's new white primary law received its first test in a Democratic election for the nomination of a full slate of state and county officers.

Only a comparative handful of Negroes was included in the throng that crowded voting places.

Reports indicated that election officials generally let Negro voters cast their ballots without being required to swear that they subscribed to such party principles as opposition to Federal anti-lynch and anti-poll-tax laws.

The Legislature in a special session last March adopted laws prescribing that voting applicants might be challenged in connection with their allegiance to "party principles." 8-6-47

These principles, set forth by the State Democratice Executive Committee, included disapproval of the Fair Employment Practices Commission and support of the "traditions" of the South.

White candidates for Bolivar County offices challenged the votes of Negroes at Mound Bayou, Mississippi's all-Negro town, but the Negro election commissioners decreed that the challenges were frivolous and some thirty Negroes had cast their ballots by noon.

Herbert Holmes, state executive committee chairman, reported:

"Indications are for a record vote, and one of the quietest elections in the history of Mississippi. I haven't heard of any challenges. The reports I received indicate there are no efforts to evade the allegiance to party principles."

In Washington County it was reported that fifteen Negroes had been challenged and only five permitted to vote.

Percy Greene, Negro editor of The Jackson Advocate, a weekly, and regional vice president of the National Progressive Voters League, said he had heard of no challenges of Negroes on the point of party principle. Nor, he said, was there "evidence of intimidation." Wed. 8-6-47

President T. B. Wilson of the Progressive Voters League said:

"I think the voting is going better for the colored people than ever before. There have been some turned down for reasons I don't think are exactly right—but the results are encouraging."

Five candidates sought the Governorship: Gov. Fielding L. Wright, who came into office after the death last fall of Gov. Thomas L. Bailey; Paul B. Johnson Jr., son of a former Governor dho died in office; State Senator Jesse Byrd, only man in the race whose platform included a "wet" plank; Mayor Frank L. Jacobs of Meridian, and William Lycurgus Spinks, president of the "Over 60" Club.

To Sue Mississippi For Barring Negroes In Demo Primaries

Daily Worker – New York

Mon. 8-11-47

Suits charging violation of civil liberties will be filed against the state of Mississippi for barring Negroes in the recent primary elections, the National Association for Advancement of Colored People has announced.

The civil suits will be based on affidavits submitted by two Negro voters, Charles Donaville and Steve Hunter, Jr., who declared they were barred from voting in the elections because they favored a federal fair employment practices law.

The two men, both ex-GIs, presented evidence that they had tried to vote and had been barred by John Ellis, an official of Pass Christian County, who asked them:

Q. How do you intend to vote, Democratic or Republican?

A. Democratic.

Q. Do you believe in communism or fascism?

A. No.

Q. Are you in favor of the Fair Employment Practices Act?

A. Yes.

NO WHITES QUESTIONED

After these answers, the veterans were told by Ellis: **"You boys are disqualified."**

In the affidavit filed with the NAACP, the men charged that no white persons were questioned or challenged in any manner. It was also revealed that all Negroes presenting themselves for voting were refused admission to the voting booths. Mon. 8-11-47

"The law under which this primary was conducted, with its requirement that prospective voters subscribe to the 'traditional principles' of the party, is unconstitutional," said NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall.

The NAACP is gathering additional statements and affidavits from other Negroes similarly deprived of the right to vote.

37e 1947

Mississippi

SLAP AT DEMOCRACY!

CIO News Washington, D.C.

MISSISSIPPI, home of Bilbo and Rankin, destroyed another leaf of the Rule Book of Democracy before permitting its people to cast ballots in the state's Democratic primary last week.

37e Mon. 8-11-47

The Mississippi Legislature, at a special session in March, 1947, enacted a law decreeing that voters must certify agreement with party principles as set forth by the State Democratic Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee decided that these principles should include opposition to Federal anti-lynch laws, anti-poll tax legislation and the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The direct effect of this action was to ask prospective Negro voters to openly express disapproval of measures which they believe are designed to aid them.

Those who refused to do so were denied a voice in the selection of officeholders.

Those unfamiliar with the South probably will say that this disgraceful performance was just another step in the Bilbo "white supremacy" program. It was that—and more, too.

It was a continuance of the old practice (not confined to the South) of trying to win elections by means fair or foul.

Boss Ed Crump of Memphis—just a few miles from the Mississippi line—doesn't follow the Bilbo-Rankin technique. He believes that Negroes should be permitted to vote, over and over and over again in the election—just as long as they vote for Crump-picked candidates.

Mon. 8-11-47

It would be easy to say that the Mississippi election flasco involved only a race issue—but that wouldn't be honest.

Those in the political saddle intend to stay there if they can. They would apply their shary spurs to any group—Negro or white—that attempted to unseat them.

In this instance the Negro was made the scapegoat. In another instance it may be the "politically undesirable" white man.

The CIO has more than an indirect interest in Mississippi, because it's a state in which the CIO is conducting a successful membership drive—a drive that has drawn the wrath of Bilbo-Rankin, Inc.

At Least They Voted

Daily World - Atlanta, Ga. Fri 8-8-47

Negroes voted without incident last Tuesday in Mississippi's primary elections. But they had to swear allegiance to "the time-honored and cherished traditions of the South" before being permitted to do so. Negro leaders, or rather spokesmen, appear rather jubilant over the outcome and say:

37e

"Members of our organization (Progressive Voters League) have been advised to agree to party principles because we believe as the party believes, in states' rights." That is a most unfortunate thing. For it represents a false leadership for the black masses in Mississippi and a gross deception to the white people, since there is not a Baker's dozen out of the more than 6,000 Negroes voting, who do not believe in the principles of an FEPC law; anti-lynching, anti-poll tax legislation, and that these cannot or will not be achieved through the medium of States' Rights.

From our own standpoint, we should have greatly preferred seeing Negroes in Mississippi stand pat behind the decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding their constitutional right to vote. In that they would have taken high grounds. The United States Constitution secures to them the undisputed right to vote-equality with all other groups. The Primus E. King case in Georgia and the George Elmore case in South Carolina are reaffirmation of that constitutional guarantee.

Fri - 8-8-47

Moreover, what difference does it make that a few thousand Negroes vote under such stringent, not to say embarrassing, rules? It would be far better, not only for Negroes in Mississippi but everywhere that they should have sought to set up a test case once and for all, rather than signing allegiance to a thing they never can believe, in the first place. And what is worst, they are going to be compelled to go over the same grounds sooner or later. Too many Negro leaders have been proned to commit the same grevious error committed Tuesday in Mississippi. They misled white people concerniing the hopes and aspirations of those they profess to represent. As a consequence, those whites who possess a willingness to aid Negroes in their fight for freedom become confused and are forced to throw in the sponge.

Voting in Mississippi

37e

SOME of Mississippi's Negro citizens voted yesterday in the Democratic primary. 8-6-47

Those who voted, few as they may have been (pre-election estimates predicted 6,000 of the total state population of 1,074,578), were compelled to take vows which are completely antagonistic to their interest.

They had to swear to oppose federal anti-polltax and anti-lynching legislation, and to oppose the Fair Employment Practices Commission—that is, to oppose federal action indispensable to securing their equality as citizens of the State of Mississippi.

Clearly, such oaths imposed upon voters is a violation of the right of franchise of American citizens, a violation of the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Daily Worker N.Y. N.Y.

And surely this is additional proof of the argument of Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party, that the so-called Un-American Committee is unconstitutional because of its inclusion of members such as Mississippi's John Rankin, allegedly a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, who was "elected" to office by

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just such blatantly undemocratic methods as this.

The few Negroes who voted in Mississippi yesterday took advantage of a U.S. Supreme Court ruling which the Dixie Bourbons are determined to subvert by trickery and force.

8-6-47

Their persistence in attempting to exercise their franchise, no less than the fact that the Supreme Court was constrained to hold the lily-white primary illegal, reflects the militancy of Negroes and their determination to attain all the rights and privileges of first-class citizenship. For this militancy and determination all Americans should be grateful: it is one of the first lines of defense of democracy.

Mississippi Votes Again

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mississippi held another primary election last week and to th
surprise of many of the local Machiavellis several thousand Ne
groes voted. Pittsburgh Courier Sat 8-16-47

To discourage Negro voting, the Legislature last March adopte
laws prescribing that voting applicants might be challenged i
connection with their allegiance to "party principles" and th
State Democratic Executive Committee promptly included amon
these principles opposition to Federal anti-lynch, FEPC and ant
poll tax laws.

Strangely enough, despite this supposed Negro-stopper, r
ports from Mississippi say that most Negro voters were uncha

lenged and election officials generally let Negro voters cast their ballots without being required to swear that they did not want Federal anti-lynching, FEPC and anti-poll tax laws.

Officials of the National Progressive Voters League reported no evidences of intimidation of Negroes, and one of them declared: "I think the voting is going better for the colored people than ever before."

On top of this, the Attorney General of the United States has asked his criminal division to study Mississippi's new primary statutes to determine whether they violate any Federal law.

All of which would seem to indicate a new day dawning in Mississippi.

There is even a possibility that in a few years what has been known as the worst American State may become one of the best.

After all, Mississippi has just about everything to be a first-class commonwealth except some more civilized leaders.

Philip Randolph Hits New Miss. Vote Law

The Atlanta Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Thur

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—A. Philip Randolph, co-chairman of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, last Tuesday called upon Attorney General Tom Clark to institute Federal prosecution against anyone attempting to enforce the

new Mississippi primary law.

The new law, designed to prevent colored people from voting in Democratic primaries in Mississippi, requires prospective voters to subscribe to party principals as set forth by the State Democratic Executive Committee.

The principles, as adopted after passage of the new law in March include opposition to federal anti-poll tax, antilyinching, and fair employment pratice legislation, and "allegiance to the time-honored and cherished traditions of the South."

Persons who have voted in the last three primaries are exempt from declaring their allegiance to these principles. Until the primary election of a year ago when Theodore G. Bilbo was a candidate for renomination and reelection to the United States, colored people had been excluded from voting in Democratis primaries. Thur-8-14-47

In a telegram to Mr. Clark, Mr. Randolph said:

"Political parties and primaries are not private clubs and conveniences but part of the apparatus of democracy; their purposes would be subverted by such totalitarian thought control and discrimination.

"We are advised that this law and its proposed application, as reported in the press, are clearly in violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution as interpreted by the second Oklahoma

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Byrd, 22,002; Frank L. Jacobs, 5,109, and William Lycurgus Spinks, 2,266.

Officials of the Department of Justice said that Attorney General Tom Clark has asked the department's criminal division to study the state's new primary statutes to determine "if they violate any Federal law."

The new laws, adopted to maintain white supremacy in primaries provide that a prospective voter must swear accord with the party principles as set forth by the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Some Negroes were reported challenged yesterday on the new grounds, but others cast their ballots throughout the state. No violence was reported at the polls.

"From what I have seen in the newspapers so far," he asserted, "I would say that these new regulations are unconstitutional."

8/16/47

Mr. Clark suggested that a civil suit be inaugurated by some victim of the Mississippi primary laws who will carry it to the U.S. Supreme Court to test its validity. According to press reports, Negroes seeking to vote in the Democratic primary would be required to swear opposition to FEPC, anti-lynch, and anti-poll-tax legislation and that they are in accord with "the time-honored and cherished traditions of the South."

MISSISSIPPI AIDE IN PRIMARY SLAIN

Times, New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 8-7-47

His Brother, Another Election Official, Wounded in Fight Over Votes by Negroes

LAUREL, Miss., Aug. 6 (U.P.)—An election official was slain and another was wounded critically today during an argument over Negroes voting in yesterday's state Democratic primary. All parties in the dispute were white men. Thurs. 8-7-47

Ransom Phillips was killed instantly and his brother, Otis, was rushed to Hattiesburg Hospital with two .38-caliber slugs in his abdomen.

Ellis Gerald of Moselle, Miss. was held in Jones County jail in connection with the shooting, but no charges have been filed.

Election workers said Gerald and his brother, Walter, attempted to permit Negroes to vote at the booth where the Phillips brothers worked yesterday. An argument apparently developed between them over the issue and it exploded into gunfire today. Police had no other details.

Wright Election Assured

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 6 (AP)—Fielding L. Wright appeared tonight to be headed for a full four-year term as Mississippi's Governor, as reverberations from yesterday's state Democratic primary resounded in Washington.

Mr. Wright, who succeeded to the Governorship last November at the death of Gov. Thomas L. Bailey, had a seemingly unbeatable majority over four opponents for the nomination, on the basis of unofficial figures covering perhaps half of the vote cast.

Returns from 1,130 of the state's 1,714 precincts gave Wright 106,336; Paul B. Johnson Jr., the son of a Governor who died in office, 53,223; State Senator Jesse M.

Race Voters Challenged; No Violence

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pittsburgh Courier
Sat. 8-16-47

By LEM GRAVES JR.
(Pittsburgh Courier Press Service)

WASHINGTON — Following a protest by the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, U. S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark this week ordered a Justice Department investigation of newspaper reports that opposition to FEPC bills and other Negro-interest legislation be a condition for qualifying Negro citizens for the vote in Mississippi.

Interviewed last week by The Pittsburgh Courier, the Attorney General said he had no information about the new election qualifications, apparently sprung at the last moment by the Mississippi Democratic executive committee, except what had been reported in the daily press. Sat-8-16-47

Describing the press reports as "one of the most ridiculous things I have ever heard," he said that he immediately asked members of his staff to locate any papers or memoranda, which outlined the committee's new primary election qualifications, for further study.

He declared that he would not be able to say just what the Federal Department of Justice could do in this case until he had had an opportunity to study the primary election instructions allegedly issued by the State Democratic executive committee.

Estimated 40,000 Pay Poll Tax in Miss. to Qualify to Vote in State Elections

Afro-American
2-15-47 Sat. Baltimore, Md.

Veterans Lead Fight; Constitution Tests Passed Easily; White Supremacists Worried

JACKSON, Miss.—While accurate figures are unavailable, it is estimated that 40,000 colored residents, a record number, paid poll taxes last week in order to qualify for voting in future State elections.

At the same time it was reported that State Democratic leaders are alarmed over the great number who registered, and some reactionaries were asking Gov. Fielding Wright to call a special legislative session.

Want S.C. Plan

This group would like to enact the so-called "South Carolina" plan of rescinding all primary laws and thus get around the 1944 Supreme Court ruling that enables minorities to vote in primary elections.

The idea of a session was dispelled when legal experts explained that the procedure would necessitate a State Constitutional amendment. 2-15-47 Sat

Daily Shows Prejudice

In a front-page editorial a local daily newspaper told the citizens of Jackson and Hinds County to wake up because white supremacy was in peril. It lashed at the large numbers of minority citizens who crowded the tax windows prior to the deadline date, Jan. 31.

"Do you want a white man's government, or will you take the risk of being governed by colored?" the editorial asked.

In most instances the new registrants were war veterans who, under a 1946 law, were not required to pay poll taxes last year. By paying now they can qualify for participation in the Democratic primaries this summer.

Tests Cause Surprise

More than 2,000 district county and State officers as well as a new legislature and Governor will be chosen at that time.

Registrars were surprised by the large number of young citizens who easily passed the questions fired at them concerning the State and Federal Constitution.

This was explained by a story that unknown to Democratic white politicians, teachers for more than a dozen years have been training children to recite both Constitutions in a parrot-like fashion until they are letter perfect.

Not All to Vote in 1947

Except in the case of the veterans, not all of those who paid and registered will be able to vote this summer, because the law requires that two poll tax receipts be exhibited at the voting precinct. 2-15-47 Sat

Two war veterans, an educator and two journalists, who were active in persuading the people to pay their poll tax, have praised the co-operation and understanding they received from liberal whites in this area.

However, they explained that white support in the smaller towns and countryside decreased considerably. Two students who are veterans said that on several occasions white men have followed them into stores to discuss the problems of the South with them.

In Laurel, Miss., where about 70 people had never paid their poll tax, paid and registered, a city hall official said one colored man told him:

"Six hundred of us have paid poll tax; now we want our streets fixed." Sat-15-47.

Only 281 Negro Votes Counted In Miss.

Daily World-Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 8-17-47

JACKSON, Miss.—(ANP)—Democratic officials last Tuesday flatly denied that 6,000 Negroes voted in the Democratic primary as indicated by Negro leaders, and said that only 390 offered to vote, including 65 in the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou. All of the latter were disqualified along with 44 others, leaving a total of 281 to be counted. Sun. 8-17-47

Sam V. Anderson was commissioned by the Washington County Democratic committee and the Greenville Rotary club to present the situation to the Democratic State Executive Committee, which met last Tuesday, after Anderson became "incensed over radio and newspaper reports up north over the situation."

Said Anderson, "I deplore the fact that certain folks are prone to magnify everything done by the Democratic party in Mississippi in which Negroes are connected."

Anderson said he checked officials of the 82 counties and found only 1,691 Negroes qualified in the nine counties where the Negro population is large. The counties included are Adams, Bolivar, Coahoma, Hinds, Leflore, Sunflower, Warren, Washington and Yazoo.